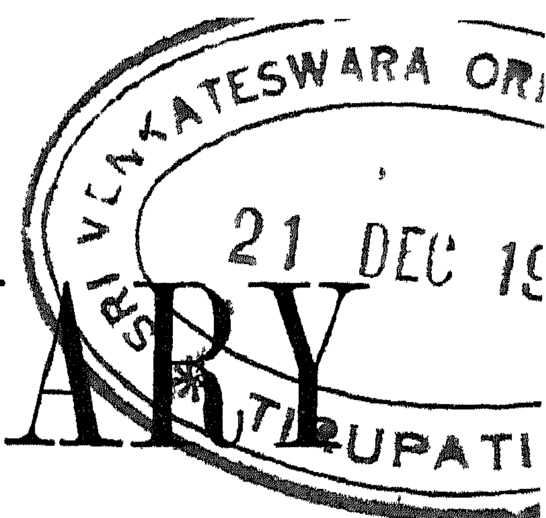
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EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851

BY S CHARLES HILL

(*Continued from Vol XLVIII, p* 226)

XV

THREE ACCOUNTS OF THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE *DORRILL* AND THE *MOCHA*, 1697

IN the year 1696 the East India Company's ship *Mocha* (Captain Leonard Edgcumbe) sailed from Bombay for China The Captain was disliked by his crew and, apparently, was forced to take whatever men he could get to fill up vacancies At any rate sixteen of the new hands were old pirates, who had been trapped by the natives, but had made their escape Whilst in captivity they had unsuccessfully appealed to the President to effect their release and, being received on board a Company's ship, they saw an opportunity for revenge When off Achin, on the 18th June, at their instigation the crew mutinied, murdered Captain Edgcumbe and set the loyal members of the crew adrift in a boat, in which after much difficulty they got to shore The pirates renamed the ship the *Resolution* and elected Ralph Stout their Captain Touching at the Nicobars, they picked up one Robert Culliford and his associates Culliford had run away with another Company's ship, the *Josiah Ketch,* and going ashore to plunder the natives, the Armourer and other loyal members of the crew had recovered the ship and made off When the pirates reached the Maldives, Stout attempted to desert, was caught by his comrades and murdered His successor was Culliford In July 1697 Culliford came up with the Company's ship *Dorrill* (Captain Samuel Hyde) We have three accounts of the fight one by Captain William Willock, a prisoner on board the pirate, which is interesting as showing the absence of discipline on board a pirate ship, and the difficulty their captains had in persuading the men to fight when they met with a tough customer , another by William Soame, apparently the Company's Agent at Achin, which is probably Captain Hyde's account , and a third by Messrs Solomon Lloyd and William Reynolds, who appear to have been Supercargoes on the *Dorrill*

Captain Hyde had his colours nailed to the mast It will be remembered that Captain Wright, when the *Caesar* was attacked, had his ensign seized to the ensign staff (see *ante,* Vol XLVIII, p 205) The distribution of money amongst his crew during the fight, and not the tot of rum of which one reads in piratical and naval romance, was the ordinary method of encouragement adopted by the captain of a Company's ship

The pirates hoisted a broad *red* pendant, *i e*, a Commodore's flag, the day before the engagement This must not be confused with the *bloody flag,* for it signified merely that the Captain of the *Mocha* claimed superiority to the Captain of the *Dorrill,* either as his senior or as commanding a ship-of-war, and was therefore a ruse to get the Captain of the *Dorrill* to go on board him The use of pieces of glass, broken teapots, chains, stones, etc by the pirates to load their guns was probably due to want of shot They suffered very slightly in the fight, but were frightened of losing a mast and being disabled, and so drew off

THREE ACCOUNTS OF THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE SHIP *DORRILL*, CAPTAIN SAMUEL HYDE, AND THE PIRATE SHIP *MOCHA*, CAPTAIN ROBERT CULLIFORD, ON THE 9TH JULY 1697, IN THE STRAITS OF MALACCA

1

A narrative about the Mocha Frigatt, written by William Willock,[71] *a prisoner aboard them eleven months*

"About the latter end of June [July] they [the pirates] mett with an Europe ship near to Pullo Verero [72] They came up with her and hailed her, the ship's name I do not remember They said her Commander was Captain Hide newly come from Europe Hell was never in greater confusion than was then aboard, some for hoysing French colours, some for fighting under no colours, some for not fighting att all, some for running him aboard without fireing a gunn The Captain laid down his charge because of the confusion, then about ship they must goe to chuse another Captain All this while they were within speech of one another, soe that the other ship might hear what they said, but about they went and the English ship made the best of her way from them, but at length they concluded to fight and the Captain resumed his place againe Then about they went after her againe.

The day before they had layd close by one another within gunn shott, so they saw what they were and provided accordingly In the morning about 9 o'clock they came up with her againe They came close up to her on her weather quarter so that they could call to them and asked them what they would have They answered Money they wanted and Money they would have Its well, said they, for you may come and take it So they gave a cheer and went all hands, I suppose, to their quarters The Pirate first fired his two fore-chase gunns into her, but before they had fired another they had received both his broad-sides, for he took care to work his ship to the best advantage, and had then, I think, about 30 guns mounted and they were as good as the Pirate's gunns They had not passed above three or four broadsides, I could see the pirates disheartened Said they, We shall gett nothinge here but broaken boanes, and if we lose a mast where shall we gett others They had then received a shott in their foremast, a six-pounder, which had gone right through the heart of it Says the Captain, We have enough of it to fetch to windward of him Lett us goe about ship for he lyes by for us, and soe he did Says one, You may put her about yourself and you will, for I'll fight no more Nor I, says another, Nor I, Nor I, was the

[71] Master of the *Satisfaction,* taken by two pirate ships (one under English and the other under apparently Muhammadan colours) off Ceylon, January, 1697, and released 22nd December, 1697

[72] Pulo Barahla, an island off the N E coast of Sumatra, known as Pulo Verera in the 17th century. —Ed.

cry So they lett fall their Mainesaile and foresaile and stood away from him The English ship sett her sailes also and stood away her course to the Eastward"

[*Colonial Office Records*, 323 2 123 viii *India Office Records, O C* 6473 & 6484]

2

Letter from William Soame to the Honble Nath Higginson Esq and Council at Fort St George dated Achin 11 *August* 1697

Since my accompanying of the 31st July arrived here [Achin] Capt Samuel Hyde in ship *Dorrill* the 8th instant, giving account that the 7th of July, the day after having been forced to ride fifteen days off of Dyamond Point [N Sumatra] he spied a saile to windward, bearing down upon him, which coming up under his quarter and giving a Levitt [73] with the Musick of trumpets, hoboys and drum, dropt asterne without haling or anything of parley, but keeping company all the night, next day seem d inclined to withdraw (by baring away sometime before the wind) till July the 9th in sight of Pulla Varera, springing then Lutt [bringing their ship's head closer to the wind] and haling each other, said their ships name was the *Resolution*,[74] Capt Robert Collifer Commander, bound also for China after which the Boatswain of the *Dorrill* demanding the reason of their suspitious working, they answered, Don't you know us to be the *Mocha*? Wee want neither you nor your ship, but your money we will have, whereunto Capt Hyde replied that if they had it [it] should be out of the mussels of his guns, and bid them come up fairly alongside and take it

Thereupon the engagement began and lasted from about 11 o'clock till past 2 after-noone, when the *Mocha* wheeled off and left them Those who have since dyed of their wounds at sea were James Smith, Capt Hyde's Cheife Mate, Andrew Miller, Barber, George Mopp, Servant to the Gunner, and Thomas Matthews, Servant to the Boatswaine Those who continue dangerously wounded are John Amos, who lost one of his legs, and 'tis feared one of John Blake s must be cutt off Their volleys of small shott were small and thick, and allmost incessant, as being extraordinarily manned, and keeping one constantly at topmast head, looking out as supposed in expectation of their associates

The damages Capt Hyde's ship received were loss of her sprit sail and yard, severall shott between Decks, breaking one of her main Beames, a shott into her Bread Roome, damaging most of her Bread, and one or two between wind and water, and most of her rigging cutt The Dogge [? Dogs or Day] before engagement they put out the King's Jack, a broad red pennant and Merchant Colours,[75] but fought under none

After the engagement Capt Hyde try'de ten days for Malacca, but contrary winds and currents carried him over to the Simbelon [Sembîlan] Islands on the Eastern Shoare, from whence, whilst taking in a longboat load of water, which they stood in great need of, a sail to windward appeared making towards them, probably the *Mocha's* Associate, but night coming on and steering their course that way, happily lost sight before morning

[73] A flourish

[74] See Deposition of Adam Baldridge for another *Resolution* It appears from Kidd s trial that the *Mocha* was renamed *Resolution* by the Pirates (*State Trials XIV*, 153)

[75] The red ensign

I am of opinion that Capt Hyde is forced to relinquish all thought of proceeding for China, and if can reasonably accommodate business of the cargoe here, will proceed no farther, being with [? what] offers at present from

Your Honours &c obedient Servant
WILLIAM SOAME '

[*India Office Factory Records, Fort St George*, Vol 33]

3

Letter from Solomon Lloyd[76] *and William Reynolds to his Excellency Sir John Gayer &c Freighters of ship Dorrill, dated Achin, 28 August 1697*

" Right Honourable Sir and most respected Sirs,

These truly representeth a scheem of what misfortune has befell us as we were going through the streights of Malacca, in persuance to our pretended voyage, *viz*, Wednesday the 7th July, 5 o'clock morning we espied a ship to windward, as soon as was well light perceived her to bare down upon us Wee thought at first she had been a Dutchman bound for Atcheen or Bengall, when perceived she had no Gallerys,[77] did then suppose her to be what after, to our dreadful sorrow, found her Wee gott our ship in the best posture of defence that suddain emergent necessity would permitt Wee kept good looking out, expecting to see an Island called Pullo Verello [Pulo Barahla], but as then saw it not

About 8 of the clock the ship came up fairely within shott Saw in room of our Gallerys there was large sally ports, in each of which was a large gunn, seemed to be brass Her tafferill was likewise taken downe Wee having done what possibly could to prepare ourselves, fearing might be suddenly sett on, ordered our people to their respective stations for action Wee now hoisted our colours The Captain commanded to naile our Ensigne to the staff in sight of the enimie, which was immediately done As they perceived wee hoisted our colours they hoisted theirs, with the Union Jack, and let fly a broad red Pendant at their maintopmast head

The Pirate being now in little more than half Pistoll shott from us, wee could discerne abundance of men who went aft to the Quarter Deck, which as wee suppose was to consult They stood as we stood, but wee spoke neither to other Att noone it fell calme, so that [wee] were affraid should by the sea have been hove on one another Att 1 a clock sprang up a gale The Pirate kept as wee kept Att 3 a clock the villain backt her sailes and they went from us Wee kept close halled, having a contrary wind for Mallacca. When the Pirate was about 7 miles distant tackt and stood after us Att 6 that evening saw the lookt for island, and the Pirate came up with us on our starboard side within shott Wee see he kept a man at each topmast head, looking out till it was darke, then he halled a little from us, but kept us company all night

At 8 in the morning he drew near us, but wee had time to mount our other four gunns that were in hold, and now wee were in the best posture of defence could desire. He

[76] Lloyd was at Pulo Condore in 1705 when the Macassar soldiers, who had been detained after their three years' agreement was ended, by the Agent, Allan Catchpole, mutinied and murdered all the English they could get hold of

[77] These had, no doubt, been removed, in order to facilitate the working of the big guns on the poop, so that it was easy to see she was a fighting ship of some kind or other

drawing near us and seeing that if [wee] would, [wee] could not gett from him, he far outsailing us by or large [in one direction or another], the Captain resolved to see what the rogue would doe, soe ordered to hand [furl] all our small sailes and furled our mainesaile He, seeing this, did the like, and as [he] drew near us beat a drum and sounded trumpets, and then hailed us four times before wee answered him

At last it was thought fitt to know what he would say, soe the Boatswaine spoke to him as was ordered, which was that wee came from London Then he enquired whether peace or war with France Our answer, there was an universall peace through Europe, att which they paused and then said, 'That's well' He further enquired if had touched at Attcheen Wee said a boat came off to us, but [wee] came not near itt by severall leagues Further he enquired our Captain's name and whither wee were bound Wee answered to Mallacca They too and [would have] had the Captain gone aboard to drink a glass of wine Wee said that would see one another at Mallacca Then he called to lye by and he would come aboard us Our answer was as before, saying it was late [78] He said, true, it was for China, and enquired whether should touch at the Water Islands [Pulo Ondan, off Malacca] Wee said should Then said he, So shall wee After he had asked us all these questions wee desired to know from whence he was He said from London, their Captain name Collyford, the ship named the *Resolution*, bound for China. This Collyford had been Gunner's Mate at Bombay, and after run away with the Ketch [79]

Thus past the 8th July Friday the 9th do, he being some distance from us, About ½ an hour after 10 came up with us Then it grew calme Wee could discerne a fellow on the Quarter Deck wearing a sword As he drew near, this Hellish Imp cried, Strike you doggs, which [wee] perceived was not by a general consent for he was called away Our Boatswaine in a fury run upon the poop, unknown to the Captain, and answered that wee would strike to noe such doggs as he, telling him the rogue Every[80] and his accomplices were all hanged The Captain was angry that he spake without order, then ordered to haile him and askt what was his reason to dogg us One stept forward on the forecastle, beckoned with his hand and said, Gentlemen, wee want not your ship nor men, but money Wee told them had none for them but bid them come up alongside and take it as could gett it Then a parcell of bloodhound rogues clasht their cutlashes and said they would have itt or our hearts blood, saying, 'What doe you not know us to be the *Moca*?' Our answer was Yes, Yes Thereon they gave a great shout and so they all went out of sight and wee to our quarters They were going to hoist colours but the ensigne halliards broke, which our people perceiving gave a great shout, so they lett them alone

As soon as they could bring their chase gunns to bear, fired upon us and soe kept on our quarter Our gunns would not bear in a small space,[81] but as soon as did hap, gave them better than [the pirates] did like His second shott carried away our spritt saile yard About ½ an hour after or more he came up alongside and soe wee powered in upon him and continued, some time broadsides and sometimes three or four gunns as opportunity presented and could bring them to doe best service He was going to lay us athwart the hawse, but

78 That is, they were late in making the China voyage and therefore could not afford any delay

79 The *Josiah* ketch.

80 The notorious pirate Henry Every

81 "In a small space" means "for a short space of time"

by God's providence Captain Hide frustrated his intent by pouring a broadside into him, which made him give back and goe asterne, where he lay and paused without fireing, then in a small space fired one gunn The shott came in at our round house window without damage to any person, after which he filled and bore away, and when was about ¼ mile off fired a gunn to leeward, which wee answered by another to windward About an hour after he tackt and came up with us againe Wee made noe saile, but lay by to receive him, but he kept aloof off The distance att most in all our fireing was never more than two ships length, the time of our engagement was from ½ an hour after 11 till about 3 afternoon

When [wee] came to see what damage [wee] had sustained found our Cheife Mate, Mr Smith, wounded in the legg, close by the knee, with a splinter or piece of chaine, which cannot well be told, our Barber had two of his fingers shott off as was spunging one of our gunns, the Gunner's boy had his legg shott off in the waste John Amos, Quartermaster, had his leg shott off [while] at the helme the Boatswaine's boy (a lad of 13 years old) was shott in the thigh, which went through and splintered his bone, the Armorer Jos Osbourne in the round house wounded by a splinter just in the temple the Captain's boy on the Quarter Deck a small shott raised his scull through his cap and was the first person wounded and att the first onsett Wm Reynolds's boy had the brim of his hatt ½ shott off and his forefinger splintered very sorely John Blake turner, the flesh of his legg and calfe a great part shott away

Our ships damage is the Mizentopmast shott close by the cap and it was a miracle stood soe long and did not fall in the rogues sight Our rigging shott that had but one running rope left clear, our mainshrouds three on one side, two on the other cutt in two Our maineyard ten feet from the mast by a shott cutt 8 inches deep, our foretopmast backstays shott away, a great shott in the roundhouse, one on the Quarter Deck and two of the roundhouse shott came on the said deck, severall in the steeradge betwixt decks and in the forecastle, two in the bread room which caused us to make much water and damaged the greatest part of our bread They dismounted one of our gunns in the roundhouse, two in the steeradge, two in the waste, one in the forecastle with abundance more damage which may seem tedious to rehearse

Their small shott were most Tinn and Tuthenage [*tutenaga*, spelter] They fired pieces of glass-bottles, do teapots, chains, stones and what not, which were found on our decks We could observe abundance of great shott to have passed through the rogues foresaile, and our hope is have done that to him which [will] make him shunn having to do with any Europe[82] ship againe Att night wee perceived kept close their lights, Wee did the like and lay by In the morning they were as far off as [wee] could discerne upon deck Wee sent up to see how they stood, which was right with us In the night wee knotted our rigging and in the morning made all haist to repaire our carriages

Our men, seeing they stood after us, [wee] could perceive their countinances to be dejected Wee cheared them what wee could, and, for their encouragement the Captain and wee of our proper money did give them, to every man and boy, three dollars each, which animated them, and promised to give them as much more if engaged againe, and did in your Excellency's name assure them that if [wee] took the ship, for

82 As distinguished from a 'country' or coasting vessel of the East —ED

every prisoner five pounds and besides a gratuity from the Gentlemen Employers. Wee read the King's Proclamation[83] about Every &c and the Right Honble Company's.[84]

About 9 o'clock the 10th July wee perceived the rogue made from us, soe wee gave the Almighty our most condigne thanks for his mercy that delivered us not to the worst of our enimies, for truly he [the pirate] was very strong, having at least an hundred Europeans on board, 34 gunns mounted, besides 10 patterererers[85] and 2 small mortars in the head, his lower tier, some of them, as wee judged, sixteen and eighteen pounders Wee lay as near our course as could, and next day saw land on our starboard side which was the Maine [Land] Kept on our way

The 12th July dyed the Boatswaine's boy, George Mopp, in the morning Friday the 16th do in the evening dyed the Gunner's boy Thomas Matthews Sunday the 18th at anchor two leagues from the Pillo Sumbelong [Pulo Sembîlan] Islands dyed the Barber Andrew Miller Do the 31st dyed the Cheife Mate Mr John Smith The other two are yet in a very deplorable condition and wee are ashore here to refresh them . The Chinese further report the *Mocco* was at the Maldives and creaned [careened], there they gave an end to the life of their commanding rogue Stout, who they murthered for attempting to run away"

SOLOMON LLOYD

WM REYNOLDS

Atcheen, the 28th August 1697

[*India Office Records, O C* 6430]

XVI

CAPTAIN KIDD'S FIGHT WITH TWO PORTUGUESE SHIPS PORTUGUESE REPULSED BY ARABS, 1697

When the English Government decided to assist the East India Company in the suppression of piracy, it had no ships-of-war to spare and was glad to accept the offer of Lord Bellamont, Governor of New York, to send out one equipped by a kind of private company As most of the pirates to be dealt with were equipped from New England, it was supposed that Lord Bellamont would be able to find a captain who would have means of obtaining much useful information to assist him in his task, and so, if not to set a thief to catch thieves, at any rate to send a man well informed as to the ways of the thieves The fact that such a man might turn thief himself was either ignored or supposed to be discounted by giving him forty shares in the undertaking

Lord Bellamont chose Captain William Kidd, a man who, as far as is known, had a previous good reputation He received two commissions from the Crown, one dated 11th December 1695 as a privateer against the French, the other dated 26th January 1695-6 enabling him to take pirates wherever he found them He left England early in 1696 and, after strengthening his crew in New England, sailed for the Cape What his original

83 Dated 17th July 1696

84 Dated 22nd July 1696 [*N B*—The King's Proclamation offered £500, and the Company's Rs 4,000, to whoever should seize Every *Home Misc*, vol 36, pp 191, 193]

85 Pattararo, pedrero, a small gun —ED

intentions were is unknown, but before he reached the Cape he fell in with a squadron under Commodore Thomas Warren, his behaviour to whom was sufficiently truculent to excite suspicion, though his commission prevented that officer from interfering with him In April 1697 he arrived at the Island of Johanna, one of the Comoro group, which was a well-known halting place for the Company's ships There he fell in with some of the latter and behaved in such a way that they expected him to attack them and took all necessary precautions Apparently he was afraid to do this and they went on their way unmolested From Madagascar he went to the Red Sea with the intention of attacking the pilgrim ships, and in August came up with the fleet, but was frightened off by the convoy Next, sailing down the Indian Coast, he took various native vessels, some of which were commanded by Englishmen, one of whom—Captain Parker— he kept on board for some time as a kind of pilot Being attacked by two Portuguese ships-of war, he crippled the smaller and better sailer and showed his heels to the other This does not look like courage on his part, but it does not prove cowardice, for, even if he had fought and beaten the bigger ship, he must have suffered some loss without any prospect of booty which was contrary to pirate custom

After eluding the Company's cruisers which were now on the look out for him, and refitting his ship, he renewed his watch on the coast for a rich native vessel, and, early in 1698, took the *Quedah Merchant,* commanded by Captain John Wright, with a cargo worth £20,000 He gave back to Captain Wright all his personal property as it was thought, a reward for making no resistance With this capture Kidd appears to have been satisfied He sailed to Madagascar, where he arrived in May There he met the pirate Culliford, to whom some ninety of his men deserted At last, thinking his own ship, the *Adventure Galley,* unfit for the homeward journey he transferred to the *Quedah Merchant* and sailed for America

Arriving in Boston in 1699 he assumed all the airs of innocence, but the outcry against him was too strong He was arrested and sent to England, tried for piracy and murder, and being convicted was, on the 24th May 1701, hanged at Execution Dock.

So far as is known he had never actually attacked English or European ships and never flown any kind of piratical flag, though of course his commission entitled him to fly the broad red pendant He justified his attacks on native vessels on the ground that they carried French passes Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton maintains that he had been set an impossible task in which he naturally failed, that the alleged murder of his quartermaster was probably an act necessitated by the requirements of discipline and that no conclusive evidence of piracy was produced at his trial It is certain that his defence was badly conducted, that evidence in his favour was wilfully suppressed, and that the witnesses against him were absolutely untrustworthy, but I doubt whether there was any actual miscarriage of justice He appears to have been an excellent seaman and a rigid disciplinarian His biggest capture, the *Quedah Merchant,* was not one that would have satisfied a pirate like Every, and the fact that it was his biggest suggests that the stories of his buried treasures have absolutely no foundation

The concluding portion of the letter describing Kidd's fight with the Portuguese 'deals with a fight between the Portuguese and the Arabs It shows that whilst individual Portuguese may have maintained the national reputation, the Portuguese seamen had, as a body, fallen beneath contempt

Letter from Thomas Pattle[86] *to the Council at Surat, dated Carwar,* 22 *September* 1697

"Honble Sir,

"These are to acquaint you what lately happened here The 3rd instant came into this Cove Captain William Kidd in the *Adventure Galley* He has on board 140 well men and 36 guns 'Tis the same man-of-war that the Honble Company's ships[87] met coming out He says he hath been at the Mohelas,[88] Madagascar and several other places to look for pirates, but yet hath not met with any, and now is come on the Coast for the same purpose Since which came to the Factory two of his men, who inform us they have taken an English vessel off of Bombay and that they have got the Commander[89] on board a prisoner They took out of her about 100 lbs of gold, some rice and raisins They're [*sic*] going to Mocho was with full intent to take the Surat ships, had not the Convoys prevented them They intend to take Abdull Gophore's[90] ship, either in the Cove or watch for her as she goes out If they do 'twill cause abundance of trouble [with the Muhammadan Government]

The men say the ship is very leaky and rotten, so that they intend to take for their use the first good ship they meet with We believe he intends to lie off here and watch for Abdull Gophore's ship He sailed hence the 13th instant without doing any harm, neither did we let him know we were come to the knowledge of his evil actions, for fear when he found himself discovered, [he] should do as bad here We several times sent Captains Perrin[91] and Mason on board of him to pry into what they had done and what intended for the future to do, who we must needs say proved very faithful and true to us They[92] could never come to a sight of Thomas Parker, being kept close prisoner in hold, nor certainly know where they intend to go, sometimes talking of one way, sometimes of another, but yet we very much fear he will cruize off this place to meet with Abdull Gophore's ship We are informed at St Mary's [Madagascar] is settled abundance of these villainous people with their families, and are yearly supplied from New York with all sorts of Liquors, Provisions and Stores, so that when any ship wants men they go thither and get as many as they please

He showed his Commission under the Broad Seal of England to Captains Perrin and Mason, wherein he has liberty to range all seas and destroy pirates wherever he meets them The Captain is very severe and cruel to his people, which causes them to be much disaffected to him They attempted Captain Mason to take the command of the ship, which he honestly refused They are a very distracted Company, continually quarrelling and fighting among themselves, so that it is likely in a short time they may destroy one another, neither have they provisions on board to keep the sea a month

Three of the men run to Goa and, acquainted the Viceroy that there was a pirate in Carwar Road, upon which he presently fitted out two ships full of men, one 44 guns and the

86 Chief of the Company's factory at Carwar (Kârwâr)

87 The *Sidney* and *Essex*

88 The Comoro Islands, one of which is called Mohilla — ED

89 Captain Parker See below Capt Parker commanded a Muhammadan ship and was taken between the Red Sea and Carwar *State Trials*, XIV, 155

90 Abdu'l Ghafûr, a very wealthy Indian merchant

91 Capt Charles Perrin of the *Thankfull*

92 In the *State Trials*, XIV, 165, it is stated that Harvey and Mason at Carwar tried to get Parker released

other 20 guns, with orders to take him wherever they met him They imagined to find him in the Road, but he saved them the labour of coming so far and met them half way between here and Goa He presently perceived what they were and pretended to run from them The smallest ship, sailing best, followed him with all the sail they could make The biggest ship lagged astern, and as soon as Kidd perceived he had got the least a good distance from the biggest, he tacked and made to him When they came near, the Portuguese very valiantly fired into him as fast as they were able, but Kidd's hardy rogues soon gave them enough of it and miserably mauled them before the great ship could come to their help, but as soon as she came near Kidd set his sails and run from them[93] The smallest ship was very much damaged and abundance of men wounded and killed and so much disabled that she was forced to make her way to Goa again

The greatest ship came hither to convoy a small ship of theirs that wintered here belonging to the Portuguese Company, and came to an anchor in the Road the 18th instant evening where they had soon information of an Arab ship that was in the River They presently filled three boats full of soldiers and came into the River to destroy the Arab ship About 3 in the morning began the fight in sight of our Factory They took the Arabs unawares most of the men being ashore, not above ten Arabs and fifteen Lascars on board and them all sleeping unprepared, but, instead of boarding her, they kept at a small distance firing their muskets and bocomortesses[94] and flinging granadoes The people aboard soon waked and began to make resistance, firing some great guns and small shot at them This continued above two hours till by an accident, nobody knows how, the powder in one of the Portuguese biggest boats took fire, blew up and burnt most of their people, sunk their boat Their own granadoes, muskets and bocomortesses all went off, wounded and killed several men, upon which they forbore further attempt and was glad to withdraw About 14 men were killed outright and as many more cruelly burnt Upon this the country people were all up in arms, so that with one trouble following the heel of another all business has been hitherto impeded I am &c , &c , THOMAS PATTLE "

Extract of a letter from the Bombay Council to the Surat Council, dated 30 September 1697

" Kidd carries a very different command from what other pirates used to do his Commission having heretofore procured respect and awe, and this being added to his own strength, being a very lusty man, fighting with his men on any little occasion, often calling for his pistols and threatening any one that durst speak of anything contrary to his mind and to knock out their brains, causes them to dread him and withall are very desirous to put off their yoke "

Extract of a letter from the Bombay Council to the Surat Council, dated 14 April 1698

" Kidd has taken the *Quedah Merchant* on which was laden, as is reported, a rich cargo of about 200000 rupees by the Armenians and a Moorman "

[*India Office Records, Factory Records Surat*, Vol 13]

(*To be continued*)

93 Kidd had 10 men wounded in this fight *State Trials*, XIV, 156

94 A gun with a mouth or open mouthed face sculptured at the muzzle Lat *bucca*, It *bocca*, Port *boca* hence, buccamortis, death dealing face —ED

THE NURSERY TALES OF KÂTHIÂWÂR

(Literally Rendered)

BY G B BADHEKA, BHAVNAGAR

I

A Parrot and a Kâbar [1]

THERE was a king He had a parrot brought from Africa The bird was of noble birth and gentle mien He sang so very sweetly that the king loved him dearly and looked after his comforts keenly For him he made a golden cage, a diamond rock and two bowls of pure silver The richest fruit that the country produced formed the every-day diet of the lucky bird The king visited the parrot every morning, opened the cage himself, and seated the bird on his lap The parrot then sang sweetly, so that the king felt greatly pleased and much satisfied.

Now there lived a *kâbar* on a big *nîm* (*Azidarachta indica*) tree opposite the king's palace in a snug little nest of shreds of cloth and tiny sticks of wood Every day she saw the golden cage, the diamond rock and silver bowls of water, the king coming to the parrot, opening the cage himself and seating the parrot on his lap, and every day she thought herself very miserable

At last she grew envious of the parrot of the golden cage Once she murmured, "I wish, oh! I wish I were that singing bird yonder that I might enjoy the proud company of the king and taste the comforts of that priceless cage"

She thought, then, of entering into the cage and enjoying the pleasures thereof, if ever chance favoured her, and she was always on the look out for the desired moment.

Once, fortunately for the *kâbar*, it so happened that the king after his usual visit to the enchanting songster went about his business without closing the doors of the cage Just then the parrot took a fancy to go out and enjoy his natural freedom, and away he flew into the vast blue sky

There was the cage left empty and there was the envious *kâbar* waiting for her chance Down she flew to the golden cage, entered it and settled herself in her new home While she was heartily enjoying the pleasures of the cage, she proudly thought, 'Queen as I am of this golden cage now, there is no happier bird under the sun than mine own self' The day she passed there merrily and happily and she stayed overnight in the cage

Early the next morning the king came there as usual and calling the parrot by his name *Kasuku*,[2] wanted him to sing and please him But there was no *kasuku* inside, the songster was gone and the *kâbar* was there in his stead No bird sang to the king

The king did not know what had happened and as it was then too dark to see that the *kâbar* was inside the cage, he got a little vexed at the indifference of his supposed parrot friend He took up a little stick and began in his anger to thrust at the poor little *kâbar*. The queen of the golden cage now realised her true situation, and just to save herself from the approaching misfortune, she thought she should no longer keep silence and said —

"Thrust at me not, oh angry king,
No thrust can make me sweetly sing,
The bird that sweetly sang, has left the cage,
And if *twe* pleases you, *twe-twe* I can make"

---

1 A speckled bird in Gujarât, very often disliked by the people for her rather unpleasant voice It is always spoken of as female A woman who is very noisy and over talkative is often called a *kabar* The *kâbar* is a conspicuous character in many a nursery tale of Kâthiâwâr

2 A name given to a parrot of Africa, in the Swahili language prevalent amongst the people living on the coast of East Africa The African parrot is known to be a very good singer and is prized very highly in India

At once the king knew to his surprise that the bird inside was a *kabar* In his rage he flung open the doors of the cage, caught the *Lâbar* by her wings, and threw her out on to the hard pavement where she lay dead and was gone for ever.

The couplets in Gujarâtî are as under —

" Ghonkâ Ghonki ma kar Râjâ,
Ghonké amé marié ,
Saravâ sâdavâló tó ûdi gayó,
Kétò kal-bal, kal-bal karié "

A BRIEF SKETCH OF MALAYAN HISTORY

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE

(*Continued from Vol XLVIII, p* 231)

Borneo and the Philippines have each a considerable history of European occupation. Borneo was the scene at Brúnei of a long trade connection, Portuguese from 1522 and Spanish from 1580, until the Dutch appeared in 1604 and the British in 1609 Mismanagement by both Dutch and British ended in the loss of all influence in 1775 and 1809 respectively This gave an opportunity to organised piracy on a large scale by the natives, which continued until Sir James Brooke put it down in 1844, after having obtained the sovereignty of Saráwak from the Sultán of Brúnei, and became the first Raja Brooke (1841–1868) Meanwhile in 1823 the Dutch had received about half of Banjermásin (South Borneo) from its Sultan, taking the whole of it later by ' succession ' in 1860 But in 1847 the British gained permanent ascendancy in North Borneo, forcing the Dutch to consolidate their authority in the South Since 1882 British North Borneo has been administered by a chartered company, and lately, since 1888, North Borneo, Brúnei and Sarawak have been British Protectorates

The Philippines were first entered by the Spaniards in 1521, came under Spanish influence in 1529, and were acquired for Spain by the tact and capacity of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi (1524–1572) as Las Islas Filipinas, so named after Philip II (1555–1598) All this effort was the result of avowedly missionary enterprise Manila was founded in 1571, and the administration was conducted uneventfully on proselytising lines till 1762, when the whole country fell to the British for two years as an incident in the Spanish War of Charles III with England (1761–1764) Then ensued ecclesiastical rule of the narrowest description, which gradually caused a continually growing dissatisfaction, as contact with the outer world increased, till in 1825 there commenced an era of discontent, which ended in a rebellion (1886) under a highly educated leader, José Rizal (1861 1896), and an insurrection under Emilie Aguinaldo (1896–1901) In both of these the friars and clergy played an unenviable and retrogressive part In 1898 the Spanish-American War broke out, and in the same year the Philippines passed to the United States' flag Aguinaldo now became a rebel against the Americans, but since his capture in 1901, the whole area has been governed by them on a republican model

The Malays have long lost all independence, and at the present moment are under the domination of the British, Dutch and Americans, and also to a small extent of the Siamese, despite German intervention in places between 1884 and 1914

DATES OF MALAYAN HISTORY.

All Malayan dates are still controversial

Dynasties and Suzerainties	Date	Chief Events
EARLY TRADE	1000 B C—A D 100	Successive occupation of Malaysia by Negritos, Melanesians, Polynesians and Malays Coasting Trade between South (Dravidian) India and China (1000 B C—400) with Persia, Greece, and Rome (400 B C—A D 100)
	306–298	Megasthenes reports spice trade from South India (Malay Peninsula) Rise of the Alexander genealogical myth in the Archipelago
	A D 43–85	Pomponius Mela mentions Chryse (Peninsula), 43 c 85 Josephus knows of the Aurea Chersonesus (Peninsula)
	78–417	Establishment of Javan (Saka) era (78) 78–417 Spread of Saiva Hinduism in Java, Sumatra and Borneo Hindu kingdom at Tanah Datar (Menangkabau) in Sumatra
	79	Hippalus discovers the use of the monsoons (trade winds) Oversea trade commences
	127–166	Ptolemy mentions Straits of Malacca (Sinus Sabaricus) and Sumatra (Sabadius)
	250	Introduction of Mahâyâna Buddhism from India into Java and Sumatra
JAVAN TRADITION — Hindu Dynasties Astina, 384–662, Malawa Pati, 662–672, Mendaung Kamulan (Brambanan), 672–892, Jangala (and Koripan), 892–1158, Pajajaran, 1158–1295, Tumapel, 1232–1275 afterwards Majapahit, 1295–1477	285	Traditional earliest Hindu temple in Java (Chandi Maling)
	384	Foundation of the Astina Dynasty of Java
	412–550	Fa Hian in Java (412–414) c 530–550 Cosmas Indicopleustes, traveller
	656	Adityavarma of Astina (Parikisit, 607–649 Udiana, 649–662) builds Boro Budur
	662–688	Malawa Pati Dynasty (662–672) I Tsing in Sumatra (671 & 688)
	672–892	Brambanan Dynasty c 800 Temples at Brambanan and Chandi Sewu
	774–830	Aji Jaya Baya of Brambanan (Tekiri Daha) 774 and 787 Attacks on Cochin China (Champa)
	892–1158	Jangala Koripan Dynasty 1130–1158 Panji, national hero c 1150 Introduction of Islam
	1160	Menangkabau of Sumatra, a general Hindu ruling dynasty
	1184–1195	Munding Sari of Pajararan (Haji Purva) 1193 Converted to Islam
	1293	Kublai Khan's expedition to the Archipelago
	1293–1345	Medieval travellers 1293 Marco Polo 1325 Odoric of Poidenone 1345 Ibn Batuta
	1295–1477	Majapahit, great Hindu kingdom in Java Gradual rise of Muhammadan influence
	1350	Menangkabau Dynasty adopts Islam in Sumatra.
	1455–1474	Angka Vijaya of Majapahit, last great Hindu king c 1460 Marries a Champa (Cochin China) Princess
MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES — Demak, 1477–1577, Pajang, 1577–1606, Mataram, 1606–1624, and nominally onwards European Intervention Portuguese, 1511, Spanish, 1529, Dutch, 1611 English, 1620	1477	Majapahit Dynasty overthrown by Raden Patah of Demak (1477–1519)
	1508–1511	Portuguese in Archipelago and Peninsula 1508 Diego Lopez de Sequeira in Achin 1511 d'Albuquerque takes Malacca
	1514	Francisco Serrão discovers Mindanao (Philippines) Portuguese in Ternate (Moluccas)
	1519–1529	Spanish expedition to Moluccas and Borneo 1529 Spain and Portugal divide the Archipelago 1521–1529 Spanish influence in the Philippines
	1522–1809	Trade with Borneo 1522–1580 Portuguese 1580–1680 Spanish 1604–1775 Dutch 1609–1809 English

DATES OF MALAYAN HISTORY—*continued*

Dynasties and Suzerainties	Date	Chief Events
MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES—(*contd.*)	1524–1572	Miguel Lopez de Legaspi acquires Philippines for Spain 1571 Founds Manila
	1527–1539	French pirates from Dieppe
	1551–1606	Rise of the Matarem Family in Java 1606 Rulers of Java
	1579–1604	English competition in Archipelago 1579 Drake 1591 Lancaster 1604 Middleton 1600 English East India Company
	1580–1640	Union of Portugal and Spain
	1595–1608	Dutch intervention 1602 1798 Dutch East India Company 1608 Armistice with Portuguese
	1611	Dutch in Jakatra (Java), renamed Batavia (1619)
	1614–1624	Panambahan Senapati of Matarem, last independent ruler in Java
	1620–1637	Treaty of Defence, English and Dutch 1623 Massacre of Amboyna
	1624–1636	Sultan Seda Krapiah of Matarem Country in the hands of the English and Dutch
	1627–1830	Dutch "Colonial System 1811 1816 British Rule intervening
DUTCH ASCENDANCY 1680–1810	1680–1684	Portuguese power disappears Spain confined to the Philippines (1680). 1684. English only in Benkulen (Sumatra)
	1684–1740	Extension of Dutch power over the Archipelago
	1761–1764	English war with Spain 1762 1764 English occupation of Manila (Philippines).
	1764–1808	Spanish ecclesiastical rule in Philippines
	1775–1844	Organized native piracy from Borneo.
	1786–1795	English in Penang 1795 in Malacca
	1798	Fall of Dutch East India Company establishment of Council of (Dutch) Asiatic Possessions
BRITISH ASCENDANCY 1810–1824	1810–1816	Napoleonic Wars. British occupation of Dutch possessions
	1819	British in Singapore (Peninsula).
	1824	Straits Settlements founded Singapore, Malacca, Penang British in Peninsula Dutch in Archipelago Spain in Philippines (1629 1898).
DUTCH AND BRITISH ASCENDANCY from 1824	1824–1867	Straits Settlements under British East India Company (Peninsula).
AMERICANS IN PHILIPPINES from 1898	1825–1886	Discontent in Philippines with ecclesiastical rule
	1830–1848	Dutch "Culture System"
	1840–1868	Sir James Brooke, first Raja Brooke of Sarawak (Borneo 1840–1868) 1844 Suppression of piracy 1888 British Protectorate of Sarawak
	1847	British ascendancy in North Borneo
	1854–1890	Dutch reforms and extension of rule in Archipelago
	1867	Straits Settlements a Crown Colony (British)
	1873–1905	Achin War in Sumatra (Dutch)
	1874	Perak and other States a British Protectorate Federated Malay States (Peninsula)
	1882	British North Borneo (Chartered) Company founded. 1888 A British Protectorate
	1884–1914	German intervention in New Guinea and Carolines
	1886–1901	Rebellions in Philippines 1886 1896 José Rizal 1896–1901. Emilio Aguinaldo.
	1898	Spanish-American War Philippines an American (U S) Colony
	1909	British and Siamese Treaty settling respective Protectorates in Peninsula
	1914	British take German possessions

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maize, (s.) bûta (da) from bhutta (Hind.)

make, (v.t.) **1.** construct oiyo (ke). Make it once more *tâlik òiyo*. **2.** m. a hut, also basket-work, matting, netting or thatching; also applied to bees constructing a comb têpi (ke). Punga's and Meba's mothers made this mat *pûnga ôl-bêdig mêba l'at-êtinga ûcha parepa têpire*. The bees have made a large comb *iâtag lânga dôga têpire*. **3.** m. a canoe, bow, etc. kôp (ke). See **scoop**. He is making a canoe for me *ôl den* (or *dûl*) *iôko kôpke* (*N.B.*—denoting what is performed with an adze). **4.** m. a bow (kâiama-)pōr (ke) *lit.* plane with a boar's tusk (*i.e.* the final work on the bow after completion of chief work of shaping with adze (kôp). **5.** m. a bucket tane (ke). **6.** m. a cooking pot lat (ke). **7.** m. a paddle (waligma-)châg (ke). **8.** m. a torch (tôug-)pât (ke). **9.** m. iron-arrow-heads tâi (ke) (*lit.* hammer). We are making lots of pig-arrow-heads *med'êla dôgaya tâi (ke)*. **10.** m. bowstring or cord maia (ke) (*i.e.* by twisting the strands together). **11.** m. twine kît (ke). [This they do by twisting fibres together on the thigh.] See **roll**. **12.** m. personal ornaments, *e.g.* waist-belts, garters, etc. of Pandanus leaves bât (ke). **13.** personal ornaments, *e.g.* necklaces of bone, cane, etc. mâr (ke). **14.** m. ornamental patterns on bows, buckets, paddles, etc. ig-rêtawa (ke). **15.** m. wax, used for protecting arrow-head lashings, etc. i-tegi (ke). **16.** m. a fire châpa-l'ōko-jôi (ke). **17.** m. love, court, ig-dûrpa (ke). **18.** m. ready, prepare ai-tâmi (ke). **19.** m. known, acquaint badali (ke), yâbnga-l'ôt-êi-ômo (ke). See **must** (v.i.) **1.** m. haste ai-yêre (ke). **2.** m. a mistake châli (ke). **3.** m. a noise yâl (ke), yâlangar (ke). **4.** m. a way, clear a path tinga-l'ôt-wâl (ke). **5.** m. way, step aside ad-ōchai (ke), ûchik-tûn (ke). See **hence** and **more.** **6.** m. a voyage ōto-jûru-tegi (ke). [*Note*.—"Make," in the sense of "Cause to be or become," "Compel", is expressed by the prefix "en" *e.g.* m. friends (cause to be friendly) en-ōko-dûbu (ke), m. angry (anger, v.t.) en-tigrêl (ke). Because Punga broke my bow he made me angry *dîa kârama lûjuringa l'edâre pûnga d'en-tigrêlre*. The Chief will make you gather honey for them *maiola ngen et at en-âja-pûjke*. He made Tura go there (by canoe) for me *ôl dik tûra lat lâto en âkangaire*. See **for, go**. He made Bira give the bow to Woi for my sake *ôl bîra kârama wôi lat d'ûl en-âre*.]

malformed, (adj.) îtâ-jābag (da). See **form**.

malarial fever, (s.) diddiriya (da).

male, (adj.) bûla (da).

malice, harbour (v.i.) tot-gûm (ke).

malinger, (v.i.) ar-dōlaiji (ke).

mama! (exclam.) chana!, châna!

man, (s.) **1** â-bûla (da). **2.** married-man ab-châbil (da), ab-maia. **3** old man ab-jang-gi (da), ab-chōroga (da). See App. vii.

mango, (*Mangifera sylvatica*) (s.) kai (da). See App. xi.

mangrove, (s.) **1** (*Rhizophera conjugata*) bada (da). **2** (*Rhizophera macronata*, or *Bruguiera gymnorhiza*) jûmu (da). **3** mangrove-swamp jûmu-tâng (da), badә-tâng (da). **4** mangrove-swamp-mud lâb (da). See App. xi.

manly, (adj.) courageous î-târ-mîl (da). See **brave**.

manner, (s.) **1.** mode, style ig-lōrnga (da). (adv.) in this manner kîan âri (da). in that manner kîan-ûba (da), ekâra (da). See **custom**.

many, (adj) with ref to human beings âi-dûru (da), at-ûbaba (da) jîbaba (da) *See* Ex at **sufficient** 2 with ref to animals ôt-ûbaba (da), ârdûru (da) 3. with ref to inanimate objects . ârdûru (da), jîbaba (da), ûbaba (da) 4 this many kîan-chaia (da) *See* App 1 5 that many kâ chaia (da) 6 how many ? (interrog) kichikan-tûn (da), kichîk (da)

marble wood, (s) 1 (*Diospyros nigricans*) bûkura (da) 2. an inferior variety pîcha (da)

mark, (s) 1 as of a scar *See* **cicatrix** 2. indentation as caused by a cord ôt-rîm (da) e g on women's heads from carrying on their backs loads suspended by a cord looped across the head Look at the mark of the waist-belt (bôd) on your body ! *ng'ab-châu len bôd l'ôt-rim ig bâdiq !* 3 mark of a blow ig-pōlo (da) 4 stain mîchla (da) 5 sign, trace ig-lâmya (da) *See* **trace** (v t) ig-pōlo (ke) (v i) mark time during a dance to recover breath ai-tîi (ke) Mark my words ! (pay attention !) ûcha ! (*lit* this !)

marksman, (s) ûn-yâb (da), whether with arrow, spear or gun *See* **archer** and **shot**

marriageable, (adj) 1 of a young man ad-eninga-lôyu *See* **suitable** 2. of a young woman ab-îknga-lôyu

married man and **married woman** *See* App vii Married woman's hut *chân'ia bûd* (*da*)

marrow, (s) mûn (da), with prefix ab, ar, etc according to part of body to which reference is made

marry, (v t) tot-yâp (ke) The Chief married us yesterday *maiola dilêa met totyâbre* (v i) 1. of the man ad-eni (ke) I married her last month *ôgar l'âtari d'en adenire*, ad-ōro (ke) 2. of the woman ab-îk (ke) *See* **him** 3. secretly, without any ceremony eptid-wâ (ke) tig wâ (ke)

marsh, (s) *See* **swamp**

marvellous, (adj) ig ñêklinga (da)

mast, (s) wilima (da) So named from its resemblance to the trunk of a casuarina tree

master, (s) term in addressing, or referring to, a bachelor or young married man mai *See* **sir** and Ex at **feast**

masticate, (v i) ot kuram (ke)

mat, (s) sleeping mat parepa (da).

matter, (s) 1 (pathol) *See* **pus** 2 difficulty, trouble in such phrases as What's the matter ? (exclam) michimake ?, michibake ? What has been the matter with you ? *ba nga michibare ?* It's no matter *ûchin dâke* or *kichikan arek dake* *See* **what** and App I

may, (aux v) have permission ôiyo We may not sing *mo-ngot râmid-tôyunga yâbada* You may dance *ngonot koike* *See* **let**

may no, (or not) (verbal suffix denoting deprecation) kok ! May no snake or centipede bite you there ! *kâto ngong jôbo an kârapta châpikok !* May you not fall ! (I hope you won't fall) *ngo pâ kok !*

may be, (adv) *See* **perhaps**

me, (pron) dollen, (in constr. den), dôyu, dad *See* App ii

meal, (s) *See* **breakfast** and **supper** At one's meal . . âka kâd (da) They are all at their meals *ed'ârdûru akat-kâd* (*da*)

mean, (v i.) . . min (ke) *See* **intend.** What does he mean to do ? . *ô michiba mînke ?* What do you mean (by such conduct) ? *ngô clai tôrngata !* (exclam)

mean, (adj) *See* **illiberal**

means of, by (postp) . . tâm tek. Bia made (scooped) it by means of an adze . *bîa wôlo tâm-tek kôpre*

measles, to suffer from, (v i) â-rût (ke) (*lit* "to have an eruption on the body") *See* **escape**

measure, (v t) târ-tal (ke) *See* **fit, weigh**

meat, (s) *See* **flesh**

meddle, (v i) *See* **interfere**

medicine, (s) *See* **charm**

meditate, (v i) iji-mûla (ke)

meek, (adj) humble ig-lêkinga (da)

meet, (v i) 1 a friend casually iji-châchabai (ke) 2 go forward to meet another out of respect or affection iji-kâka (ke)

meeting, (s) interview ig-âtnga (da) *See* **assemblage**

Meliosma simplicifolia, (s) pâtag (da) *See* App xi for the use of the leaves and seed

Melochia velutina, (s) alaba (da) The bark is extensively employed *See* App xiii

melt, (v t & v i) *See* **dissolve**

Membrum virile, (s) . . chûl (da)

memory, (s) . gât-yôma (da)

menace, (v t) îj-âna (ke)

mend, (v t) *See* **repair**

Menispermaceæ, (s) ûd (da) The seed is eaten

menses, (s) âr-tàla-tòng (da) (*lit* tree-leaf) *See* **apron** and **flower-name**

mention, (v t) 1 remark ig-yâp (ke) 2 name, refer to âkà-târ-ñgêre (ke) âr-eni (ke) Don't mention its name! *âkà-târ-ñgêreke dâke!*

merely, (adv) only ôgun, ârek

meridian, (s) *See* **mid-day**

mesentery, (s) ar-kòlam (da)

mesh, (s) of net-work îdal (da) (*lit* "eye")

message, (s) ig-yâbnga (da)

message, send (v t) ig-gârma (ke)

Mesua ferrea, (s) mōnag (da) *See* App xi

metal of all kinds except iron, (s) êle-râ (da)

meteor, (s) chàugala-la-chōinga (da) *See* **spirit** and **light of torch,** etc

mew, (v i) as a cat . ig-nîdri (ke)

micturate, (v i) ar-ûlu (ke)

micturition, (s) ûlunga (da)

mid-day, (s) bôdo-chàu (da) *See* App x

middle, (adj) 1 koktâr (da), 2 the middle one mûgu-châl (da) 3 -finger kōro-mûguchâl (da) 4 in the middle of the canoe ôdam-len *See* **canoe**

midnight, (s) gûrug-chàu (da)

midst, (postp) among ôt-paichalen More correctly employed with pl prefix e g In (our, your, their) midst . . (môtot, ngôtot, ôtot)-paichalen *See* **among, beside,** and Ex at **self**

midway, (adv) î-târ-jûdu-ya

migrate, (v t) (î-) jāla (ke)

milk, (s) ôt-raij (da), ig-kâm-raij (da) My wife's milk is best for her own child *êkan abdêreka l'eb dai îkyâte l'ig-kâmraij bêringa-l'iglā (da)*

milk, (v t) *See* **suck**

milky-way, (s) ig-yôlowa (da) One can see the Milky-way only on a clear night *ôgun gûrug-la-tâlimare igyôlowa l'ig-bâdignga (da)*

mimic, (v t) âkà-tâ-chûru (ke) rîrka (ke)

Mimusops indica, (s) dôgota (da) The fruit is eaten, the leaves are those usually utilized for the ôbunga (apron) *See* App xiii, and old logs are used for fuel

mince, (v t) chop fine ôt-kōbat (ke)

mine, (pron adj) my own d'êkan Her son told me (that) it was his own father who was sick, not mine *chana l'abêtire den târchî êkan abmaiola abyed-yâte, dêkan yāba* (da)

mirror, (s) *See* **looking-glass**

misappropriate, (v t) . . ig-jûlya (ke), ôt-karia (ke)

miscarry, (v i) bring forth prematurely ab-dêreka-ya-pâ (ke)

mischief, commit (v t) (ôt-) jābagi (ke), êche (ke) *See* **damage, spoil**

misdirect, (v t) lead astray, mislead en-êr-lûma (ke)

mislay, (v t) **1.** misplace âr-to-jîalpi (ke) 2 lay in place not remembered . el-ôt-nûyai (ke) *See* **fail, lose**

mislead, (v t) *See* **misdirect**

misplace, (v t) *See* **mislay**

miss, (v t) **1.** feel the absence of ôt-kûk-lâtya (ke) 2 fail to hit with any missile lâkàchî (ke) On seeing a flying-fox he does not miss it *wōt l'igbâdig-nga-bêdig ô lâkàchîke yābada* ôn (or ông) lâma (ke) (v i) 1 any object in the water owing to bad steering iji-màua (ke), kitaiña (ke) 2 one's way . êr-l'âkà-chàtak (ke)

mist, (s) pûlia (da)

mistake, (v t) 1 (î-)châli (ke) 2 make a verbal mistake âkà-êche (ke) (*lit* "mouth spoil") 3 in doing something ông-êche (ke) (*lit* hand-spoil) (adv) in mistake for lât'-tek I struck the sunken-rock with my harpoon in mistake for (taking it for) a turtle *yâdi lât'-tek wai dô tōtōl jêralire*

mistaken, (p p) be in error iji-ñgênga (da)

misty, (adj) dim, hazy ig-nâlama-ba (da)

Mr (Mister) (s) *See* **sir**

mix, (v t) 1 solids âkà pegi (ke). 2 fluids pûljanga (ke), ig (or id)-pûlaiji (ke), ig (or id)-kîu (ke) (v i) of fluids iji (or ōto)-pulaiji (ke), iji-gau (ke)

mock, (v t) â rîrka (ke), ôt-tâi-tal (ke)

modest, (adj) decent ôt teknga (da) *See* **chaste**

modesty, (s) ôt tek-yôma (da)

moist, (adj) ôt îna (da).

molar, (s) *See* **tooth**

molest, (v t) *See* **annoy, pester**

money, (s) *See* **coin, ear, slice** The European soldier gave me money (in exchange) for the bow *boigoli karama l'igal ikpûku d'en âre*

monkey, (s) . . jako From the English "Jack" There are no monkeys in the Andaman jungles

monodonta (? **labeo**), (s) bada-ōla (da) *See* App xii

monsoon, (s) tâ (da) (**a**) N E-m (dry-m) yêre bôdo ta (da) (**b**) S W-m (wet m) gûmul tâ (da) It is rough owing to the change of the S W monsoon *gûmul tâ golainga l'edare pûtara dôga* (*da*)

month, (s) ôgar (da) It has rained throughout this month *ogar dilu-rêatek yûm la pâre* *See* **moon**

monthly, (adv) ôgarlen ogarlen

moon, (s) ôgar (da) [The moon is regarded as male and the husband of the sun] (**a**) new moon . ogar dêreka-yabā (da), chîrko lêro (da) The "yabā" is dropped after the first night or two. (**b**) 1st quarter . ôgar châmag (da) (**c**) full-moon ôgar châu (da). (**d**) last quarter . . ôgar kinab (da) (**e**) waxing-moon . . . ôgar la walaganga (da). *See* **grow** (**f**) waning moon ôgar-l'âr ôdowânga (da) (**g**) moon light . ôgar-chōmga (da) *See* **light** (**h**) moon-beam ôgar l'ar châl (da). I shall leave this encampment next new moon (*lit* "on the new moon appearing"). *ôgar-dêreka ōko dôatinga bêdig ucha barai tek d'adlōmtake*

moral, (adj) virtuous ôt bêringa (da) *See* **chaste**

more, (adj) **1.** a larger quantity . . . tûn (da) More of this tûn ka **2.** of animate objects . . âr-bang (da) More

Jarawas are coming *jarawa l'âr-bang ònke* 3 additional ñâ (da) *See* **bring, continue** Is there no more? *an ñâ-ba?* There is no more news *kârın târtît ñâ-ba* (s) 1. much more ôt-lât (da) Give me much more *ôt-lât den â* 2 one more, another ñâ (da), tâlık-ûbatûl (da) 3. a little more tâlık-yabā (da) (adv.) 1 no more wai-yāba (da) 2 once more (again) tâlık, ông-talı, ôt-pagı, ıg-pagı

moreover, (adv) ñe *See* **likewise** If you abuse him I will beat you (and) moreover break your bow *môda ngô ad ab-tôgoke dô ng apareke ñe kârama kûjrake*

moribund, (adj) âkan-tûg-dapınga (da)

morning, (s) 1 before sun-rise wânga (da) 2 after sunrise dîlma (da), lîlı (da) *See* App ix (adv) 1 this morning dîlmaya, dîlma-len, lîlınga, lîlıya, lîlı-len This morning while it was raining I was feeling ill, but now I have recovered *lılınga yûm la pânga bêdıg d'abyedka, dôna âchıtık tıg-êbalre* 2 yesterday morning dîlêa-wângalen, dîlêa-lîlılen 3 tomorrow morning lıltılen I bathe every morning *wângalen-wângalen dô lûdgake* *See* **daily, monthly**

morrow, (s) *See* **to-morrow**

morsel, (s) *See* **bit**

mortal, (adj) of injury or disease *See* **fatal**

mosquito, (s) têıl (da)

most, (adj) 1 in quantity dôga-l'ıglā (da) 2 in number of persons at-ûbaba-l'ıglā (da) 3 of animals ôt-ûbaba-l'ıglā (da) 4 of inanimate objects ûbaba-l'ıglā (da)

moth, (s) râ-tegı (da)

mother, (s) 1 ab-êtınga (da), ab-wêjınga (da), ab-wêjerınga (da), ab-chânola *See* **bear** and App viii 2. having one or more children ûn-bā (da) My wife was not then a mother *âchıbaıya d'aı îkyâte ûnbā yāba (da)* 3. step-mother ab-chânola. 4 mother-in-law .... mâmola 5. mothers-in-law, the relationship between a married couple's respective mothers . âkà-ya-kât (da) 6. (adj) motherless . â-bôlo (da), ab-êtınga-ba

mottled, (adj) . bâratnga (da)

mould, (s) jungle-leaf soil .... pâ (da) *See* **clay**

mouldy, become (v i) âr-tōlaı (ke) The jack-fruit seeds have become mouldy, throw them away *bêrêñ l'ârtōlaıre, waı kōrke*

moult, (v i) ōto-pîj (ke)

mound, (s) *See* **heap**

mountain, (s) *See* **hill**

mount, (v t) 1 kâgal (ke) *See* **ascend** 2 mount (elevate) a child on to one's shoulder âkà-yôbolı (ke) (p p) mounted, seated or perched on any eminence âkan (or âra)-yôbolınga (da)

mountainous, (adj) el-ōto-pàu (da)

mourn, (v i) bûlap (ke), bûlab (ke)

mourner, (s) âkà-ôg (da) *See* **clay** [When mourning they smear themselves for several weeks with "ôg" and abstain from dancing and singing, as well as all favourite articles of food At the expiration of the mourning period the bones of the deceased are disinterred (or removed from the burial-platform, as the case may be) and distributed among the relatives, after which they weep and dance the "*t'ı-tōlatnga (da)*" (*lit* "tear-shedding" dance) and resume their ordinary duties]

mourning, cease (v t) kûk-l'ârlû (ke) *See* **finish**

mouse, (s) ît (da), jûyum (da)

moustache, (s) âkà-paı-la-pîj (da)

mouth, (s) âkà-bang (da) *See* App ii (v t) open the mouth âkà-têwı (ke) shut the mouth âkà-

mêmatı (ke), âkà-mêwadı (ke) or âkà mêodí (ke) (v ı) open (of the mouth) âkan-têwı (ke) shut (of the mouth) âkan (also ōkan)-mêmatı (ke) mouthful, (s) âkà-tıg-wêr (da)

move, (v t) ōchaı (ke), lōrı (ke) *See* **remove** (v ı) 1 of an anımal or ınanımate object . . lêle(ke) Why does not the canoe move? we are pullıng wıth all our mıght *mıchalen rôko lêleke yāba? meda gōra tek tâpake* 2 of a person lêleka (ke). Don't move! *lêlekake ng'ôke!* 3 move asıde, make way ûchık-tûn (ke), ad-ōchaı (ke) 4 away from ōto-châk-tegı (ke). The chıld ıs movıng away from the hut *ablîga bûd tek ōto-châk-tegıke* 5 move towards eb-ıjı-châk-tegı (ke) All the chıldren are movıng towards us *ıgala ârdûru mebet ıjı-châk-tegı* 6 move slowly, of a canoe, etc ñgûlya (ke) 7 move swıftly, of a canoe, etc pûdva (ke)

much, (adj) great ın quantıty or amount . dôga (da), chânag (da), ûbaba (da) (adv) ın a great degree dôga (ya), chânag (ya), ûbaba very much bōtaba, deloba, tâpaya On gıvıng hım the bow he thanked me very much *en kârama mânnga-bêdıg ô den êletre bōtaba* so much, thıs much kîan-waı, kîan, kaî, ûchu-tûn Can you spare me so (thıs) much? *an ngô den kaî ng'arlôdake?* that much kâ-tûn, how much? tan-tûn too much dôga-bōtaba

mucus, (s) (nasal) . ıg-ñîlıb (da)

mud, (s) 1 yâtara (da) 2 of mangrove swamp lâb (da)

muddy, (adj) pûlur (da) 2 of channel or creek el-ôt-pûlur (da)

murder, (v t) ab-parekatı (ke)

murderer, (s) ûn-tî (da)

muscle, (s) yîlnga (da) *See* App ıı prefix accordıng to part of the body

muscular, (adj) 1 ab-gōra (da) *See* **powerful.** 2 ın the arms î-gōra (da)

music, (s) ôt tegı (da)

musket, (s) bîrma (da)

mussel, (s) mared (da)

must, (v ı) ûba waık You must run at once, he ıs callıng you *ngô kâ gôı uba waık kâj, ô ng'aı ñgerıke* I must thınk ıt over before I make ıt known to you *ngen yâbnga l'ôt er omonga l'oko telım dôl ubawaık gob joıke*

mute, (adj) 1 dumb yabnga-ûla (da) 2 sılent only mılanga (da), mûkurınga (da), akà (or ōko) mûlwa (da) *See* **deaf**

mutılate, (v t) ab chuwat (ke)

mutter, (v ı) dunukâ (ke)

muzzle of gun, (s) bırma l'aka bang (da) *See* **gun**

my, (poss pron) da (da), dot, dar, dab, etc *See* App ıı my bow *dia kârama (da)* my husband *ad ıkyate (da)* my wife *da îkyate* (da) my mouth *dakà bang (da)*

my own, (pron adj) dekan This ıs my own hut *ıcha dekan bûd (da)*

myself, (pron) doyun têmar dôyun batâm, deb êkan *See* **hurt** and **self**

N

nail, (s) 1. of fınger or toe ông-bô'doh (da) 2. metal tolbod (da) This ıs so named from ıts resemblance to the ıron pointed head of the arrow bearıng the same desıgnatıon *See* **arrow** (a) head of naıl tōlbōt l'ôt chêta (da) (b) poınt of naıl tolbot l'oko nauchama (da)

naked, (adj) unclothed (ab)kalaka (da), (ab-)lûpa (da) The prefıx depends on the part of the body referred to *See* App ıı *ın puris naturalibus* ot kâlaka rêatek

name, (s) ôt tıng (da) What ıs your name? *mıchıma ng'ot tıng? tıng l'âr enı!* (*lıt* mentıon name!) 2. bırth and pre natal- . tıng l'âr ûla (da) 3. "Flower-name" . tıng l'âkà kōl (da) Of the 18

prescribed trees which blossom in succession throughout the year, the name referring to that which happens to be in season when the girl attains maturity is bestowed upon her, and it is prefixed to her own (i e personal) name, e g ōia-mêbola, môda-dōra *See* App ix **4.** nick-name *See* **nick-name**

name, (v t) **1.** mention by name, style âi-taik (ke) On seeing a coin for the first time we named it ik-pûku (i e a slice) *idlia-qôiya l'igbâdignga-bêdig meda ik-pûku mai at-taikre* *See* **call** **2** call, summon âr-ñgêire (ke), âka-târ-ñgêire (ke) **3** mention the name of ting-l'âi-eni (ke) **4** invent a name êkan-tig-ôyu (ke)

name-sake, (s) âi-ting-la Your name-sake gave me food *ng âi-ting-la den yât mânire*

nape of neck, (s) ôt-bōiot (da)

narrate *See* **tell**

narrow (limited) space, (s) êr-chôpaua (da) (adj) **1** limited in regard to space (êr-)chôpaua (da) **2.** cramped, as the pointed bows of Nicobarese canoes kînab (da) *See* **bow,** of ship, and **fall** **3** not wide lôlowa (da)

nasty, (adj) in flavour ig-mâka (da), âka-jābag (da)

native, (s) **1** aboriginal âka-bîria-bûdya (da) **2** of India chàugala

naughty, (adj) *See* **disobedient**

nauseous, (adj) of food, drink, medicine âkà-jābag (da)

nautilus shell, (s) ōdo (da) This is used as a drinking-cup, also for baling water from a canoe, bathing a child, etc *See* App xiii

navel, (s) ab-êr (da)

neap-tide, (s) nōro (da)

near, 1 (adv) at close quarters lagya, lagiba **2.** (postp) **(a)** as one place to another ya-pâ-len **(b)** to some spot or inanimate object ông-pâ-len My hut is near the creek *jîg l'ông-pâlen dîa bûd (da)* **(c)** some animate object âkà-pâlen, ôt-paicha-len **(d)** to a tree or post (under the shade of) eb-êr-tegilen, tek I see the pig which is near that tree *wai dôl kâto âkatâng l'ebêr-tegilen yâte rôgo l'igbâdike* The jack tree is near the mango tree *koi tek kaita (da)*

nearly, (adv) lagi-tek *See* **almost** nearly full lagitek têpe (da) nearly ripe roicha (da) It's nearly finished ! *kanya !*

necessary, (adj) âraiinga (da) It is necessary for us to arrive by noon *meda bôdo-chau kâgalnga wai âraiinga (da)*

neck, (s) ôt-lôngota (da)

neck-lace, (s) âkan-êtai (da), âkan-êtainga (da) generic term for all varieties For description of the several kinds *see* App xiii

need, (v t) require ôyar (ke), ârai (ke) Your pig-arrow lashings need wax *ngîa êla l'ôt-chânga kânga-tâ-bûj ôyarke*

needful, (adj) *See* **necessary** and **requisite**

needle, netting- (s) pōtokla (da) *See* App xiii

neglect, (v t) fail to perform or complete en-kîchal (ke)

neighbour, (s) êr-ya (da) He is my neighbour *ôl dîa êr-ya (da)*

neighbourhood, (s) ông-pâ (da) In the neighbourhood of Kyd Island there are plenty of cowries *dûra-tâng l'ông-pâlen têlim ûbaba*

neither, 1. (pron) not the one nor the other ûchin-ûbatûl yāba (da) Neither of those pig-arrows is mine *kât'êla ûchin-ûbatûl dîa yāba (da)* **2** (conj) ûchin-ûba (yā) ba (da) *See* **nor**

nephew, (s) âr-bā (da) *See* App viii

nest, (s) **1** âr-bârata (da), âr-râm (da) *See* **cover** **2** edible nest of the *Collocalia spodiopygia* bîlya-l'âr-râm (da) not used by Andamanese **3.** mason-wasp's-nest kōt-rîm (da) This is eaten as a cure for diarrhœa

net, hand- (s) **1.** for fishing kud (da) *See* App xiii **2** large, for trapping turtles, dugongs and large fish yōto-tépinga (da) *See* App xiii **3** small, for holding various articles in common use . châpanga (da) *See* App xiii, (v t) make a net têpi (ke)

netted ornament for personal wear (s) râb (da) *See* App xiii

nettle, (s) bêlə (da)

never, (adv) tâlik yāba (da), eda yāba (da), kichik (or ûchik)-wai-yāba (da) He will never restore it *ô l'en tâlik ar-dōkrake yāba (da)* I have never visited Calcutta *wai dôl eda kalkata len tabe yāba (da)* He never comes here *ôl eda kârin ònke yāba (da)* Never again tâlik-eda yāba (da) Being now old I shall never again hunt pigs *d'abjanggi l'edâre dô tâlik eda reg-deleke yāba (da)* Never mind! ûchin-dâke!, ârek-tōbatek dâke! Never mind! I will take it away myself to-night *ûchin dâke! wai dô gûrugya d'iji-ìkke*

nevertheless, (conj) ârek, ûba-ârek *See* Ex at **although**

new, (adj) gôi (da)

newly, (adv) gôila

news, (s) târtît (da) Good news has come *târtît bêringa ìk-ònre* There is nothing more in the way of news here *kârin târtît ñâ-ba*, or *kârin ñâ târtît yāba (da)* (v t) **1** communicate, impart, make known yâbnga-l'ôt-êr-ômo (ke) târ tît (ke) **2.** receive (*lit* hear) news târtît-ìdai (ke), târtît-ìk-òn (ke) *See* **hear, come, take away** We have received (*lit* heard) news that he is now chief of that district *meda târtît-ìdaire aña ôl ka-wai kât'êrema-l'êâte l'ôt-yûbur (da)*

next, (adj) **1** in ref to a period of time î-dôatinga (da), ōko-dôətinga (da) **2.** in order, as in a race âr-tōr (da), âr-ôlo (da) **3.** in a row or line of animate or inanimate objects târ-jana (da) **4.** next turn (in rotation) âr-ôlo-ka *See* **first-turn** next moon ogar l'a-îdôatinga (da) next time ñgâ tek, ig-pagi, tâlik The next time you come bring some nautilus shells *ngo ñgâtek on yate wai ōdo tôyuke* next one! (in distributing food or presents, as on parade) tun!

nice, (adj) in regard to flavour âka-hêringa (da)

nick-name, (s) ir-tarkinga (da) ting-l'ôt-donga (da) *See* **name** (v t) (v t) ôt-ting ōroke He first nick-named you Pagda *ol oldâ ngen pagda ot-ting ōrokre*

Nicobar Islands, (s) malai-ba-erema (da) (*lit* Malay country) *See* **bow of canoe**

niece, (s) ar-ba-pail (da) *See* App viii

niggardly, (adj) mean on-yate-jabag (da)

night, (s) gurug (da) last night gûrug-leate (da) There was a violent squall last night *gurug l'êâte ulnga togor-l'edâre* (adv) to-night gurug-len, gurug-ya, ka-gurug-len To-morrow night lilinga-gurug-len

nimbus, (s) rain cloud yum-l'ir-diya (da) *See* **cloud**

Nipa fruticans, (s) puta (da) The seed is eaten *See* App xi

nipple of breast, (s) kâm-l'ot-cheta (da), kâm-l'ōko-pat (da) kâm-l'oko-narchama (da)

no, (adv) **1.** denoting denial or inability yaba (da) **2.** refusal or disinclination ñam. Is he a jungle-dweller? *an ol erem-tâga (da)?* No (he is not), *yaba (da)* Give me a bow *den karama man* No (I won't) *ñam* There is no food here *kârin yât yaba (da)* (v t) say "no", deny, reply in the negative ir-tete (ke) I asked Bira whether his wife was still sick, he said "no, she is fishing to-day" *do bira len chîurare, an ngai ìkyate ñgaka abyedke, ôl ûtlanga bedig lârchi wai châna ka-wai yât-paneke* *See* **fish** (v t) and **net** No matter! *See* **never mind!**

nobody, (s) no one, no person ûchın-ôl . yāba (da) Nobody now-a-days lıves on that ısland *kâ tōt-bôka len kawaı-ârlaya ûchın-ôl bûduke yāba (da)*

no longer, (adv) **1.** never agaın, never more tâlık-eda yāba (da) (*i e* agaın-never not) *See* **never again** 2 not any moıe kawaı-tek yāba (da) (*i e* now-from not). My canoe ıs no longer serviceable *dîa iôko kawaı-tek mêdel yāba (da)*

no matter! *See* **never mınd**!

nod, (v ı) ın sleep 1 forwards ıg-ngâtya (ke) 2 sıdeways î-dêge (ke), î-dêrega (ke) **3.** on meetıng an acquaıntance ıg-ngôde (ke)

node, (s) joınt ın bamboo, etc ıg-ôtat (da) *See* **joınt**

noıse, (s) **1.** ar-yâlangaı (da) **2** of hammerıng ar-tanga (da) **3.** of a gun âkà-tegı (da) (v ı) **1.** make a noıse ar-yâlangar (ke) You must not make a noıse whıle turtle-huntıng *yâdı lôbınga bêdıg ngôl ûba-waık yâlangar (ke) dâke* 2 wıth ref to the fall or ıush of water only yâl (ke), yâla (ke) 3 make a noıse, of surf yenge (ke) *See* **breakers** 4 make a noıse, of bamboo cıackıng ın the fire or of a bottle burstıng tûchu (ke) Stop that noıse! tûho!

none, 1. (adj) not one, not any . . yāba (da) Have you none? *an ng'yāba (da)?* None at all *yāba-bōtaba* **2.** (pron) not one, no one (a) ûchın yāba (da), ûchın-ba None of the boys have yet returned from the pıg-hunt *ñgâkà ûchın âka-kâdaka ût'tek ıjı-êkalpıre yāba (da)*, (or *ñgâkà ûchın-ba l'âkà-kâdaka ût'-tek ıjı-êkalpıre*) (**b**) *mıja* (or *mıjı'at*) yāba (da) None here ıs afraıd *mıja kârın adlât yāba (da)?* (*lıt* Who here afraıd not?) None of the children came here yesterday *mıjı'at lıgala dîlêa kârın ònre yāba (da)?* (*lıt* Whose chıldren yesterday here came not?)

nonsense! (exclam) . kâka!, chō!, tot!, pêtek! (these words are used by men only) gêatek! (thıs word ıs used only by women)

noon, (s) . bôdo-châu (da) *See* **forenoon, afternoon** and App x

noose, (s) âkà-kōr (da)

nor, (conj) ôl-bêdıg (yā) ba (da), êâte (yā) ba (da) Neıther my turtle (flesh) nor your pork ıs now fit to eat, both aıe becomıng putrıd *ûchın-ûba dîa yâdı-dama ôl-bêdıg ngîa reg-dama kawaı makngalôyu-ba, waı ìkpōr chōroke* (or *â-jābake*)

north, (s) el-âr-jana (da), N E wınd pûluga-tâ (da), also pâpar-tâ (da) N E monsoon yêre-bôdo-tâ (da)

nose, (s) ıg-chōronga (da) (**a**) brıdge of ıg-chōronga-lânta (da) (**b**) tıp of ıg-chōronga-naıchama (da) (**c**) mucus of ıg-ñîlıb (da) (**d**) septum of ıg-êj-bā (da) (v t) blow the nose ıg-ñîlıb-l'ôyu-wêjerı (ke)

nostrıl, (s) ıg-chōronga-l'âr-jâg (da) *See* **chınk, crevıce, gap**

not, (adv) . 1 yāba (da) He has not yet come *ôl ñgâkà ònre yāba (da)* **2.** (ın construc only) ba I don't understand what you say *ngô târchî-yâte dô daıngaba* It ıs ouı custom not to eat the kıdney-fat of the pıg durıng the probatıonary fast *marat-dûru l'ekâra âkà-yâb-len reg-jîrımāknga-ba* 3 (ımpeıat) dâke, ngôke Do not steal! (*ngô*) *tâpke dâke*! (or *tâpke ngôke*!) [*N B* —When the ınjunctıon "must not" ıs employed "dâke"—not "yāba (da)" ıs used *See* Ex at lıe] **4** not agaın tâlık yāba (da) **5** not any more (never agaın) tâlık-eda yāba (da) **6.** not any more (no longer) ka-waı-tek yāba (da) **7.** not yet ñgâkà ba (or yāba) He has not yet recovered from hıs sıckness *ôl ngâkà tıg bônga-ba* **8.** not enough! (when not satısfied) yābalen-dâke! **9** not really! (you don't mean that! you don't say so!) (exclam) kak! (uttered ıncredulously)

nothing, (s) yāba (da) (adv) for nothing, **1.** gratis *See* **gratis** **2.** without cause *See* **causelessly** He abused me for nothing *ôl ôt-kâlya dad ab-tôgore*

notice, (v t) observe id-ngô (ke)

novitiate, (s) novice âka gôi (da) *See* **feast**

now, (adv) **1** immediately, in immediate future kâ-gôi Go now ! (at once) *ûchik kâ-gôi !* **2** of immediate past gôi, gôila, dāla He has now arrived here *ôl kârin gôil' âkà-ti dôwre* **3.** the present time âchitik, ka-wai It is now raining *âchitik yûm-la pâke*

now-a-days, (adv) in these days ka-wai-ârlalen, ka-wai-ârlaya

now and then, (adv) occasionally, from time to time . ñgâtek ñgâtek *See* **sometimes**

no-where, (adv) êr-len-yāba (da)

nude *See* **naked**

numb, (adj) "pins and needles" in any limb ît-l'â-ông-kârapnga (da) *lit* "mouse-limbs-biting", the phenomenon being attributed to the action of an invisible mouse

numerals are not used *See* App III for words used as ordinals

numerous *See* **many**

nurse, (v t) **1** ab-nōrâ (ke) When he was sick my wife nursed him *ôl abyednga bêdig dai îkyâte l'ad abnōrâre* **2** nurse a child by rocking it ar-lêla (ke) *See* **suckle**

nut, (s) ôt-chêta (da)

nux vomica, (s) êrepaid-tat (da)

O

O ! or **oh !** (interj) . hê ! *See* **Oh !**

oar, (s) *See* **paddle**

obedient, (adj) âkà-tegi-gâtnga (da), (âkà-)tegi-l'ôt-mâlinnga (da) *See* **remember, voice.**

obey, (v t) âkà-tegi-gât (ke), (âkà-) tegi-l'ôt-mâlin (ke)

oblige, (v t) compel *See* **make**

obscure, (adj) *See* **dim misty**

observe, (v t) notice id-ngô (ke)

obstinate, (adj) ig-lêta (da), **ab-**kōtijwânga (da)

obstruct, (v t) *See* **hinder, prevent**

obtain, (v t) **1.** procure ōro (ke) *See* **get** **2** by shooting or spearing ôt-rûg (ke) We obtained all this there this morning (by shooting) *med uchʼârdûru kâto dîlmalen otrugre*

occasionally, (adv) **1.** in the future . . ñgâtek ñgâtek **2** in the past âchin-ya

occiput, (s) ot ya (da)

occupant, (s) temporary resident êr-poli yâte (da) *See* **resident**

occupy a site, (v t) er wal (ke) *lit* clear a site, with a view to occupation

occupied, (p p) of a hut bûd poli-yâte (da)

occur, (v i) take place . ōko-dôati (ke) *See* **boar, happen what** A storm occurred at noon yesterday *dîlea bodo châu ulnga chanag oko doatire*

ocean, (s) juru (da)

ochre, (s) burnt yellow **ûpla** (da) When mixed with melted fat of the pig, turtle, iguana, etc , it is termed koiob (da) *See* App XIII.

octopus, (s) jang (da)

Odina wodier, (s) joi (da)

odour, (s) ôt àu (da) *See* **smell**

of, (postp) **1** belonging to ïa (da) The hut of my father *d'ab-maiol'ia bûd (da)* **2.** from, out from, among . tek. The tallest of those men is my elder brother *kâto bûla longkâlak tek ablâpanga yâte wai ad entōbare*

of course, (adv) **1** certainly, naturally . bō-tik, ba bōtik, keta, ûba yaba ba, (*lit* true-not-not) *See* **assure, certainly, untrue.** Who shot the pig ? *mija reg len taigre?* I, of course *wai keta dôl* I shall of course bring my wife *wai dô dai-îkyâte ba-botik*

abtôyungabo **2.** of course ! to be sure ! keta-ō ! , keta-wai-ō ! *See* **yes** Is it so ? (is it true ?) an-ûba ? of course it is ! *keta-wai-ō See* **true, yes 3.** of course, so it is an-a-keta *See* **true**

off, (postp) not on ôt-têra-tek, tek Take (*lit* move) your feet off my mat *dîa parepa tek ngòiot pâg ôchai* (or *dîa parepa l'ôt-têra-tek ngòiot pâg ôchai*) 2 start off (v i) as in commencing to run a race ara-pōrot (ke) 3 off ! (interj) as in starting a race pōrot ! 4 go off, (v i) explode, as a gun ara tûchu (ke) **5.** be off ! (interj) go away ! ûchik-wai-òn ! **6.** be off at once ! ûchik-rêo !, kâtik-rêo ! **7.** let us be off (esp when returning home) *môcho wijke* **8.** I'm off now *ka-wai d'ôke*

offal, (s) kōrnga (da)

offence, (s) crime witi (da) *See* **sin 2.** of an abusive nature ab-tôgo (da) *See* **dance**

offend, (v t) kêlemja (ke), entig-rêl (ke) Did I offend you yesterday ? (*lit* cause you to be angry) *an dô dîlêa ng'entigrêlre ?*

offensive, (adj) **1.** causing displeasure eb-ôt-kûk-jābaginga (da) **2.** as regards odour *See* **smell**

offer, (v t) iti-pani (ke) He offered me his own bow *ôl êkan kârama den iti-panire*

often, (adv) iji-lômga (da)

ogle, (v t) iji-ôdo (ke)

oh ! (interj) as in sudden pain yîh ! 2 as when startled yî-nono !

oil, (s) âna (da) turtle-oil yâdi-l'ig-âna (da)

oily, (adj) . lûbu (da)

old, (adj) **1.** of animate objects ab-chōioga (da) **2.** of inanimate objects . ya-ârla-ârdûru (da) **3.** ancient, referring to the remote past âr-tâm (da) *See* **kitchen-midden** This word is sometimes loosely employed to signify merely "former" See *ante*, p 16 (46) (s) old person ab-jang'gi (da), ab-chōioga (da) (if grey-headed) ab-tōl (da) *See* App vii (v i) grow old ab-chōroga (ke) , abjang'gi (ke)

omentum, (s) ab-jîri (da) *see* Ex at **not**

omit, (v t) leave out *See* **fall, leave**

on, (postp) **1.** upon yôboli , âr-yôboli , ya , len Sit on the grass *yûkala len yôboli âkà-dôi* (*ke*) He is standing **on** the beach (landing-place) *ôl pâla len* (or *ya*) *kâpike* 2 above, on the top of *See* **above 3.** when, while bêdig On seeing him once more (again) I was delighted *en tâlik igbâdignga bêdig d'ôtkûk-l'ârwâlakînire*

once, (adv) **1.** a single time ûba-dôga (da) , ûba-tûl (da) He struck me once on the head *ôl ûba-dôga d'ôt-parekre See* **annually 2** at one time, at first, at a former time otolâ (da). He was once the best shot amongst us all *ôl otolâ mardûru tek ûnyâb-tâpaya* (*l'edāre*) **3.** Once upon a time âchinbaiya Once upon a time God lighted a fire on Barren Island *âchinbaiya mō'la-târchōna len pûluga châpa-l'ōko-jôire* This island (no longer called "Smoke Island" but *tailichâpa* 'stone fuel") contains a fine symmetrical volcano, about 1,000 feet high, which has been quiescent since the early years of the 19th century For situation see Map 4 once more, again *See* **again, more,** and Ex at **on 5.** At once kâ-gôi **6.** once or twice . ôyun pônga He visited me once or twice during my illness *d'abyednga len ôl ôyun-pônga den îkâkare*

one, (adj) **1.** with ref to animals **and** inanimate objects ûba-tûl (da), ûba-dôga (da) Give me one bow to-day . *kawai kârama ûba-dôga d'en â* 2 with ref to human beings ab-ûba-tûl (da) , ab-ûba-dôga (da) (a) one-armed ig-gûd-âr-ûba-dôga (da) (b) one-legged ar-châk-âr-ûba-dôga (da)

(c) one-eyed îdal-âr-ûba-dôga (da) One more *See* **another, more** (pron) one's self êkan *See* **self** and **hurt** (adv) one by one, one at a time, (a) of inanimate objects ōko-lôdongaya (b) of animate objects âka-lôdongaya We will slaughter the pigs one by one *reg-lôngkâlak âka-lôdongaya med'akat-jaiñke* *See* **separately, singly**

only, (adj) sole (ab-)ûba-tûl (da) He is now my only son (father speaking) *ô kawai dar-ôdire ûba-tûl (da)* (adv) not more, without another, merely ôgun, ârek We all speared (between us) only two turtles last night *gûrug-ya med'ârdûru ôgun yâdi l'ikpōr dûtre*

opal, (s) ôgai-l'îdal (da) (*lit* "moon's eye") Milk-opal is found on Rutland Island (See Map)

open, (v t) **1.** a bundle, bag, net, &c wêlaiji (ke), âkà-lûpuji (ke), âkà-ô'châi (ke) **2** the eye îdal-l'ôt-têwi (ke) **3.** the mouth âka-têwi (ke) (v i) **1** of a loosely tied bundle, etc ōto-wêlaiji (ke) **2.** of the eye iji-waro (ke) **3.** of the mouth âkan-têwi (ke), âkan-wêdai (ke) (s) open jungle . êremwâlak (da)

Ophiophagus elaps, (s) *See* **hamadryad**

oppose, (v t) resist ab-kîdawa (ke)

opposite, (adj) facing âkà-elma-len They are sitting opposite to me *eda d'âkà-elma-len akat-dôike* (s) opposite shore or bank tedi-bala (da); (v i) be on the opposite shore or bank . tedi-bala (ke) See *ante*, page 24, in list of tribes, "âkà-balawa (da)," and Map showing the Archipelago as *opposite* the main island

or, (conj) **1.** an Give me either an adze or a pig-arrow *ûchin-ûba wôlo an ēla d'en a* *See* **either** and **may not** **2.** otherwise else kinig Make the bow like this (in this manner), or I shall be angry *ngô kanama kian ân kòpke, kinig dô tig rike* *See* **arouse**

order, (v t) **1.** direct kânik-yâp (ke) The Chief ordered it (so) *kian-âri maiola kânik yabre* **2.** order another to make (or do) something with the hands ông nama (ke) **3** order another to climb run swim etc ig nama (ke) **4.** put in order *See* **arrange** (s) command kânik (da) Why did you slaughter the fat pig without orders? *michalen ngo reg pata ba kanik aka jaiñre?* *See* **without** (conj) in order that aña *See* Ex at **provide** (postp) in order to, for the purpose of eb He has gone to that place in order to procure honey *ô kât'êr len âja kâraijnga l'eb kâtikre* We have all come here to-day in order to have a dance *ka wai m'ardurn koinga l'eb kârin ònre*

oriental, (s) esp native of India . chàugala

Orion's belt, (s) . bêla (da)

ornament, (v t) **1.** the person by means of pigments *See* **paint** **2** articles by means of certain small shells yâm (ke) *See* App xiii

ornaments, personal (s) âkà yâm-nga (da) *See* **armlet, chaplet, garter, neck lace, wristlet** and App xiii

orphan, (s) â bôlo (da), bôloka (da) The term "bâraij bôlo" is applied to an encampment during the period between the death of one chief and the appointment of his successor

osprey, (s) *Pandion haliaetus* . âranga (da)

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851

By S CHARLES HILL

(*Continued from p* 10)

XVII

FIGHT BETWEEN THE *THANKFUL* AND MARÂTHA PIRATES, 1697

The fight between Captain Perrin and the "Seevajees" illustrates the purely business character of Indian Piracy The Indian pirates were not broken men and outcasts like European pirates, though many such men found refuge in the towns along the coast, but were simply a sea-faring population, sometimes engaged in agriculture but making a living chiefly by trading, fishing *and* piracy on foreigners When the Marâthas made themselves masters of the west coast of the Indian Peninsula they made use of these men, nominally to protect trade, but really to attack that of other nations, in much the same way as Queen Elizabeth employed her seamen Under the Marâtha *régime* the English called these people "Seevajees" after the great Marâtha leader Sivajî In many documents the name is converted into the English word "Savages"

Declaration from Charles Perrin, Master of the ship Thankful, 24 *December* 1697

"*December the 6th* In sight of Batticola [Bhatkal] saw 12 sayle of Sevajees [Marâtha] Grabs and boates, whom at 7 in the morning was close by us One boat hailed us, we told them we were of Bombay He went to the rest who presently fired a shott at us We spread our colours, handed our small sailes and mainsayle, they still fireing both great and small guns We fired at them The fight lasted till one in the afternoon, at which time they retreated about half an hour, and then it was calme They sounded their trumpets and came on againe, at which time I called to them againe, bid them send one boat on board, look on the ship and then if [they] thought [they] could take her to fight againe They came and demanded 2000 rupees, without which they would take the ship I told them I knew of no wars between the English and the Sevajees, but if [there] was we were ready to fight againe, and would not fire againe at them before they came on board They went with this answer to their Admiral and came againe and askt one hundred rupees and some rice I told them I would give nothing They had seen the ship , if they thought [they] could take her, come away for we was ready They rowed a little towards us and then went away to the Southward, which is all the remarkable hath been seen by

Your Honours humble Servt

Charles Perrin"

Suratt, December 24th, 1697

[*India Office Records, O C* 6473]

XVIII

A "MOOR" (MUHAMMADAN) SHIP MISTAKEN FOR A PIRATE, 1700

The colours ordinarily used by the "Moors," *i e* Indian Muhammadans, were a *plain red flag* [95] Since all Europeans used the *red* or *bloody flag* as both a signal for attack

[95] "We spread our colours and fired a gun to leeward, upon which they spread a Moores ensign all red &c"—Log of the *Charles the Second* (Capt John Dorrill), 31st Oct 1697.

and also as a sign of "No Quarter" or "No Surrender", in which signification it was also used as an emblem of Piracy, the Muhammadan flag was liable to be misunderstood by the Company's cruisers, especially when a ship carrying it refused to submit to examination Captain White, being on the look out for pirates, considered it his duty to examine all suspicious vessels, and had, of course, to explain his conduct when regrettable incidents occurred

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Declaration of Captain Richard White and officers regarding a fight with a Muhammadan ship

"The 23rd day of February 1700 in the latitude of 21 degrees and 26 minutes North and Meridian Dist West from St John's[96] 2 degrees 39 minutes, att two of the clock in the afternoone, see a saile to windward of us with his larboard tacks on board, the wind att N Wt Wee stood towards him with our starboard tacks, and at four haveing gained allmost up with him, hoisted our colours, and hee not haveing sattisfyed us with a return of his, fired a shott, wide of his forefoot,[97] for him to bear downe and acquaint us what hee was Hee then hoisted red colours for a little time and hauled them down again, but would not bare downe, so wee tackt and weather'd up with him, and shortned saile under his lee, calling to him by one William Thornburye our Pilott, in the Moors language, to brace too and inform us what hee was I assured him wee were friends and that if hee was an Indian Trading Shipp or upon any honest account,[98] wee were the King of England's shipps and would doe him noe manner of damage, that wee came to protect them by endeavouring to apprehend the Pirates, and told them if they had noe boate on board wee would send ours to sattisfy him what wee was and bee informed what they were, but I had noe other answer than two or three shott one after another and without any colours, which entered the mainsayle and foresayle, and immediately thereupon in Moors language (as our Pilate informed us) cald out and bid us, "Goe to Hell! Goe to Hell! Wee wont acquaint you nor trust you Goe to Hell!"

I bid him have a care what hee did except hee designed to have his shipp sunk, butt makeing the same return of words again and still fireing att us, I gave him my larboard broadside and doe suppose itt did some damage, after that backt astern and hauld up to windward of him, and gave him my starboard broadside, which did him noe less damage. I plyed him in this manner till two of the clock this morning, having received severall shot from him in my sayles and rigging, but I thought it in vain, seeing him so resolute, to fire any more till brake of day, having disabled him and therefore [being] sure of him

I must confess at last I took him for a Pirate or an Arab, who are very insolent in these parts, and fireing without his colours, as well as before the evening was sett in as after, did confirm me in the same opinion I could not conceive him to be a Moors'[99] ship, because they generally love peace and quietness att sea, and the next morning when I came up with him fir'd severall shott att me without colours His rashness has caused his shipp to bee disabled, tho I endeavoured what I could to hinder itt if he would have

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[96] Sanjân, 88 miles north of Bombay See Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, s v Saint John's for the history of the term —ED

[97] Foremost piece of the keel —ED

[98] A ship was said to be *on the account* when she was engaged in piracy

[99] A ship belonging to an Indian Muhammadan So Indian Hindus were known to the British as Gentoos or Gentiles

comply'd with my demand in acquainting me what he was As all these matters ought to be justify'd by a faire account when requir'd, I have deliver'd this to the perusall of my officers to justify the thing with mee, as being satisfy'd to the truth of itt, and there being no opportunity to attest the same by affidavit

I subscribe with them to all these transactions

Richard White, G Martin, Lieut, James Bartlett Mr, &c &c"

[*India Office Records, O C* 7463]

XIX

HOW THE DUTCH WERE FRIENDS OF THE PIRATES, 1703

Madagascar as a base for European piracy in the Red and Indian Seas had the advantage of its great security from attack and the facility with which stores could be replenished and crews recruited, but it was not a good market for booty Thus the pirates considered themselves fortunate when they found that the Dutch Settlements on the Malabar Coast were quite ready to trade with them, of course *sub rosa*, taking their spoil in return for cash, stores, wine and provisions To the Dutch this trade had a double advantage It furnished them with proofs that the chief pirates belonged to the nation of their hated rivals, the English, and this information they handed on in such a way as to lead the native Government to believe that the pirates were really the ships of the English Company On the other hand, what they bought cheap from the pirates they could sell again at good prices to their native customers or, if suitable, send to Europe It was trade made easy as well as lucrative [100]

Some assistance also the pirates obtained from the French islands of Bourbon (Mascarine or Don Mascarenhas)[1] and Mauritius [2] Here, however, the motive for their reception was the inability of the French Governors to offer any resistance

Extract of a letter from Captain George Wesley[3] *to Mr Pennyng, Chief at Calicut Dated* [*Râjâpur*] 7 *November* 1703

"Three years past one Captain Merrino, a Frenchman and French Company, took a ship belonging to Surat off or near Cape Aden and made a prize of her, wherein was considerable riches, and . sailed for the island of Mascarenha [Bourbon], a general rendezvous for pirates, where the said Merrino is now settled and actually become an inhabitant This relation I had from some of his own ship's Company, which are Frenchmen and belonged to the ship I was imprisoned in The same year was taken, off St John's [Sanjân], a Surat ship by the ship *Speaker*, whose Company consisted of all nations to my certain knowledge, the major part being now in the Pirates on the Coast, and the same

[100] See also Episode XX, *infra*

1 "The first inhabitants were pirates who settled here about 1657 bringing with them negro" (*i e* native Malagasy) women from Madagascar Bernardin de St Pierre, *Voyage to the Isle of France*, p 192

2 Abandoned by the Dutch about 1712 and settled by the French from Bourbon See Bernardin de St Pierre, *Voyage to the Isle of France*, p 54

3 Commander of the *Pembroke*, taken by Bowen at Mayotta (Comoros) 10 March 1703 (*Madras Consultations*, 31 May 1703)

Commander, John Bowen, here near Callequilon they took Captain Conaway[4] from Bengal, selling ship and goods in shares, *i e*, one third part to a marchant of Callequilon,[5] another third to a merchant of Porca,[6] the other third to Malpa [? Tam Mallappan] the Dutch broker of this place, which relation I had from Captain Bowen and several of his Company, then left the Coast and sailed for the Island of Madagascar but in the way was lost on the Island of Mauritius, on St Thomas' Reef,[7] where they were most courteously received and feasted, their sick carried into their fort and cured by their doctor, and a new sloop sold them and supplied with all sorts of necessities for their cutting her and making her a brigantine, which they performed by the middle of March, and took their leave of the Governor, giving him 2,000 pieces of eight their vessels and necessaries, leaving their lascars with him to be conveyed for Surat, and being invited to make it a place for refreshment, sailed for the Island of Madagascar, where at a place on the east coast called Maritan,[8] the Captain with a gang settled themselves till two Scotch ships or vessels falling in the port were both surprised and taken by them[9]

"By another gang which was settled at St Augustine [St Augustine's Bay] the ship *Prosperous* [Captain Hilliard] was taken The remainder went for New Methelege,[10] where they gave the King their brigantine, where I saw her and left her when the pirates sailed from thence The pirates, having these three in their possession, in searching after one another, lost one of the Scotch vessels, but at last two met at Mayotta [Comoros], where it was my misfortune to fall into their hands and detained by them after they had slain my chief mate and another European and plundered what they pleased let the ship go and sailed for Methelage, from thence to the islands of Mayotta and Johanna from thence to the highlands of St John's, off which and at Surat's river mouth they took two sail of Surat ships from Mocha, she at the river's mouth was taken by Thomas Howard in the *Prosperous*, the other by John Bowen in the *Speedy Return*, a Scotch ship, having taken the following sums out of each ship, *viz*, out of her taken at the river's mouth 168,000 pieces of eight, counting each piece of gold two pieces of eight. In the other ship was taken 88,000 pieces of eight, at the same reckoning One ship they left adrift at Daman[11] without anchor or cable, the other they carried to Rajapore[12]

"Thus by the help of our friends' [*i e*, the Dutch of Mauritius] brigantine have been taken six sail of ships and hundreds [of people] ruined. Here in Rajapore was both the pirates ships burnt and both Companies transported on board the Surat ship, detaining about 70 lascars, mounting 56 guns and 164 fighting men, of which part

4 Capt John Conaway in the *Borneo* was taken by the *Speaker* (Capt John Bowen) on the Malabar Coast, 28 October 1701 *India Office Records, O C* 7768

5 Cully Quilou (Kâyankalam), a port in Quilon division, Travancore Ed

6 Porca (Purâkkâdû) on the coast of Travancore -Ed.

7 Probably one of the group of small islands to the north of Mauritius name now apparently forgotten —Ed

8 Probably Antongil Bay in the district or local kingdom of Androna whose principal fortress was Marotándrana —Ed

9 These were the *Speedy Return* (Capt Robert Drummond) and the *Content* Brigantine (Capt Stewart)

10 This place, called also in Episode XX *infra* (p 62) Massaledge, seems to represent Manomeloka on a small inlet on the east coast of Madagascar just below lat 20° -Ed.

11 Damân, on the coast of Gûjarât

12 Râjâpur, Ratnâgiri District, Bombay.

are 43 English, the better part of the Company French, the rest Negroes, Dutch &c nations that cries 'yaw'[13], from where they sailed to the Coast of Mallabar, and about three leagues to the northward of Cochin they anchored and fired several guns, but no boat coming off, the quartermaster went near the shore and had conference by boat with the people, who supplied them next day with hogs &c refreshments And from Malpa [Mallappan] the Dutch broker came a messenger, who advised of the ship *Rhimae*,[14] her being in Mud Bay,[15] and that if the pirates would take her he would buy her of them, this I heard myself, and that they should be supplied with pitch, tar and other necessaries

"I took an opportunity to ask the messenger, Who sends the things on board? Not knowing but that I was one of the pirates, [he] told me, The Dutch, but he should be sent off with them But before he brought them on board I got clear of the pirates There had been several Dutch on board before I got ashore, and since my abode here for my health I have seen no difference, [in their treatment] between a pirate and a merchant ship, both black and white flocking off with all sorts of merchandizes and refreshments, jewels, plate and what not, returning with coffers of money And Malpa, the broker, has been so impudent as to offer them to sail [? sell] a small ship, which they want and asked one Thomas Punt[16] to carry her off to them, who denied him, telling him, now he was not ashamed to show his face, but should he be guilty of so base an action, he must never see the face of his countrymen [again], which made the gentleman change his countenance

"Thus are these villains encouraged by our pretended friends, which Auga Rhimae [Aghâ Rahmân] cannot chuse but see, and, if at his arrival at Surat [he] will speak the truth, must declare the same I would have waited on him to that purpose, but so feared of being taken notice of and lose the benefit of the physician, which at present I am in great need of, I dare not do it

"These being the heads of what I remember and what I heard and had from their mouths in discourse at several times from the reports of the pirates on board them in my seven months imprisonment, having omitted nothing but the many hazards of life and abuses received from these villains &c &c

GEORGE WESLEY "

[T B Howell's *State Trials*, Vol XIV, p 1302]

(To be continued)

THE MUNDEŚVARÎ INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYASENA · THE YEAR 30

BY N G MAJUMDAR, B A CALCUTTA

THIS inscription was discovered near the temple of **Mundeśvarî** on a hill close to the village of Râmgarh, seven miles south-west of Bhabuâ in the Bhabuâ sub-division of the district of Shâhâbâd, Bihar One part of the stone bearing the inscription was found about twenty-eight years ago, and it was in 1903 that the removal of the *débris* around the temple

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13 People, (Germans and Scandinavians) who say *ja* ('yaw') for yes

14 *I e*, the ship belonging to Aghâ Rahmân See *infra* —ED

15 Probably the inlet of Machhakundi (the Fishpond) off Râjâpur —ED

16 As Captain of the *Essex* he was captured by the pirate John Halsey in August 1707 Halsey plundered the ship and let her go *Surat Factory Records* Letter from Robt Adams, 17 Sept 1707

led to the discovery of the other part. The two pieces were sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, at different dates. They were afterwards joined together by an iron band, and are now to be found in the Inscription Gallery of the Museum. A summary of its contents appeared in the late Dr. Bloch's *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle,* for the year 1904, pp. 9-10.[1] It was subsequently edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IX, p. 289 f. and Plate. As Mr. Banerji's transcript and translation of the epigraph can be amended in more than one place and as his conclusions about the age of the record are in my opinion open to some doubt, no excuse, I think, is needed for re-editing the inscription.

The stone consists of four faces. The inscription is on one face only, and above that is sculptured a half five-leaved water-lily; there are traces of bold lettering at the back and also on one of the sides. The inscription consists of 18 lines of well-executed writing covering a space of about 2′ high by 1′-½″ broad. Some of the letters between the two halves of the stone, now pieced together, have been broken away and lost. The lower part of the first half containing the last two lines has been destroyed, and the letters of even the preceding line are greatly damaged. Otherwise, the writing is in a perfect state of preservation and is generally legible throughout. The size of the letters in line 1 (which records the date) is larger than those in the rest of the inscription; roughly it varies from 4/5″ to 2/5″. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are, speaking generally, similar to those of the Allâhâbâd pillar-inscription of Samudragupta,[2] with some differences in details, e.g. the formation of *p, s, l,* medial *î* and *e* and subscript *r*. They also bear a family likeness to those of the Meherauli pillar-inscription of Chandra,[3] the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II[4] and the Barâbar and Nâgârjunî cave-inscriptions of Anantavarman.[5] It is a fact worthy of notice that almost all the characters of the Muṇḍeśvarî inscription are Early Gupta in type and traceable to the records of that period. The palæography of the inscription will be discussed later; meanwhile, in regard to the form of some of the individual letters the following points may be worth noting, most of which appear to have been overlooked by Mr. Banerji. The first line contains no less than six box-shaped superscript *i*-s, but in the following lines it is of the usual cursive type; in *viditvâ*, l. 12 we have to note the later type of *i-kâra* (in *di*) which is, however, the only instance of the type that the record contains. An exact parallel of the promiscuous use of box shaped and cursive *i*-s is to be found in the Meherauli pillar-inscription of Chandra.[6] Interesting also is the form of *î* (e.g. in *-kâlîyam,* l. 8) which from about the middle of the fourth century A.D. begins to appear in the Northern alphabet, e.g. in parts IV and V of the *Bower MS.* (ed. Hoernle, Table II) and the Karaṁdâṇḍâ inscription of Kumâragupta, dated G.E. 117.[7] The medial *u* is formed by a hook as in the Allâhâbâd pillar-inscription as well as by thickening the lower end of the stem (e.g. in *°nupâlanam,* l. 8). The medial *û* is of the regular Early-Gupta type as in the Gadhwâ inscriptions of Chandragupta II and Kumâragupta[8] (e.g. in *pûrvvâyâm,* ll. 12 and 13 of the two inscriptions respectively). The *ai* consists of two superscribed strokes (e.g. in *-taila,* l. 9) as in the Meherauli pillar-inscription. The characters include the very rare final *t* in l. 15 and final *m* in l. 18, and

1 See also *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India,* 1902–3, p. 43.

2 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions,* Pl. I.

3 *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI-A.

4 *Ibid.*, Pl. III A.

5 *Ibid.*, Pls. XXX-B, XXXI-A and XXXI-B.

6 See *FGI.*, Pl. XXI-A.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Pl. opposite p. 71.

8 *FGI.*, Pl. IV, B and C.

the rather rare *n* and *ñ* in ll 1 and 16 respectively As regards *n* which occurs twice in conjunct groups, it resembles exactly the same letter e g in the Barâbar cave-inscription of Anantavarman[9] (in *śârnga*, l 6) and varies in position as it stands (cf *trinśa*° and *dvâvinsa*°, l 1). The *y* is invariably tripartite The superscript *r* is shown above the vertical, but in the case of *y* only it is written on the line The *â* is added on to a superscribed *r*[10] Particularly interesting is the rare sign of interpunction which occurs four times in the inscription (in ll 6 and 11). This sign is similar to the one occurring in the *Bower MS* which dates from about the middle of the fourth century A D according to Hoernle (cf Table V). The symbol *om* is of the dextrorsal form having much resemblance to those occurring in the same MS[11] and the Barâbar cave-inscription of Anantavarman[12]

The language is Sanskrit prose throughout, excepting the last two lines containing an imprecatory verse of which a portion only is now extant It is, however, not always grammatically correct and contains at least four solecisms[13] e g the wrong use of the affix *ktvâch* in *prârtthayitvâ*, l 4, the violation of the rule of euphony in *may = etat*, l 6, the irregular case-ending in *tandula prastha-dvayan*, l 8, and the use of masculine (or neuter) for feminine in *asmin*, l 2, and neuter for masculine in *etat*, l 6 In *kântaka*, l 6, we have to note the addition of the affix *ka* Cf *Gupta Inscrs*, p 69 and Kielhorn, *Ep Ind*, Vol VII, p 159, n 7 In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are the following the use of a guttural nasal instead of an *anusvâra* before the palatal *ś*[14] in *trinsati*[me] and *dvâvinśatime*, l 1, the use of a labial nasal instead of an *anusvâra* twice in the word *sambatsara*, ll 1 and 2, where we have also to note the use of *b* for *v*, the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in *pittroh*, l 5 and of a letter except *y* after a superscript *r* in *pûrvvâyâm*, l 2, *â-chandrârkka*°, l 7, and *r = vvâ*, l 13, *th* becomes *tth* after a superscript *r* in *prârtthayitvâ*, l 4 and *naivedy-ârttham*, l 8, final *t* and *m* are written somewhat lower than the line (e g in *vaset*, l 15 and *pûrvvâyâm*, l 2), the medial *â* stroke varies in length (cf *yathâkâlâ*°, l 12 and *mahâsâ-manta*, l 2), the absence of an *avagraha* before °*nupâlanam*, l 18, the change of an *anusvâra* to a palatal nasal in *uktañ = cha*, l 16, final *m* has been retained, where *anusvâra* should have taken its place, in *pûrvvyâm*, l 2 and *-nikâyam*, l 11, and the *dh* of the conjunct *dhy* is doubled in *-âddhyâsi*°, l 12 As regards lexicography, the words *koshthikâ*, l 7 *yathâkâl-âddhyâsin*, l 12 and *tâpovanika*, l 13 deserve to be noted The first word, *viz koshthikâ* is found probably in a Gadhwâ stone inscription (Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs*, p 268, l 3) and certainly in a Dâmodarpur copper-plate of the reign of Budhagupta[15] There is no doubt that the *koshthikâ* of our inscription clearly means 'store-room', inasmuch as provision is made for the supply of oil and rice therefrom The word *kotthaka* (=Sk *koshthaka*) which is found in the Pâli literature, in connection with *vihâra*, appears also to have the same sense[16] Mr Banerji, however, renders the word *koshthikâ*

9 *FGI*, Pl XXX B, l 6 and cf *Bower MS*, Table I

10 This is an archaic sign Cf, e g the Nâsik cave inscription of Ushabhadâta, *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, Pl IV, opposite p 78

11 *Bower MS*, *Intro* (Bombay, 1914), p 22, fig 8 12 *FGI*, Pl XXXB, l 3

13 Such violations of the rules of Sanskrit grammar are characteristic of the documents of the Early Gupta period—cf Hoernle's remarks, *op cit*, pp 73–5

14 Cf Buhler's remarks, *Indian Palæography* (Eng Trans), p 47

15 A transcript of this inscription, which will be shortly published in the *Epigraphia*, was kindly placed at my disposal by Mr Radhagovinda Basak For the Gadhwâ inscription, cf *infra*, p 23, n 48

16 It has been translated by Jacobi and Rhys Davids as 'store room' —See *Vinayapitaka*, *SBE*, Vol XX, pp 109, n 1 and 177, n 1 Cf also the Sanskrit words *koshtha* and *koshthâgâra* and Marâthi *kothi* (Molesworth's Marâthi-English Dict, s v) which are all used in this sense

by 'treasury' But this interpretation is controvertible as rice and oil are surely not things which may be expected to be hoarded up in treasuries The next word, *viz* *yathâkâl-âddhyâsin* has been rendered by him as 'who arrive at the proper time', and Professor Sten Konow suggests 'those who come and worship from time to time' (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 290 and n 4) Even previous to this the expression was known from a number of epigraphic documents, *e g* the Deobaranark inscription of Jivitagupta,[17] the Khâlimpur copper-plate of Dharmapâla,[18] the Lucknow Museum copper-plate of Balavarmadeva[19] and some Orissa inscriptions, such as the Katak copper-plates of Mahâbhavagupta[20] It occurs again in the recently published copper-plates of Kulastambha[21] Fleet translated it as 'those who presided at different times' (*Gupta Inscrs*, p 218), and Kielhorn as 'as they may be present from time to time' (*Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 250), and also as 'present and future' (*ante*, 1891, p. 123) The editor of the grants of Kulastambha, M M Haraprasâd Sâstrî, most conveniently omits the expression in his translation I am afraid, however, that its proper sense has not yet been properly understood, and the interpretations proposed are open to criticism The clue to its real meaning is, in my opinion, furnished by the Faridpur grants (ed Pargiter, *ante*, 1910, pp 195, 200 and 204) which have *adhyâsanakâle* in the sense of 'during the administration (*of*)' Again, whenever in inscriptions the expression *yathâkâl-âdhyâsin* is used as an adjective, it is invariably found to qualify certain administrative functionaries For instance, in the Lucknow Museum copper-plate it is an adjective of *râjakulas* or 'royal dynasties', and in the Katak copper-plate of Mahâbhavagupta, of certain officers like *samâhartrin*, *sannidhâtrin*, *niyuktaka* and so forth The only natural conclusion that suggests itself to me is, therefore, that when it is used adjectively it means, 'those who administer from time to time', and when substantively, 'the successive administrative officers'[22] In the present record the allusion is most probably to the officers who had to superintend the various affairs of the *matha* The next word that deserves our attention is *tâpovanika* Mr Banerji wrongly read it as *r=âpovanika* and took it in the sense of 'the merchants who trade on the waters (?)' The word should, however, be read as *tâpovanika* and derived from *tapovana* It would naturally mean the inhabitants of the *tapovana*, *i e*, the ascetics, who are in all likelihood the *mahants* or pontiffs of the *maṭha*

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahâsâmanta Mahâpratîhâra Mahârâja* **Udayasena**, and is dated, in words, **the 22nd of Kârttika of the year 30** of an unspecified era. Its object is to record the erection of a *matha* of the god Vinîteśvara, the daily provision of two *prasthas* of rice and one *pala* of oil for the offering and lamp respectively, as well as certain other gifts of the value of 50 *dînâras* by the *daṇḍanâyaka* Gomibhata

But what is the **age** of the inscription? This question has been discussed by Mr Banerji (*op cit*, p 285f) who is of opinion that the record belongs to the first part of the seventh century A D This theory is apparently traceable to the remarks of the late Dr Bloch in his *Annual Report*, p 9 According to him, the date of the inscription, *viz* the year 30, 'from the shape of the characters must be referred to the Harsha era' of A D. 606 This surmise on the part of Dr Bloch has, however, not been substantiated.

17 *FGI*, pp 216, 218
18 *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, pp 250, 245, n 3
19 *Ante*, 1891, p 123.
20 *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 347, ll 5-6
21 *JBORS*, Vol II, pp 402, l 21 and 406, l. 10.
22 The word *yathâkâl âdhyâyin* which occurs in the Sonpur plates of Someśvaradeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p 240) is evidently a mistake

by subsequent research, so far as I know, and I cannot bring myself to accept it. But to prove my point it is necessary to go into details Our inscription is on stone and comes from Bihar To study its palæography, therefore, it is but natural to take into cognizance other lithic records discovered in the same province And if the characters of our inscription are found to be essentially similar to those of any other Bihar inscription, whose date is known, we may very well rest assured that the former cannot be far removed in date from the latter Now, if it be assumed by scholars that the Mundesvarî inscription belongs to the seventh century A D, as no doubt Mr Banerji has done, it is to be expected that the alphabetic characteristics of that epigraph should be found to prevail in other seventh century Bihar inscriptions also Roughly speaking, they must be found in such stone records as were incised in Bihar at least between A D 600 and 800 And such inscriptions are the Bodhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman dated 588-89 A D [23] and the Âphsad inscription of Âdityasena [24] whose date must fall in the latter half of the seventh century A D The question therefore arises whether the characters of the Mundeśvarî inscription, if it is to be assigned to this period, are similar to those of the above two records A comparison of the letters *k*, *r*, *ś*, *h*, *y*, the medials *i* and *î* and so forth of the Mundeśvarî inscription with those of the Âphsad inscription is enough to show that these two records can never be relegated to the same period The latter, as Fleet rightly says, "really differs but little from the modern Devanâgarî" (*Gupta Inscrs*, p 202), while the former as I have already stated, presents alphabetic forms which are traceable to epigraphs of the Early Gupta period (*supra*, p 22) For instance, in the former the letter *k* consists of a plain curved line intersecting a straight upright, whereas in the latter the right part of the curve develops into a loop The letter *r* in the former is a mere straight upright without any appendage, while in the latter not only does its lower end develop into a wedge but the right extremity of even that wedge is elongated The most interesting letter, however, is *y* which is tripartite in the former, but a 'fully developed Devanâgarî' in the latter Again, the tails of the curves of medial *i* and *î* are in the latter regularly drawn down low and fully expressed, but they are in all cases but one absent in the former [25] Even setting aside these and other differences in alphabetic forms which it is useless to enumerate, the great fact remains that the Mundesvarî inscription contains 'right-angled' whereas the Âphsad 'acute-angled', forms of letters It is, therefore, but reasonable to place the former considerably earlier than the latter But we may go even one step further and say that it is earlier than even the Bodhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman which is also in acute-angled characters like the Âphsad inscription, and likewise presents some modern Nâgarî forms. The palæography of the Mundeśvarî inscription, therefore, leaves no doubt that it is to be placed earlier than at least the latter half of the sixth century A D The year 30 of the record cannot be, therefore, referred to the Harsha era of A D 606, and as such there remains no other known era to which it may be assigned except the Gupta era of A D 318-19 The date of the record thus becomes equivalent to A D 348-49

It seems to me that by not following the above method of settling the date of the inscription Mr Banerji has placed himself in serious difficulties In his paper on the Patiakella grant of the *Mahârâja* Śivarâja, dated [G E] 283 = A D 602 he makes

[23] *FGI*, p 274

[24] *Ibid*, p 200

[25] For these details see *Ind Pal*, pp 54-6

the following remark about its palæography "The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Mundesvarî inscription of Udayasena, from the Shâhâbâd district" (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 285) This general remark he has illustrated *in extenso* by definite examples, but they are, I am compelled to say, far from being of a convincing nature For, he himself admits, for instance, that the letters *y* (which is tripartite) and *n* of the Mundeśvarî inscription are of '**the Early Gupta type**'—a point of great importance which seems to have been missed when he assigns the record to the Harsha era and refers it to A D 636 This conclusion is based by him on a consideration of the affinity of characters existing between this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 (of the Harsha era) from Nepal (*op cit*, p 289) But I submit, this comparison, and consequently the conclusion that it leads to, are incorrect First, because, inscriptions of the same provenance, although they are available, have not been brought together for comparison which is a mistake in any palæographic examination of a scientific nature There is no paucity of stone inscriptions, which date from the Harsha period and are not distant from the place whence our record comes, such *e g* as the Bodhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman and the Âphsad inscription of Âdityasena referred to above Secondly, mere similarity of character between any two inscriptions is not enough to show that they necessarily belong to the same period, especially when they are separated by long distances This important point is undoubtedly admitted by Buhler, who points out that the eastern variety of the epigraphic Gupta alphabet of the fourth and fifth centuries A D represented *e g* by the Allâhâbâd pillar-inscription of Samudragupta is to be found even in Pandit Bhagvanlal's inscriptions from Nepal[26] which belong to the seventh century A.D But if we follow Mr Banerji's line of argument we shall be compelled to assign the Allâhâbâd pillar-inscription to the age of the Nepal inscriptions—a conclusion which I am afraid, no palæographist can ever bring himself to accept The Mundesvarî inscription cannot, therefore, precisely for the same reason, be brought in a line with the Nepal inscriptions, a fact which is in opposition to the remark of Mr Banerji that "The palæography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the sixth and ending with the first half of the seventh century A D can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal" (*Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, p 286)

It has been stated above that the inscription is throughout in right-angled characters, but the inscriptions with which it has been chronologically grouped by Mr. Banerji, *viz* the Bodhgayâ and Âphsad inscriptions, are in acute-angled characters This fact is rather interesting as it has an important bearing on the chronology of the records in question Acute-angled form of letters has been accepted by Buhler as a prominent characteristic of the North Indian epigraphs from the sixth century A D onwards [27] And Mr Banerji too, does not seem to have disputed it [28] It is difficult to reconcile this with the fact that the Mundeśvarî inscription, which is assigned by him to the seventh century A D, is entirely in right-angled instead of acute-angled characters. In discussing the palæography of the four Faridpur grants[29] which he calls spurious, Mr Banerji explains

[26] *Ind Pal*, p 46 [27] *Ibid*, p 49

[28] "The presence of the acute angle,' he admits, "is also another important feature in the determination of the characteristics of the alphabet"—*JASB*, N S, Vol VII, p 295

[29] *The Evidence of the Faridpur grants—Ibid*

it by asserting that "In the Eastern variety of the Northern alphabet the latest use of the right-angled characters seems to be in the Mundeśvarî inscription" But to my mind this statement has not been proved and should therefore be treated as a personal opinion only As I have already said, just because this record presents right-angled characters it must be taken to be of an earlier age than the Bodhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman which shows the acute-angled form of letters And does not Buhler in formulating his theory about acute-angled inscriptions, refer to this record as the *earliest* example? [30] Mr Banerji no doubt anticipates this palæographic difficulty and in his second paper on the alleged spuriousness of the Faridpur grants,[31] meets it, to my mind unconvincingly, by saying that the Bodhgayâ inscription "should never be taken to be the prototype of the Eastern variety of the Northern Indian epigraphs of the sixth century A D," because, "it cannot be said that the characters represent the ordinary epigraphic alphabet of the North-eastern India of the sixth century" But what is this specimen of 'the ordinary epigraphic alphabet of the North-eastern India of the sixth century?' This obviously is the Mundeśvarî inscription, and the Bodhgayâ inscription, therefore, can only become extra-ordinary because, it presents 'much more advanced forms' than those of the former In my judgment this is putting the cart before the horse Instead of regarding the Mundeśvarî inscription as prior to the Bodhgayâ record, as logical reasoning would require us, it becomes necessary to maintain that the former is posterior to the latter The Bodhgayâ inscription becomes the ordinary epigraphic alphabet of the North-eastern India of the sixth century if it be but regarded as of a later period *En passant* it may be remarked that Mr Banerji has used the palæography of this record which he places in the seventh century A D as one of the evidences to show that the Faridpur grants are forgeries But if my contention is proved to be right his arguments would lose much of their force And there seems no objection to taking the documents as original, as Mr. Pargiter has done This question, however, I leave aside for discussion in a subsequent paper

Text [32]

1 Om[33][|] **Sambatsare**[34] **trinśa[ti]**—[35] [**Kâ**]rttika-
divase dvâvinśatime [36]

2 asmin[37] = sambatsara[38]-mâsa-[di]— —
-pûrvvâyâm[39] śrî-mahâsâmanta

3 mahâpratîhâra-mahârâj-**O—yasena**-[40]
râjye kulapati-**Bhâgudalana**-[41]

4 s- sadevanikâyam[42] daṇda—yaka[43]-
Gomibhatena prârtthayitvâ[44]

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[30] See *Ind Pal*, p 49

[31] *Four Forged grants from Faridpur—JASB*, N S, Vol X, pp 433-4

[32] From the original stone and a set of ink impressions [33] Expressed by a symbol

[34] Read *saṃvatsare*

[35] Restore *trinśatime* which should be corrected to *trimśattame*

[36] Should be corrected to *dvâvimśatitame* For forms like this, cf, *e g* *FGI*, p 268, l 1

[37] Should be corrected to *asyâm* [38] Read *samvatsara*

[39] Restore *divasa* and supply *tithau* Cf such date wordings in other Gupta records

[40] Restore *-Odayasena*

[41] The last letter *n* seems to have been inadvertently omitted, but afterwards engraved above the preceding letter *ḷa* in a somewhat smaller form

[42] Read *Bhâgudaḷanam sa devanikâyam* [43] Restore *daṇḍanâyaka*

[44] Should be corrected to *prârthayitya*

5 mâtâ-pittror=âtmanaś=cha pu[ny]-âbhi-
vriddhaye Vinîteśvara-matha-samâ-
6 veśam may=etat[45]=kâritakam [| *]—[46]
Nârâyana-devakulasya [|] [47]
7 śrî-Mandaleśvarasvâmi[pâ]—[ya] [48]
koshthikâtah â-chandr-ârkka-sama-
8 kâlîyam=akshayam prati— —[49]naivedy-
ârttham[50] tandula-prastha-dvayam[51]
9 [dî]patailapalasya ch=o— —[ba]ndhah[52]
kâritah śrî-Mandaleśvara-
10 svâmipâdânâm vi[chchhitti ?]— —nta
tantra-sâdhâranam[53] pañchâśatâm
11 dinârânâm go-ba[li] [54]—ja-bhakt-âdy-
upakaranâni [|]
12 devanikâyasya da[ttâ]- —[de]vam[55] viditvâ
yathâkâl-âddhyâ[s]i[bhi]
13 tâpovanikair[56]=vvâ ya— -[ni]baddhasya[57]
vighâto na kâ[rya] [| *]

[45] *matham=etat*—Mr Banerji But the reading is very clear both on the stone and the impressions

[46] Restore *Śri*

[47] This sign of punctuation is used also in ll 11 and 16 The one after *-devakulasya* is superfluous, it should have naturally come after *kâritakam*

[48] *Śri Mandaleśvarasvâmipâdâya koshthikâtah*—Mr Banerji Restore *pâdîya koshthikâtah* and cf. *Chittra [k]ûtasvâmipâdîya koshthikâta* in *Gupta Inscrs*, p 268, l 3 Fleet, however, reads the passage as *Chittra[k]ûtasvâmi pâdîya koshthe(?)ta* and translates it as 'belonging to the entrance of which belongs to the feet of the divine (god) Chittrakutasvâmin' The inscription, which is partially damaged, says (l 2) that an image of Anantasvâmipâda was installed and that an endowment made 'for the purpose of providing perfumes, incense, garlands, &c, and of executing repairs' (ll 2 4) And in connection with the gift occurs the expression *bhaga[va]ch-Chittra[k]ûtasvâmipâdîya koshthe(?)ta* In all these particulars the inscription resembles so much the Mundeśvarî inscription that I am led to think that we would not at all be wide of the mark if the above correction be adopted Moreover it is also very likely that the expression *dattâ dvâdasa,* between which and the above expression there is a lacuna, means that twelve *dinâras* were the value of the grant (cf other Gadhwâ inscriptions where we find mention of similar gifts made) I do not think Fleet is right in his conjecture that the gift 'consisted of some land at a village' which belonged to the god Chittrakûtasvâmin and that this was the same god Anantasvâmin under a different name From *Mandalesvara svâmin* I believe was derived the name of the hill which was probably called *Mandalesvara*, and it is just possible that we have an echo of this word in the modern name *Mundesvari* Similarly, we have in the Gadhwâ inscription the name *Chitrakutasvâmin* which means the lord of the Chitrakuta hill (*op cit*, p 268 and n 1)

[49] Restore *pratidinam*

[50] Read *ârtham*

[51] Should be corrected to *dvayasya*

[52] Restore *=opanibandhah*

[53] I am unable to restore or interpret this passage.

[54] Restore probably *-sraja-*

[55] Restore °*ny=etad=evam*

[56] *r=âpovanikair*—Mr Banerji Read with Prof Konow *tâpovanikair-* and correct it to *(s)=tâpovanikair=*.

[57] *yathâmibaddhasya*—Mr Banerji. Restore *yath opanibaddhasya*

14 Evam = abhiśrâvito yo — —[58] kuryât=sa mahâpâtakais = sa—
15 — —ke[59] vaset [| *] Evam— —âvadhâraṇayâ[60] madhya-
16 - - - bhâka - - - - - tam[61] = iti || Uktañ=cha
17 - - - - - - - - yatnâd = raksha Yudhishṭhira
18 - - - - - - - - dânâch = chhreyo = nupâlanam[62] [|| *]

Translation

Om

(Line 1) **In the year 30, on the 22nd day of Kârttika**—on the aforesaid year, month and day, in the reign of the *Mahâsâmanta*, *Mahâpratihâra* and *Mahârâja*[63] **Udayasena**, the establishment of this Vinîtesvara *matha*[64] has been made by me, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* **Gomibhaṭa**,[65] after having propitiated the *kulapati*[66] **Bhâgudalana** together with the temple-committee[67] (*of this place*) for the increase of the religious merit of (*my*) father, mother and myself (L 6) Provision[68] has also been made to supply every day, and permanently, as long as the **sun and moon** endure, two *prasthas* of rice for the votive offering and one *pala* of oil for the lamp, from the store-room of śrî-Maṇḍaleśvarasvâmipâda of the temple of [śrî]-Nârâyaṇa (L 9) (*And also*) cow, offering, garland, cooked rice and other articles, of (*the value of*) 50 *dînâras*[69] (*for*) śrî-Maṇḍaleśvarasvâmipâda are made over to the temple committee (L 12) Having known this the (*above*) arrangement should not be transgressed by the (*successive*) administrative officers or the hermits (L 14) This being notified, whoever acts to the contrary, shall live in hell with great sins (L 15) Thus according to the decree[70] . . . . O! Yudhishṭhira preserve with care . . preservation is better than gift

[58] Restore =*nyatha*

[59] Restore *saha narake*

[60] Restore *yath* This portion was left unrestored by Mr Banerji

[61] I am unable to restore or interpret this passage

[62] The restoration of this customary verse is not attempted

[63] For the association of these titles see Fleet's remarks, *Gupta Inscrs*, p 15, n 4

[64] *I e* the *maṭha* dedicated to the god Vinîtesvara The word as a personal name occurs in the *Lalitavistara* (ed R L Mitra), pp 4, 6 According to Prof Lüders, "Names ending in *îśvara* always refer to buildings consecrated to Śiva" (*Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 337, n 1) In that case, *Vinîteśvara* and *Maṁḍaleśvara* would be epithets of Śiva also *Maṇḍaleśa* is the name of a Śiva referred to in an Arthuna inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p 302

[65] Cf names like *Gomisvâmin* and *Gomika* of the Bhîtâ seals, *ASR*, 1911-12, p 113, Nos 57—60, and also *Gupta Inscrs*, p 108, l 3 [66] *I e* teacher, something like an *âchârya*, see Monier Williams *s v*

[67] *devanikâya* Mr Banerji renders it as 'Council of gods (? Brahmans)' For its use in the above technical sense see now Talesvara copper plates, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII, pp 115, 119

[68] *upanibandha* This is a technical word and is probably the same as *nibandha* which means an 'arrangement' or 'assignment' The word *abhiśrâvita*, l 14, is also, I presume, technically used Cf *śrâvita* and *nibaddha*, Kârle and Nâsik cave inscriptions, *Ep Ind*, Vol VII, p 68 and Vol VIII, p 84, see also *Gupta Inscrs*, p 71, l 11

[69] This would be the earliest reference to the coin in Indian inscriptions For other references see *Gupta Inscrs*, pp 31-2, 38, 40, 41, 261, 265, the Faridpur grants, *ante*, 1910, pp 195, 200 and 204, the five Dâmodarpur grants to be published by Mr Basak in *Ep Ind*, and a Bodhgayâ inscription ed Bloch,) *ASR*, 1908-9, p 153

[70] *yath âvadhâraṇayâ* The word *avadhâraṇa*, I find, is similarly used in Mr Pargiter's Faridpur copper-plates *e g* *ante*, 1910, p 195, l 10 and Mr Basak's copper-plates from Dâmodarpur

DEKKAN OF THE ŜÂTAVÂHANA PERIOD

BY PROF D R BHANDARKAR, M A , CALCUTTA

(Continued from Vol XLVIII, p 83)

APPENDIX A

The approximate date of the rise of the Sâtavâhana Power

No account of the Dekkan of the Ŝâtavâhana period is complete without a consideration of the most probable date of the rise of the Ŝâtavâhana power, regarding which two theories have been propounded The one accepted by me in this article agrees with that of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, and is based upon certain chronological statements of the Purâṇas These I intend to consider here with a view to show how far they agree with facts taken as established

The duration assigned by the Purâṇas to the Maurya dynasty is 137 years, and if we take 322 B C as the date of its foundation, its overthrow and the foundation of the Ŝuṅga family must have occurred in 185 B C The Ŝuṅgas are generally stated in the Purâṇas to have reigned for 112 years, and the Kâṇvas 45 But as both ruled simultaneously, we have to deduct only 112 from185 to get 73 B C as the date when the Andhras came to power This is the view of Sir Ramkrishna, and no argument of any importance has yet been adduced to contradict it I am not unaware that the inscription of Khâravela, king of Kaliṅga, in the Hâthigumphâ in the Udaygiri Hills near Cuttack in Orissa speaks of a king called Ŝâtakarṇi, protector of the West, who has been identified with the third king of the Ŝâtavâhana dynasty described above Its date is 165th year of the Maurya era corresponding to *c* 157 B C, and it may, therefore, be argued that the date 73 B.C. assigned to the foundation of the Ŝâtavâhana dynasty is impossible when the third ruler of that family, *viz* Ŝâtakarṇi, has to be placed about 157 B C But then it must be borne in mind that it is now-a-days being questioned whether Khâravela's inscription contains any date at all,[1] and that Prof Luders, who has recently carefully read the record with the help of excellent estampages prepared by the Archæological Department, emphatically declares that it contains no date at all [2] So the opposition to our theory based upon the date of the Khâravela epigraph has no solid grounds to stand upon I am also aware of the palæographic difficulty that has been urged against the date 73 B C for the rise of the Ŝâtavâhana power But then if the question is properly considered, it will be seen that the difficulty does not arise at all Such an illustrious palæographist as Buhler has told us that the Nânâghâṭ and Sâñchi inscriptions of the Ŝâtakarṇi and the Hâthigumphâ inscription of Khâravela are exactly of the same period He has also told us that "the differences between the characters of Gotamiputa Satakarṇi's and those of the Nanaghat documents are such that it is not possible to place them, as Pandit Bhagwanlal has also seen, at a distance of more than about 100 years "[3] This quotation is from Buhler's article on the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions , but when he wrote it, Buhler was of opinion that Gautamîputra Ŝâtakarṇi lived shortly before the middle of the first century B C, and accordingly he assigned these records to

[1] *JRAS.*, 1910, 242 ff and 824 ff

[2] *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions*, No 1345 An attempt has recently been made by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Mr. R. D. Banerji to revive the theory that the inscription contains a date (*JBORS.*, 1917, 449 ff. and 488 ff.) But see also Dr. R. C. Majumdar's criticism on it, *Ante*, 1918, 223-4.

[3] *ASWI.*, V, 73.

200—150 B C What is strange is that when this opinion of Buhler's about the age of the inscriptions is now quoted, the date he then ascribed to Gautamîputra Śâtakarni is entirely lost sight of Subsequently, however, Buhler changed his mind, and came round to the view of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar that Gautamîputra Śâtakarni flourished about A D 124 [4] If we now subtract 100 from this 124 to account for the difference of character as proposed by Buhler, we get A D 24 as the approximate date for the Nânâghât, Sâñchi and Hâthigumphâ inscriptions If A D 24 can thus be the date of the third king of the Śâtavâhana dynasty, this cannot but confirm the date, *viz* A D 73, we have assigned to its foundation

APPENDIX B

Vilivayakura and Sivalakura of the Kolhapur coins

Nearly forty-two years ago, certain coins were discovered in Kolhâpur near the hill of Brahmapurî, north-west of the town Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was the first to give an account of them in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XIII, p 303ff, and identify the names occurring on these legends with those of the Śâtavâhana dynasty—an inference which has been more or less adopted by all the scholars that have subsequently written on the subject The legends on these coins have been read as follows —

Raño Vâsithîputasa Vilivâyakurasa
Raño Mâdhariputasa Sivalakurasa
Raño Gotamiputasa Vilivâyakurasa

With regard to the reading of these legends no doubt has been or can be raised It is, however, when the question of identifying these princes turns up that a divergence of views is perceptible Pandit Bhagwanlal took Vilivâyakura and Sivalakura to be mere titles, identified the first with Vâsishthîputra Pulumâvi, the second with Mâdharîputra Śakasena and the third with Gautamîputra Śrî Yajña Śâtakarni, and further deduced the conclusion that as Mâdharîputra of the Kolhâpur coins re-struck the coins of Vâsishthîputra, whereas those of the former were in turn re-struck by Gautamîputra, Vâsishthîputra, Mâdharîputra and Gautamîputra succeeded to the Ândhrabhritya throne in that order His views were endorsed by the late Dr Buhler [5] In the *Early History of the Dekkan*,[6] however, Vilivâyakura and Sivalakura are taken to be the names of viceroys and identified, the former with the Baleokouros of Ptolemy, Vâsishthîputra with Vâsishthîputra Pulumâvi and Gautamîputra with Gautamîputra Śrî Yajña Śâtakarni and not with the father of Pulumavi, Gautamîputra Śâtakarni, who never reigned in the Dekkan And as Vilivâyakura was the viceroy of two kings, *viz* Vâsishthîputra and Gautamîputra, it is argued that one of these was the immediate successor of the other, and Śrî Yajña, being the later, must be considered to be Pulumâvi's immediate successor Mâdharîputra has been therein identified with Mâdharîputra Śakasena, who is taken to be a successor, but not the immediate one, of Śrî Yajña Dr V A Smith also regards the princes of the Kolhâpur coins as belonging to the Ândhrabhritya dynasty, but identifies Gautamîputra Vilivâyakura, who is styled Vilivâyakura II, by him, with Gautamîputra Śâtakarni, and considers the other Vilivâyakura (*i e* Vilivâyakura I) and Sivalakura to be the same as Chakora and Śiva-Svâti

[4] Above, 1913, 230 [5] Above, XII, 273 [6] Pp. 20-1

(Śâtakarṇi) mentioned in the Purâṇas as Gautamîputra's predecessors [7] It will thus be seen that Viḷivâyakura and Sivalakura are taken by Dr Smith as personal names and of kings pertaining to the Śâtavâhana dynasty But Prof E J Rapson, whose is considered to be the most important view expressed on this subject, supposes them to be local titles, and identifies Mâdharîputra Sivalakura with Madharîputra Śakasena and Gautamîputra Viḷivâyakura with Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi [8] With regard to the third name, he says the following —" The identification of No 1, Vâsṭhîputra Viḷivâyakura, must remain doubtful The evidence of the re struck coins shows that he cannot possibly be identified with the best known Vâsishthîputra, *viz* Puḷumâyi, who was the son of Gautamîputra, but this metronymic was common in the dynasty, and there is no difficulty in supposing that it was borne by the predecessor of Mâṭharîputra in the Kolhâpur District "

Such are the views expressed by various scholars of repute with regard to the names occurring in the legends on the Kolhâpur coins I will now put forth my own view of the matter, in order that it might be taken for what it is worth by the antiquarians In the first place, Viḷivâyakura and Sivalakura cannot possibly be regarded as viceroys of any kings, if the legends on the coins actually are as they have been read For what this view comes to is just this, *viz* that *raño Vâsiṭhîputasa, raño Mâḍharîputasa* and *raño Gotamîputasa*, the first halves of the legend, are to be supposed as containing the names of sovereigns, and *Viḷivâyakurasa* and *Sivalakurasa*, the second halves, as giving the names of their viceroys Such a division of the legends is arbitrary and unknown to Indian numismatics, so far as my knowledge goes Whenever coins of any viceroys or feudatories are found, their names are, as a rule, specified on the reverse and those of their sovereigns on the obverse Sometimes, no doubt, but very rarely, the names of the former alone occur without those of the latter being engraved But not a single instance can be pointed out wherein the names of both the sovereign and the viceroy are specified in one single line in one and the same legend without the introduction of any word indicative of the subordinate rank of the latter The numismatic evidence is, therefore, against Gautamîputra, etc, being considered as names of sovereigns and Viḷivâyakura and Sivalakura as those of their viceroys

Secondly, this view involves the supposition that Vâsishthîputra, Mâdharîputra and Gautamîputra can be used by themselves to denote any individuals, and here, in particular, the Śâtavâhana princes themselves But not a single inscription has been found in which any one of these metronymics is used by itself to denote a Śâtavâhana. If it is Pulumâvi that is spoken of, he is called in inscriptions not simply Vâsishthîputra, but Vâsishthîputra Puḷumâvi, if it is his father, he is referred to not simply as Gautamîputra, but as Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi Similarly, Śakasena (Śrî-Sâta) is never called simply Mâdharîputra, but Mâdharîputra Śakasena (Śrî-Sâta) Gautamîputra, Vâsishṭhîputra, and Mâdharîputra of the Kolhâpur coins cannot thus, by separating them from what follows and taking them by themselves, be regarded as denoting any Śâtavâhana rulers Nor can it be maintained that, although the terms Gautamîputra, etc, are not used by themselves to denote the Śâtavâhana princes, they, especially the metronymic Mâdharîputra, were about this period conjoined to their names only For it was a custom of this period with

[7] *EHI*, 217 and chart facing p 218

[8] *CIC —AMk*, intro, XL and LXXXVII

personages of the warrior class to state the names of their mothers,[9] and names of the latter such as Vâsishthî, Gautamî, Kausikî, Hâritî, and so forth are met with in many old inscriptions, not as mothers of the Śâtavâhana kings only, but also of princes of other families and tribes, such as Mahârathi, Mahâbhoja and so forth[10] The name Mâdharî also is not unknown to Indian epigraphy of this period Jaggayyapeta *stûpa*, *e g*, has an inscription of the third century A D, and referring itself to the reign of Vîrapurushadatta of the Ikshvâku family[11] This king is therein called Mâdharîputra Similarly, the Âbhîra prince Îsvarasena is called Mâdharîputra in a Nâsik inscription of about the same date[12] The view, therefore, that the terms Gautamîputra, Vâsishthîputra and Mâdharîputra must denote, by themselves in inscriptions of the early period, the kings of the Śâtavâhana dynasty only, has no grounds to stand upon

I shall now proceed to consider the second view which regards Vilivâyakura and Sivalakura as local titles, and Gautamîputra, etc, as metronymics,—both belonging to the Śâtavâhana kings This view was first started by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, and has been adopted, as we have seen, by Prof Rapson But to look upon Vilivâyakura and Sivalakura as local titles is a mere gratuitous supposition without the least foundation in fact Again, if they had been titles, some explanation would have been offered of them, but, as Prof Rapson himself admits, "no satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Vilivâyakura and Sivalakura" Next, a sort of inconsistency is, I am afraid, perceptible in his identification of Vâsishthîputra Viḷivâyakura At one place, he says, as we have seen above, that the evidence of the re struck coins shows that he cannot possibly be identified with Vâsishthîputra Puḷumâvi but with the predecessor of Mâdharîputra in the Kolhâpur District, implying that this Viḷivâyakura was somewhere between Pulumâvi and Śakasena (Śrî-Śâta) But at another place he says that "two of Pulumavi's predecessors seem to have borne the title 'Vilivâyakura' in the district of Kolhâpur only,"[13] clearly mentioning here that the Vilivâyakura in question was prior to Pulumâvi and not posterior to him as implied at first But what is most inexplicable is that while commenting on the passage of Ptolemy where Pulumâvi and Vilivâyakura are mentioned, he says that both "might well be one and the same person," and adds in support of his statement that "a foreigner might be excused for not knowing that in our country, the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Chester and the Duke of Cornwall were the same person"[14] This means in unmistakeable terms that according to Prof Rapson, Pulumâvi and Vilivâyakura were one and the same person, and how this is to be reconciled with his previous statement that "the evidence of the re-struck coins shows that he cannot possibly be identified with the best known Vâsishthîputra, *viz* Puḷumâvi," is not quite clear to me

This theory, again, is open precisely to the same objection to which, as we have said, the view first discussed was open For, if Vilivâyakura and Sivalakura are mere titles why are they to be taken as referring to the Śâtavâhana kings, unless we suppose that the metronymics Gautamîputra, etc, can, even though standing by themselves, denote these princes only? This supposition has been discussed above and shown to be untenable These metronymics, as stated above, were at this period used in the case of the persons belonging to the Kshatriya class generally and were never employed by themselves without the addition of personal names, not even in the case of the Śâtavâhanas, as shown by their numerous inscriptions

[9] Above, 81
[10] Luders' *List*, Nos 1058, 1100, etc
[11] *Ibid*, Nos 1202-4
[12] *Ibid*, No 1137
[13] *CIC*—4 *Mk*, xl
[14] *Ibid*, xl and n 1

All these objections are applicable even to the identifications proposed by Mr Smith In fact, no evidence whatever can be adduced to show that there was any connection between the princes named in the legends on the Kolhâpur coins and the Śâtavâhana dynasty Now, it is to be remembered that Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, while describing the cities and villages of inland Ariake, speaks of Baithana as the royal seat of Siro Polemaios and Hippokoura as the royal seat of Baleokouros Baithana is, of course, Paithan and Siro-Polemaios, Śri-Pulumâvi of the Śâtavâhana dynasty Hippokoura has not yet been satisfactorily identified But Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar was the first to identify Baleokouros with Vilivâyakura of the Kolhâpur coins, and this identification is universally accepted [15] It is to be noted that Ptolemy speaks of two different places and of two different kings as reigning there The two kings, therefore—Pulumâvi and Vilivâyakura—must be taken to be different persons And to argue that Pulumâvi and Viḷivâyakura are the same person, on the analogy that the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Chester and the Duke of Cornwall denoted one individual, is to argue that Puḷumâvi is identical not only with Baleokouros (Vilivâyakura) of Hippokoura, but also with Tiastenes (Chashtana) of Ozene (Ujjain) and Kerobothros (Keralaputra) of Karoura (Karur), the two other kings mentioned by Ptolemy [16] Tiastenes and Kerobothros might also be thus taken to be local titles of the Śâtavâhana sovereign, and not personal names of different kings

We thus find that Vilivâyakura and Sivalakura cannot possibly be identified with any princes of the Śâtavâhana dynasty, but must be taken to be princes belonging to a different line and ruling separately round about Kolhâpur Now, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has shown that coins of Vâsishthîputra Viḷivâyakura have been re-struck by Mâdharîputra Sivalakura, while those of the latter have been re struck by Gautamîputra Viḷivâyakura The following is, therefore, the order of their succession —

Vâsishthîputra Viḷivâyakura or Viḷivâyakura I
|
Mâdharîputra-Sivalakura
|
Gautamîputra-Viḷivâyakura or Viḷivâyakura II

It will thus be seen that there were two kings of this line bearing the name Viḷivâyakura, and one of these was a contemporary of Puḷumâvi Who that was we have at present no means to determine

THE SURROSH K R CAMA MEMORIAL PRIZE

The Committee of the K R Cama Oriental Institute invite competitive Essays for "The Surrosh K R Cama Prize" of the value of Rs 225 on the following subject —

"Life of Zoroaster in Pahelvi Dinkard as contrasted or compared with the Persian metrical Zarathushtnama "

The Essays should be typewritten or written in a neat, legible hand and should reach the Honorary Secretaries, the K R Cama Oriental Institute, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, on or before the 15th July 1920 Each Essay should be designated by a motto instead of the writer's name and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor and his Post Office address The competition is open to both Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians

15 Above, 1918, 153

16 Above, XIII, 359 and 366

MISCELLANEA

TOWN MAJOR

Extract of a letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St George to Sir John Child and Council at Bombay, dated 29th September 1688 *Letters from Fort St George,* (Madras Records), 1688, p 60

"This day according to the Right Honble Companys order and appoyntment in their Charter, the [Town] Major, oldermen and burgesses met at the Fort in due sollemnitye, where the Charter was read and delivered to them by the President, as alsoe the Maceese [maces of office], &ca, after which they were duely sworne to their severall charges and handsomely entertained with a good dinner and all requisite to it, after which they marcht in their gownds with great gravety and decorum to the towne hall to Confirme their new establishment and Consult the good of the Cittye, which God grant it may redound to, and that all the Right Honble Companys Settlement[s] and affaiers may be more auspitious and prosperous then forme[r]ly"

The above letter is of some interest in reference to the duties at that date (1688) of the well known official called a Town Major The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the meaning of the term under three heads —

(*a*) The major of a town guard, as formerly at Edinburgh

(*b*) The chief executive officer in a garrison town or fortress

(*c*) Applied vaguely to the chief magistrate or administrative officer of a foreign town

For the first the *Dictionary* gives two quotations in the seventeenth century with regard to the city of Edinburgh

For the second it has a series of quotations from 1702 to 1876, giving instances of the Town Majors of various fortresses in England and abroad, including India That for 1702 is worth quoting in full here —

> *Mil Dict*, Town Major, the third Officer in order in a Garrison, and next to the Deputy Governor He ought to understand the Fortification, and has a particular Charge of the Guards, Rounds, Patrouilles, and Sentinels

For the third meaning there is another series of quotations from 1748 to 1864, the last of which is also worth quoting in full —

> The Town Major finding them without credentials or passports, ordered them to be carried to prison

The interest in the letter under reference, however, is that it shows clearly that in the seventeenth century a Town Major in India was both the chief executive officer of a garrison town and fortress and also the chief magistrate and administrative officer

In this connection there is no doubt that, up to quite recently at any rate, this was the view taken by Eurasians and Europeans who had not been in England of the office of Town Major, for in the nineties of the last century there was a story going about in Northern India of a certain lady, the wife of an official of position, who was going to England with her family for the first time and was asked how she intended to get about when she reached London She replied that she would have no difficulty because she would go straight to the Town Major for information

The Town Major as the administrative officer of a garrison town, is still in existence whenever the necessity for his services arises *vide* the following quotation from the *Daily Graphic*, London, for the 11th November 1919 —

"*How British Ladies Live in the Garrison Towns in Germany*

"Not only are there wives of officers and 'other ranks' living with their husbands in France and Belgium, but the privilege has recently been extended to members of the Rhine Army as well

"The concession is a highly popular one, and every day there is a marked increase in the number of those taking advantage of it Of course the majority are to be found in Cologne, Bonn, Duren and Godesburg, where it is easier to secure accommodation, but a fair proportion will also be met with in the other districts and villages garrisoned by British troops

"The matter of securing suitable house room, however, is not too easy, for Germany seems to be as overcrowded as England If the wife arrives before lodgings have been settled, she and her husband will have to start by putting up at an hotel as a temporary measure The Town Major arranges this There is no charge for the husband, but he will have to pay a fixed tariff of 15 marks a day for his wife This is not so much as it sounds, since it really represents less than three shillings"

In the following instance, too (extracted from the *Times* of the 14th November 1919), the Town-Major during the European War comes out as a civil as well as a military administrator of a garrison town

"*Ypres and the Vandals Town Major's Appeal for a Vast Cemetery*

"Lieutenant Colonel Beckles Wilson, late Town Major of Ypres, whose efforts to safeguard the ruined city from desecration are well known returned to Ypres yesterday To a Press representative Colonel Wilson gave some particulars of the present condition of the place"

R C TEMPLE

BOOK-NOTICE

CORPORATE LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA, by RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M A, Calcutta 1918

This is the title of a new book, (pp viii+176, Demy), brought out by Dr Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, of the Calcutta University The book consists of five chapters, (1) Corporate Activities in Economic Life, (2–3) Corporate Activities in Political Life, (4) Corporate Activities in Religious Life, and (5) Corporate Activities in Social Life The author has taken great pains to collect evidence, literary (Vedic and post Vedic), epigraphic and numismatic, to prove the existence of self governing institutions both under monarchical and republican forms of government, that existed side by side in Ancient India The cooperative guilds of artisans, traders and merchants with power to elect their own Mukhya or president or presidents, to enact their own laws and rules to regulate the work and conduct of their members, to admit new members or to expel members for misconduct and to appeal to the king to restore order in a guild that is likely to degenerate owing to factious spirit of some of its members the political assembly of the people with power to elect, expel, or restore kings, the self-governing villages, the Buddhist Sanghas, the Caste system are some of the ancient Indian Institutions that are noticed in detail with regard to their relations to the supreme Government Accordingly "Self governing Institutions in Ancient India" would have been a more suggestive and attractive title

Excellent as is the work as a collection of reliable facts and figures, the author's translation of some of the Sanskrit passages quoted in the book seems to be wrong (pp 16-17, 22, 89 Vanajya) In other places his inferences seem to be wrong (pp 42, 45) Here 'Visâm pati' does not at all imply "the importance of the popular element in the government' as inferred by the author, nor is there any reference in the Cow hymn quoted in page 45 to any assembly, as stated by him Again the word 'sabhâ (pp 17, 55, 56) was in many places used in the sense of a gambling, rather than a political, meeting Similarly, the word '*Vairâjya*' means foreign rule as stated in the Arthasâstra (text p 323) and never a non monarchical form of government

In noticing the corporate activities in Religious life, the author has confined his attention only to the Buddhistic and omitted the Brahmanic and other communities

In the last chapter, his description of the evolution of caste is somewhat confused for want of a clear chronological analysis of the subject

On the whole the book is an excellent and valuable treatise on ancient Indian social and political institutions and deserves to be seriously studied by all that are interested in the history of India

R SHAMASASTRY

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS

16 The Chief Watchman discharged for incapacity

7 July 1718 *Consultation at Fort St George*

The President reports to the Board that Peddanaigue [Pedda Nâyak] the Cheif watchman of the Town has forfeited his cowle [*gaul*, agreement] by open and notorious transgressions of every part thereof, that he is become utterly incapable of discharging the duty of that post, having by his extravagance rendered himself unable either to maintain a sufficient number of Talliars [*talaiyâri*, watchmen] to watch the city or to make good any Losses that shall happen, as by the Cowle he is oblig'd to do, that thro' his incapacity as a Watchman to discharge his duty, frequent Robberys have happen'd of late, and one instance of what is unusuall in these parts, of a Merchant and his Servant murthered in their own house by Robbers, The President added that if a Speedy stop was not put to this mischeif it would increase upon Us till it came past remedy The Cowle was then read, and the violation of every part thereof by Peddanaigue was notorious to the whole Board

Peddanaigue being call'd in and acquainted with the sentiments of the Board on his conduct, was asked if he had any thing to say in his own defence He only reply'd that he was not able to do better and left himself to the Judgment of the Board Agreed that Peddanaigue, Cheif Watchman of the City, having forfeited his Cowle and being incapable of performing the duty of his Office be dismissed the Honble Companys Service (*Madras Public Consultations*, vol 87)

R C T

Ananta-Padmanâbha—Anantapur, in Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, containing the celebrated temple of Padmanâbha, which was visited by Chaitanya and Nityânanda (*Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*) It is also called Padmanâbhapur (Prof. H H Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p 129) *See* **Ananta-śayana**

Ananta-śayana—Padmanâbhapur, in Travancore, containing the celebrated temple of Vishnu sleeping on the serpent (*Padma P*, Uttara, ch 74; Prof H H Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p 129) *See* **Ananta-Padmanâbha.**

Ânartta—1 Gujarat and part of Malwa its capital was Kuśasthalî or modern Dwârka (*Bhâgavata P*, ch X, p. 67) 2 Northern Gujarat its capital was Ânarttapura (*Skanda P.* Nâgara Kh, ch 65), afterwards called Ânandapura, the modern Vadnagar (*Bom Gaz*, vol I, Pt 1, p 6, note 2)

Ânarttapura—Same as **Ânandapura** *See* **Ânartta**

Anavatapta—Same as **Anotatta**

Andha—The river Andhilâ or Chândan,—the Andomatis of Arrian *see* **Chandrâvatî** (*Devi-Bhâgavata*, Bk 8, ch 11)

Andhanada—The river Brahmaputra (*Bhâgavata P.*, ch 5, ślk 9)

Andhra—1 The country between the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ including the district of Kistna Its capital was Dhanakataka or Amarâvatî at the mouth of the Krishnâ Vengî, five miles to the north of Ellur, was according to Hiuen Tsiang, its ancient capital (*Garuda Purâna*, ch 55) 2 Telingana, south of Hyderabad According to the *Anargharâghava* (Act vii, 103), the Sapta Godâvarî passes through the country of Andhra, and its principal deity is the Mahâdeva Bhîmeśvara The Pallava kings of Vengî were overthrown by the Chalukya kings of Kalyâṇapura, and succeeded by the Chola kings who, in their turn, were conquered by the Jaina kings of Dharaṇîkota The Andhra dynasty was also called Sâtavâhana or Sâtakarnî dynasty, their ancient capital was at Śrî Kâkulum now diluviated by the Krishnâ

Anga—The country about Bhagalpur including Mongyr It was one of the sixteen political divisions of India (*Anguttara* I, 4, *Vinaya Texts*, ii, 146, *Govinda Sutta* in *Dîgha-nikâya*, xix, 36) Its capital was Champâ or Champâpuri The western limit of its northern boundary at one time was the junction of the Ganges and the Sarajû It was the kingdom of Romapâda of the *Râmâyaṇa* and Karṇa of the *Mahâbhârata* It is said in the *Râmâyana* that Madana, the god of love, was burnt to ashes by Mahâdeva at this place, and hence the country is called Anga, Madana being thenceforth called Ananga (*Bâlakânda*, Canto 23, vs 13, 14) *See* **Kâma-âśrama** According to Sir George Birdwood, Anga included also the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad According to some authorities, it also included the Santal Parganas It was annexed to Magadha by Bimbisâra in the sixth century B C (Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p 166) His son Kunika or Ajâtaśatru became its viceroy, his head-quarters being at Champâ Mahana, the maternal grand-father of Kumaradevî, wife of king Govindachandra of Kanouj (1114–1154), was king Râmapâla's viceroy in Anga (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1908), the country having come under the sway of Gopâla, the founder of the Pâla dynasty, in the eighth century A D The celebrated places of antiquity and interest in the province of ancient Anga are:—Rishyaśringa-âśrama at Rishikund, four

miles to the south-west of Bariarpur, one of the stations of the East India Railway, the Karnagad or the fort of Karna, four miles from Bhagalpur, Champâ or Champâpuri, the ancient capital of Anga and the birth-place of Vâsupujya, the twelfth Tîrthankara of the Jainas, Jahnu-âśrama at Sultanganj, Modâgiri or Mongyr, the Buddhist caves at Pâtharghâtâ (ancient Śilâ-sangama or Vikramaśilâ-sanghârâma) in the Kahalgâon sub-division, referred to by Hiuen Tsiang and by Chora Kavi in the *Chora-pañchâśikâ*; and the Mandara Hill at Bansi, thirty-two miles to the south of Bhagalpur (*see* **Champâpuri** and **Sumha**) The name of Anga first appears in the *Atharva-samhitâ* (Kânda V, Anuvâka 14) For the history of Anga, see my "Notes on Ancient Anga or the District of Bhagalpur" in *JASB*, 1914, p. 317

Angalaukika—The country of the Angalaukikas who were most probably the Agalassians of Alexander's historians (see McCrindle's *Invasion of India*, p 285) and neighbours of the Śivis, was situated below the junction of the Hydaspes and Akesines (*Brahmânda, P* 149).

Añjana-Giri—The Suleiman range in the Panjab (*Varâha P*, ch 80)

Anomâ—The river Aumi, in the district of Gorakhpur (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p 423) It was crossed by Buddha after he left his father's palace at a place now called Chandâuli on the eastern bank of the river, whence Chhandaka returned with Buddha's horse Kanthaka to Kapilâvastu (Aśvaghosha's *Buddha-Charita*, Bk V) But Carlleyle identifies the river Anomâ with the Kudawa Nadî in the Basti district of Oudh (*Arch S Rep*, vol XXII, p 224 and Fuhrer's *MAI*) Carlleyle identifies the *stûpa* of Chhandaka's return with the Mahâ-thân Dih, four miles to the north east of Tameswar or Maneya, and the Cut-Hair Stûpa with the Sirasarao mound on the east bank of the Anomâ river in the Gorakhpur district (*Arch S Rep*, Vol XXII, pp 11, 15)

Anotatta—It is generally supposed that Anotatta or Anavatapta lake is the same as Râwan-hrad or Langa But Spence Hardy considers it to be an imaginary lake (Beal's *Legend and Theories of the Buddhists*, p. 129).

Antaragiri—The Râjmahal hills in the district of Santal Pargana in the province of Bengal (*Matsya P.*, ch 113, v 44, Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, p 325, note)

Antaraveda—The Doab between the Ganges and the Yamunâ (*Hemakosha*; *Bhavishya Purâna*, Pt III, ch 2, *Ep Ind*, p 197)

Anumakundapattana—Same as **Anumakuṇḍapura.**

Anumakuṇḍapura—Warrangal, the ancient capital of Telingana (Rudradeva inscription in *JASB*, 1838, p 903, but see Prof Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p 76) It was the capital of Râjâ Rudradeva identified with Churang or Choragangâ The town was also called Anumakundapattana (*JASB*, 1838, p 901) The Kâkatiyas reigned here from A D 1110 to 1323 According to General Cunningham, Warrangal is the Korunkola of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Another name of Warrangal, according to the same authority, is Akshalinagara, which in the opinion of Mr Cousens is the same as Yeksilanagara (*List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Nizam's Territories*) *See* **Benâkataka**

Anupadeśa—South Malwa The country on the Nerbuda about Nimar Same as **Haihaya, Mahisha** and **Mâhishaka** (*Śiva Purâna*, Dharma-samhitâ, ch 56, *Harivamśa*, chs. 5, 33, 112, 114) Its capital was Mâhishmatî (*Raghuvamśa*, canto VI, v 43).

Anurâdhapura—The ancient capital of Ceylon The branch of the celebrated Bo-tree (Pipal-tree) of Buddha-Gayâ was brought and planted here by Mahinda and his sister Sanghamittâ, who were sent by their father Aśoka to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon The tree still exists in the Mahâ-vihâra The left canine tooth of Buddha which was removed from Dantapura (Puri) in the fourth century to Anurâdhapura, existed in a building erected on one of the angles of Thuparamaye (Thupârâma) Dagoba (a corruption of Dhâtugarbha), which was built by Devânâmpiyatissa about 250 B C, as a relic shrine of either the right jaw-bone or the right collar-bone of Buddha *See* **Dantapura.** The town contains also the " Loya Maha Paya " or Great Brazen Monastery and the " Ruanwelli " Dagoba described in the *Mahâvamśa* The latter was built by the king Dutthagâmini in the second century of the Christian era The Isibhumanganan was the site of Mahinda's funeral pile, and in the Ghantâkara-vihâra the *Attha-kathâ* (the commentary of the *Tripitaka*) was translated from Singhalese into Pâli by Buddhaghosha (A D 410—432) a Brahmin who came from a village named Ghosha in the neighbourhood of Buddha-Gayâ during the reign of Mahânâma or Mahâmuni (Gray's *Buddhaghosuppatti*) he was converted into Buddhism by Revata (Turnour's *Mahâvamśa*, ch 37)

Aornos—Ranigat, sixteen miles north-west of Ohind in the Peshawar district of the Panjab (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p 58), but according to Captain James Abbot, Shah Kote on Mount Mahaban, situated on the western bank of the Indus, about 70 miles to the north-east of Peshawar modern researches have proved the correctness of Abbot's identification (Smith's *Early History of India*, p 68) It is perhaps a corruption of Varana of Pânini there is still a town called **Barana** (*q v*) on the western bank of the Indus opposite to Attok (*Ind Ant*, I, 22)

Apaga—Afghanistan (*Brahmânda P*, ch 49)

Âpagâ—1 The Ayuk-nadî to the west of the Ravi in the Panjab 2 A river in Kurukshetra (*Vâmana P*, ch 36, *Padma P*, Svarga, ch 12) See, however, **Oghavatî.** It still bears its ancient name It is evidently the Âpayâ of the *Rig-Veda* (III, 23, 4) frequently mentioned with the Sarasvatî and the Drishadvatî

Apâpapurî—Same as *Pâpâ* [*Śabdakalpadruma*- s v Tîrthankara, Prof Wilson's *Hindu Religion* (Life of Mahâvira)] *See* **Pâpâ**

Aparanandâ—Same as *Alakânandâ* see **Nandâ** (*Mahâbh*, Vana, ch 109, *Brahmânda P*, ch. 43).

Aparânta—Same as **Aparântaka**

Aparântakâ—Konkan and Malabar (*Mârkandeya Purâna*, ch 58) it is the Ariake of Ptolemy, according to whom it extended southward from the Nerbuda. In the *Raghuvamśa* (IV, v 53) Aparânta is said to be on the south of the Muralâ According to the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, Ariake extended southwards from the gulf of Cambay to the north of Âbhîra Ptolemy's Ariake is the contraction of Aparântaka, but that of the *Periplus* is the contraction of Âranyaka According to Sir R G Bhandarkar, Aparânta was the northern Konkan, the capital of which was Surpâraka (modern Supara) near Bassein Aśoka sent here a Buddhist missionary named Yona-Dhammarakkhita in 245 B C According to Bhagvanlal Indraji ,the western seaboard of India was called Aparântika or Aparântaka (*Ind Ant*, vol VII, pp 259, 263) Bhatta Svâmî in his commentary on Kautilya's *Arthaśâstra* (Koshâdhyaksha, Bk ii) identifies it with Konkana

See also *Brahma Purâna* (ch 27, vol 58) which includes Surpâraka in Aparânta-desa. According to Kâlidâsa, it was situated between the Sahya (Western Ghats) and the sea (*Raghuvamsa*) It extended from the river Mahi to Goa (*Bomb Gaz*, vol I, Pt I, p 36, note 8).

Apara-Videha—Rungpur and Dinajpur (*Lalita-vistara*, Dr R L Mitra's trans, p 52, note)

Âpayâ—Same as **Apagâ** (*q v*)

Âptanetravana—It has been identified with the ruins near Ikauna in the Bahraich district in Oudh (Fuhrer's *MAI*) It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang

Âraba—Arabia *See* **Banâyu**

Ârâmanagara—Arrah in the district of Shahabad Dr Hoey however, supposes that the ancient name of Arrah was Arâda, and Arâda Kalâma, the teacher of Buddha, was a native of this place (*JASB*, vol LXIX, p 77), but see *Arch S Rep*, vol III p 70

Aranya—1 The nine sacred Aranyas or forests are —Saindhava, Dandakâranya, Naimisha, Kurujângala, Upalâvrita (Utpalâranya ?), Aranya, Jambumarga, Pushkara and Himâlaya (*Devî Purâna*, ch 74) 2 *See* **Âranyaka** 3 Same as **Bana**

Âranyakâ—A kingdom situated on the south of Ujjain and Vidarbha (*Mahabharata*, Sabhâ, ch 31) It is called Aranya in the *Devî Purana*, ch 46 It is the Ariaka of the *Periplus* According to DaCunha, Ariaka (Ârya-kshetra) comprised a great part of Aurangabad and southern Konkana Its capital was Tagara, modern Doulatabad (DaCunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*, p 127)

Âratta—The Panjab, which is watered by the five rivers (*Mahabharata*, Drona Parva, chs 40—45 *Karna P*, ch 45, Kautilya's *Arthasâstra*, Pt ii, ch 30) It was celebrated for its fine breed of horses Its Sanskritized form is Arâshtra

Aravâlo—The Wulur or Volur lake in Kasmîra (Turnour's *Mahâvamsa*, p 72) The Nâga king of Aravâlo was converted into Buddhism by Majjhantika (Madhyantika), the missionary, who was sent by Asoka to Kasmîra and Gândhâra It is the largest lake in the valley of Kasmîra, and produces water-nuts (*singâdâ*) in abundance, supporting considerable portion of the population, the nuts being the roots of the plant *trapa bispinosa* (Thornton's *Gazetteer*)

Arbuda—Mount Abu in the Aravali range in the Sirohi State of Rajputana It was the hermitage of Rishi Vasishtha (*Mbh*, Vana, ch 82, *Padma P*, Svarga, ch 11) The Rishi is said to have created out of his fire-pit in the mountain a hero named Paramâra to oppose Visvâmitra while he was carrying away his celebrated cow Kâmadhenu. Paramâra became the progenitor of the Paramâra clan of Rajputs (*Ep Ind*, vol I, p 224) Mount Abu contains the celebrated shrine of Ambâ Bhavânî. It contains the celebrated Jaina temples dedicated to Rishabha Deva and Neminâtha it is one of the five sacred hills of the Jainas, which are Satruñjaya, Samet Sikhar, Arbuda, Girnar, Chandragiri (*Ind Ant*, II, 354) For the names of the twenty-four Tîrthankaras, *see* **Srâvasti**.

Arddhagangâ—The river Kâverî (*Hemakosha*, *Harivamsa*, I, ch 27)

Ariana—That portion of Central Asia (mentioned by Strabo) which was the original abode of the Aryan race and which is called Airyan-vejo (Ârya-vîja) in the *Avesta* From its description as a very cold country and its situation on the north of India as it appears from the *Vedas*, it is considered to have been situated to the west of Belurtagh and Mustagh (or Snowy Mountain) and near the source of the Amu and Syhun, including the Pamir Sections of the Aryan race migrated to the west and settled themselves in Europe at different periods Those that remained behind migrated subsequently to the south and settled themselves in Iran and the Punjab Differences of opinion about agricultural and religious reforms, especially the introduction of the worship of Indra as a principal god to the lowering of Varuna, who always held the highest position in the hierarchy of the gods even from the time when they all resided in Central Asia, split up the early Aryan settlers of the Punjab into two parties, and led to the dissension which brought about a permanent separation between them The party which opposed this innovation migrated to the north-west, and after residing for some time at Balkh and other places, finally settled themselves in Iran they were the followers of Zarathasthura and were called Zoroastrians, the ancestors of the modern Parsis The other party, the ancestors of the Hindus, gradually spread their dominion from the Punjab and the bank of the Sarasvatî to the east and south by their conquest of the aboriginal races (Max Muller's *Science of Language*)

Arishthapura—The Sanskritized form of Aritthapura, the capital of the country of **Sivi** (*q v*). It has not yet been identified perhaps it is the same as Aristobathra of Ptolemy on the north of the Punjab

Aristhala—Same as **Kuśasthala**: *see* **Pâṇiprastha**

Arjikiya—The river Bias (Vipâśâ) [*Rig-Veda*]

Arjunî—The river Bâhudâ or Dhabalâ (*Hemakosha*)

Arkakshetra—Same as Padmakshetra Konârak, or Black Pagoda, 19 miles north-west of Puri in Orissa, containing the temple of the Sun called Konâditya It is also called Sûrya-kshetra (*Brahma Purâna*, ch 27) *See* **Konârka**

Aruṇa—One of the Seven Kosis (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch 84) *See* **Mahâkauśika**

Aruṇâ—A branch of the Sarasvatî in Kurukshetra (*Mahâbhârata*, Salya, ch. 44) it has been identified by General Cunningham with the Mârkanda Its junction with the Sarasvatî three miles to the north-east of Pehoa (Prithûdaka) is called the Aruna-sangama (*Arch S Rep*, vol XIV, p 102)

Aruṇâchala—1 Same as **Aruṇagiri** *See* **Chidambaram**. it contains the *tej* or fire image of Mahâdeva 2 A mountain on the west of the Kailâs range (*Brahmânda P*, ch 51)

Aruṇagiri—Tiruvannamalai or Trinomali in the South Arcot district in the province of Madras (*Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 240) It is called Arunâchala in the *Skanda P* (Arunâ Mâhât, Uttara, ch 4) It contains the temples of Arunâchaleśvara and Arddha-nârîśvara Mahâdeva (Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p 191).

Arunoda—Garwal, the country through which the Alakânandâ flows (*Skanda P*, Avantî Kh, Chaturaśîtilinga, ch 42) Its capital is Śrînagar

Âryaka—Ariake of Ptolemy who wrote his *Geography* about A D 150 (*Brihat Samhitâ* ch 14). *See* **Aparântaka** and **Âranyaka**

Âryapura—Aihole, the western capital of the Chalukyas in the seventh and eighth centuries A D, in the Badami Taluka of the Bijapur district It is the Aysâbole of the old inscriptions (*Arch S Rep*, 1907-8, p 189)

Âryâvartta—The northern part of India which lies between the Himalayas and the Vindhya range (*Manu-Samhitâ* ch 2, v 22) At the time of Patañjali, Âryâvartta was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the Pâriyâtraka, on the west by Âdarśâvalî (Vinaśana according to the *Vaśistha Samhitâ*, I, 8), and on the east by Kâlakavana (Rajmahal hills) *See* **Kâlakavana** According to Râjaśekhara, the river Nerbuda was the boundary between Âryâvartta and Dakshinapatha (*Balarâmâyaṇa*, Act VI, Apte's *Râjaśekhara his Life and Writings*, p 21)

Âśâpalli—Ahmedabad, same as *Yessabal* or Âsawal (Alberuni's *India*, p 102)

Aser—Asirgarh, eleven miles north of Burhanpur in the Central Provinces (*Prithviraj Râso*) Aser is a contraction of Aśvatthamâ-giri (*Arch S Rep*, vol IX)

Ashtâvakra-Âśrama—Râhugrâma (now called Raila), about four miles from Hardwar, near which flows the Ashtâvakranadi, a small river, perhaps the ancient Samangâ. The hermitage of Rishi Ashtâvakra is also pointed out at Pauri near Srinagar in Garwal, the mountain near which is called Ashtâvakra-parvata

Ashtapada—*See* **Kailâsa**

Ashta-Vinayaka—The eight Vinâyaka (Ganapati) temples are situated at Ranjangâon at the junction of the Bhimâ and Mûtha-mula Mârgâon, Theur, Lenâdri and Ojhar in the Poona district, at Pâli in the Pant Sachiv's territory, at Madh in the Thana district and at Siddhatek in the Ahmednagar district in the Bombay Presidency (*Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol 3). *See* **Vinâyaka-tîrthas.**

Âshtigrâma—Râval in the district of Mathurâ, where Râdhikâ was born at the house of her maternal grandfather Surbhânu and passed the first year of her infancy before her father Brishabhânu who dwelt at this place removed to Varshana (*Adi Purâṇa*, ch 12 and Growse's "Country of Braja" in *JASB*, 1871 and 1874, p 352) *See* **Barshâṇa**

Asî—A river in Benares *See* **Bârâṇaśî** (*Mahâbhârata*, Bhîshma, ch 9)

Asiknî—The river Chenab (Chandrabhâgâ) [*Rig-Veda*, x, 75]

Asiladurga—Junagar (Tod's *Râjasthân*)

Aśmaka—According to the *Brahmânda Purâṇa* (Pûrva, ch 48) Aśmaka is one of the countries of Southern India (Dâkshinâtya), but the *Kûrma Purâṇa* mentions it in connection with the countries of the Punjab, the *Brihat-Samhitâ* (ch. 14) also places it in the north-west of India Auxoamis which has been identified by Saint Martin with Sumi (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*) lying a little to the east of the Sarasvatî and at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea, was considered to be the ancient Aśmaka. According to Prof Rhys Davids, Asmaka was the Assaka of the Buddhist period, and was situated immediately to the north-west of Avantî The Assakas had a settlement on the banks of the Godâvar at the time of Buddha, and their capital was Potana (*Govinda Sûtta* in *Dîgha-*

Nikâya, xix, 36) It appears, however, from the "History of Bâwari" in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism, Suttanipâta,* and *Pârâyanavagga* (*SBE*, X, 188) that Assaka (Asmaka) was situated between the Godâvarî and Mâhissati (Mâhishmatî) on the Nerbuda. It was also called Alaka or Mûlaka and its capital was Pratishthâna (**Paudanya** (*q v*) of the *Mahâbhârata*) on the north bank of the Godâvarî (*see* **Pratishṭhâna**,) called Potali and Potana by the Buddhists (*Jâtakas,* Cam Ed, vol III, p 2) It became a part of the Mahârâshtra country at the time of Aśoka The *Daśakumâracharita* written in the sixth century A D, by Dandin, describes it as a dependant kingdom of Vidarbha It is also mentioned in the *Harshacharita* It should be remarked that in the *Purânas*, Mûlaka is said to be the son of a king of Asmaka Bhatta Swâmî, the commentator of Kautilya's *Arthaśâstra*, identifies Aśmaka with Mahârâshtra It is the Asvaka of the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhîshma P, ch 9)

Aśmanvatî—The river Oxus It is mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, x, 53, 8

Assaka—*See* **Aśmaka** (*Dîgha Nikâya,* xix, 36)

"Astacampra"—Same as **Hastakavapra,** but *see* **Stambhapura**

Astakapra—Same as **"Astacampra"**

Aśvaka—*See* **Aśmaka**

Aśva-kachchha—Cutch (*Rudradâman Inscription*)

Aśva-tîrtha—1 The confluence of the Ganges and the Kâlinadî in the district of Kanouj (*Mbh*, Anusâsana, ch 4, Vana P, ch 114, and *Vâmana P*, ch 83) 2 The Asva-krântâ mountain in Kâmakhyâ near Gauhatî in Assam (*Yoginî Tantra*, Uttara Kh, ch 3)

Aṭṭahâsa—On the eastern part of Lâbhapur in the district of Birbhum in Bengal It is one of the Pîthas (*Kubjikâ Tantra,* ch 7, *Padma P*, Srishti Kh, ch 11) Sati's lips are said to have fallen at this place and the name of the goddess is Phullarâ It is seven miles from the Amodpur Station of the E I Railway

Âtreyî—The river Atrai which flows through the district of Dinajpur (*Kâmakhyâ Tantra,* ch VII) it is a branch of the Tistâ

Audumvara—1 Cutch, its ancient capital was Kotesvara or Kachchheśvara (*Mahâbhârata,* Sabhâ P, ch 52 and Cunningham's *Arch S Rep*, v, p 155) the country of the Odombœræ of Ptolemy 2 The district of Nurpur (or rather Gurudâspur) which was anciently called Dahmeri or Dehmbeori, the capital of which is Pathankot (Pratishthâna) on the Ravi in the Punjab, was also called Udumvara (*Brihat-Samhitâ*, ch 14 and *Arch S Rep*, vol xiv, p 116, Rapson's *Ancient India,* p 155) There was another Udumbara to the east of Kanouj (*Chullavagga*, pt xii, chs 1 and 2)

Aupaga—Same as *Kamboja* (*Mârkandeya P*, ch 57)

Âvagâṇa—Afganistan (*Brihat-Samhitâ*, ch 16) *See* **Kamboja.**

Avantî—1 Ujin (*Pânini*, iv, 176, *Skanda P*, Avantî Khanda, ch 40) it was the capital of Mâlava (*Brahma P*, ch. 43) 2 The country of which Ujin was the capital (*Anargharâghava*, Act vii, 109) It was the kingdom of Vikramâditya (*see* **Ujjayinî**). In the *Govinda Sutta* (*Dîgha-Nikâya,* xix, 36), its capital is said to be *Mâhishmati* It is the ancient name of Malwa (*Kathâsarit-sâgara,* ch xix) Avantî has been called Mâlava since the seventh or eighth century A D (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India,* p. 28)

Avântika-Kshetra—Avani, a sacred place in the district of Kolar in Mysore, where Râmachandra is said to have halted on his way from Lankâ to Ayodhyâ.

Avantî-Nadî—The Sipra Ujjin stands on this river.

Ayodhana—Pâk-Pattana, five miles west of the Ravi and eight miles from Mamoke Ghat in the Montgomery district of the Panjab (Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (1785), p 62, Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India*, *JASB*, vi, 190). It was formerly a renowned city referred to by the historians of Alexander the Great. The town is built on a hillock 40 or 50 feet above the surrounding plain. Its old walls and bastions are now crumbling into ruins It is celebrated for the tomb of the Mahomedan Saint Farid-ud-din Shaheb Shakar Ganj

Âyodhyâ—Oudh, the kingdom of Râma At the time of the Râmâyana (I, chs 49, 50,) the southern boundary of Kośala was the river Syandikâ or Sai between the Gumti and the Ganges During the Buddhist period, Ayodhyâ was divided into Uttara (Northern) Kośala and Dakshina (Southern) Kośala The river Sarayû divided the two provinces. The capital of the former was Śrâvastî on the Rapti, and that of the latter was Ayodhyâ on the Sarayû At the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Kośala under Prasenajit's father Mahâkośala extended from the Himalayas to the Ganges and from the Râmgangâ to the Gandak The ancient capital of the kingdom was also called Ayodhyâ, the birth-place of Râmachandra At a place in the town called Janmasthâna he was born, at Chirodaka, called also Chirasâgara, Daśaratha performed the sacrifice for obtaining a son with the help of Rishyaśringa Rishi, at a place called Tretâ ki-Thâkur, Râmachandra performed the horse-sacrifice by setting up the image of Sitâ, at Ratnamandapa, he held his council (*Muktikopanishad*, ch 1), at Swargadwâram in Fyzabad, his body was burned. At Lakshmana-kunda, Lakshmana disappeared in the river Sarayû. Daśaratha accidentally killed Saravana, the blind Rishi's son, at Majhaurâ in the district of Fyzabad. Âdinâtha, a Jaina Tîrthankara, was born at Ayodhyâ (Fuhrer's *MAI*) Cunningham has identified the Sugrîva Parvata with the Kâlakârâma or Pûrvârâma monastery of the *Mahâvamśa*, the Mani Parvata with Aśoka's Stûpa mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, the Kubera Parvata with the Stûpa containing the hair and nails of Buddha (*Arch S Rep*., vol. i). The Mani Parvata is said to be a fragment of the Gandhamâdana mountain which Hanumâna carried on his head on his way to Lankâ The sacred places at Ayodhyâ were restored by Vikramâditya (evidently a Gupta king), who was an adherent of the Brahmanical faith, in the second century A D., or according to some, in the fifth century A D, as the sacred places at Brindâban were restored by Rûpa and Sanâtana in the sixteenth century A D Ayodhyâ is the Sâketa of the Buddhists and Sagada of Ptolemy (*see* **Sâketa**)

Âyudha—The country lying between the Vitastâ (Jhelum) and the Sindhû (Indus). Same as **Yaudheya**.

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851

BY S. CHARLES HILL

(Continued from p. 21.)

XX

THE STORY OF THE *CASSANDRA*, 1720—1723

The story of the *Cassandra*, which was captured by the Pirate Jasper Seager, is famous in the history of the East India Company's shipping. Her Captain, James Macrae, was an Irishman and, it is said, had been a school-fellow of his captor, who, on turning pirate in order to prey on English commerce, had impudently taken the name of Edward England. James Macrae, in reward for the courage with which he had defended his ship, was made Governor of Madras. Seager was kind to him on his capture, a kindness which caused his own deposition and ruin, so that he died in a state of great misery in Madagascar. Taylor, Captain of the *Victoria*, a brother pirate, present on the occasion of the attack on the *Cassandra*, got away safely to America and, possibly in return for an act of generosity, committed whilst drunk, in favour of a distinguished Portuguese nobleman, was received into the Spanish service.

An account of the action by Richard Lazenby, second mate of the *Cassandra*, affords a good description of the way in which the European pirates used to treat their prisoners, and also of their infamous cruelty towards Asiatics. It also discloses the fact (which one finds it difficult to believe) that the Dutch maintained regular communications with such wretches, but there is too much evidence for any doubt to exist. It further discloses the cowardly behaviour on the part of Captain Kirby of the *Greenwich* in deserting Macrae during the fight with Seager and the equally disgraceful flight of Captain Upton in command of the Bombay fleet, which incidents prove that all the Company's Captains were not of the same metal as Macrae, whose reputation is heightened by the terror and rage shown by the pirates as soon as they heard that he was to be put, by the Governor of Bombay, in charge of the operations against them. It is, perhaps, amusing to observe that they considered him guilty of ingratitude to men who, whilst robbing him, had spared his life and given him the means of escaping from Madagascar, but nothing is more certain than that the pirates of this period looked upon seamen that remained faithful to their employers as a kind of blacklegs who supported those rascally capitalists, the merchants, against honest sailors. The pirates were, in short, extremists of a very red dye.

Jasper Seager flew the Black Flag, and, as far as I know, was the first pirate to do so in Eastern waters, the only other recorded instances with which I have met are those of Malay pirates one hundred years later. The first instance which I have found of its use anywhere is by a French pirate from Dominica named Emanuel Wynne in 1700, who fought Captain John Cranby, R.N., off Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, but the skull and cross bones usually borne on it appear in the picture of *Death and the Young Lady* in Hulderich Frolich's *Beschreibung des Todtentanzes Basels und Berns*, published in the year 1607, in which the flag, attached to a trumpet which Death is blowing, bears this emblem. Whether Frolich invented it or actually found it on the walls of the convent he is describing cannot be known, for the Dances of Death there depicted have been destroyed, but it appears likely that the emblem was originally ecclesiastical and not piratical. Its use at sea is shown by the fact that many of the commanders of the East India Company placed it as a marginal sign in their Logs to indicate the record of a death. Probably other sea-captains did the same, and so, possibly, it became known to seamen and was by them chosen as an emblem to show that those who had turned pirates were, being dead in law, serving under the banner of King Death. This I believe to have been the case rather

than that they used it as threatening death, for as late as 1723 Captain Hawkins, when a prisoner in the hands of pirates, ascertained that they used it as a sign only of their occupation, and that they hoisted the *Red Flag* when they intended to give no quarter. It is true that they called it the *Jolly Roger*, a name of which no satisfactory derivation has yet been given, but if one supposes that that name was originally applied to the *Red Flag* there is not much difficulty in supposing it to be an English or American perversion of the French ' *Joli Rouge* ' (a name which French seamen may well have ascribed to it) which became transferred by English seamen to the *Black Flag* in ignorance of its exact meaning. There is, however, no documentary evidence which I can produce to prove that this supposition is correct, and there are at least half a dozen other possible derivations which I will not trouble to enumerate.

1.

The Cassandra taken by Pirates, 7 August 1720.

"The account[17] which the Captain of the *Cassandra* gives to the India Company of the loss of his ship is in substance as follows. That about the latter end of July last (1720) he with the *Greenwich* and an Ostender[18] went to water at the Isle of Johanna near the Coast of Madagascar, where they had intelligence that some pirates[19] were at work to fit out a small pirate ship at Mayotta [? Mayotte] another island about twenty leagues off, which they resolved to go and destroy. That on the 7th of August in the morning about 8 o'clock they discovered a sail standing into the Bay of Johanna, upon which they immediately unmoored and made clear ships, both Captains having mutually engaged to stand by each other, not doubting but to give a good account of them. The *Cassandra* weighed and got under sail. The *Greenwich* cut and did the like, the Pirates then within a mile of them. The *Cassandra* being under the high land had but a broken wind, but the *Greenwich*, being open to the valley, had a true breeze and made the best of his way from the *Cassandra*. They had an Ostender in their company of 22 guns, whose Captain promised heartily to engage with them, and 'tis believed would, had he not seen the *Greenwich* make the best of his way from them, which he seeing, did the same, leaving the *Cassandra* engaged with both Pirates, who called several times to the *Greenwich* to bear down to his assistance and fired two guns at him, but all to no purpose, but when he got about a league from the *Cassandra*, he brought to and looked on.

"The largest of the Pirates had but 34 guns, and the lesser 30, which encouraged the *Cassandra's* men to see them of so small force, not doubting but if the *Greenwich* would have fought to have taken both the Pirates, who having taken just before two rich prizes from Judea [? Jeddah], which had the value of $200,000 on board, but the *Cassandra* having no assistance was left to the fury of both the Pirates, from whom no quarter was to be expected, their black and bloody flags being all the time displayed; who notwithstanding their superiority engaged them both above three hours, during which the largest of them received some shot between wind and water, which made him keep at a little distance to stop his leaks, the other endeavoured to board him by the help of his oars, but by good fortune the *Cassandra* shot his oars to pieces and prevented him, and by consequence saved all their lives.

"About 4 o'clock all the officers and men placed on the Quarter Deck and Poop being killed or wounded and none left there but the Captain, the other Pirate made up

17 Macrae's own account is given in Johnson's *General History of the Pirates*, I, 119. This account adds one or two details.

18 A ship of the Ostend Company, which was not, however, formally incorporated until 1722. For a note on its history, see C. R. Wilson, *Old Fort William in Bengal*, II, 178 n. ED.

19 Apparently the crew of the pirate ship *Indian Queen* (Captain Oliver de la Bouche or Levasseur), which had been wrecked.

to the *Cassandra* again having lain all the time within a cable's length and given her several broadsides, in order to clap her aboard, when, no hopes remaining, she clapt her helm a-weather in order to run the ship ashore, and, notwithstanding she drew four foot more than the Pirate, yet, by good Providence, the latter stuck fast on the higher ground, her boltsprit reaching almost to the *Cassandra's* mizzen shrouds, by which they were disappointed a second time from boarding her, when a more furious engagement ensued than ever, and the *Cassandra* having the advantage of showing his broadside to the Pirate's bow and gauled him very much, and had Captain Kirby come in even then, 'tis verily believed they had taken both the Pirates, for the *Cassandra* had one of them sure but the other Pirate, who was still firing at her, seeing the *Greenwich* did not offer to come near, supplied his consort with three boats full of fresh men At which time, being then about half an hour past four, the *Greenwich* made sail and stood quite away to sea, whereupon Captain Macrae, seeing himself totally deserted, ordered all that could to get into the longboat, under the smoak of his guns, and save themselves, and himself went into the yawl, very sorely wounded in the head by a musket ball, so that, some by boats and some by swimming, most of the crew that were able [i e, unwounded] got ashore When the pirates came aboard they cut three of the wounded men to pieces, whilst the Captain and a few of his people made the best of their way to Kingstown[20] about 25 miles up the country, where he heard that the pirates had offered 10,000 dollars to the country people to bring him in, which they would certainly have done, but that they knew the King and his chief people were in the English interest, who in the interim gave out that he was dead of his wounds, which somewhat abated the fury of the pirates, but after ten days when he was pretty well recovered, beginning to consider the dismal condition they were in and the little hopes they had of ever getting a passage from thence, he desired Mr Cowan, a passenger with him,[21] to go down to the pirates and try if he could obtain their promise for his safety if he came down to them, which they readily granted, some of them having formerly sailed with him, which proved of great advantage to him and was the means of preserving all their lives, for, notwithstanding their promise, they were going to cut them to pieces unless they would enter with them, had it not been for the authority that the chief Captain, Edward England or English, and some others that knew Captain Macrae, had over the rest, and in the end he managed it so that they made him a present of the lesser Pirate Dutch built ship of about 300 tons, called the *Fancy*, and 129 bales of the Company's cloath, though they refused him a suit of his own cloaths or a shirt

"On the 3rd of September the Pirates sailed from Johanna, and five days after Captain Macrae with 55 of his men, including 2 passengers, with jury-masts and such odd sails as the pirates had been pleased to leave him, sailed for Bombay, where they arrived after a passage of 48 days, almost naked and half starved, having been reduced to a pint of water a day, and almost in despair of ever seeing any land through the long and continued calms they met with between the Coasts of Arabia and Malabar At Bombay they found the *London* and *Chandois* By these accounts it appears that Captain Macrae killed the pirates between 90 and 100 men, and lost himself 13 men and 24 wounded The pirates had on board both ships when they sailed 300 white men and 80 blacks

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20 The two chief villages of Johanna (Comoro islands) were known as King's Town and Queen's Town in the 17th and 18th centuries —ED

21 The *Weekly Journal* for the 13th July 1723 notices that the East India Company had made provision for the families of Captains Benjamin Loveday and Francis Randel who were killed fighting pirates on the *Cassandra*, and who were also probably passengers in the ship

"We hear the owners of the *Cassandra* have resolved to send the Captain a present to Bombay for his singular gallant behaviour in engaging the Pirates"

[*Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer*, 22 *April*, 1721]

2.

Extract of the Log of the Greenwich, Captain Richard Kirby Commander.

"*Sunday, August 7th* 1720 At 7 this morning saw two ships standing in for the Road [of Johanna] At 11 following unmoored, at 12 the *Cassandra* being under sail cut bower-cable in the hawse and then the Ostender weighed, at which time discovered the two ships to be pirates, the one a French built ship of 46 guns, by name the *Victory*, Captain England. The other Dutch built of 36 guns by name the *Fancy*, Captain [Jasper][22] Seager Got all things in readiness for our defence

"*Monday August 8th* 1720 At 1 p m the *Cassandra*, being the leewardmost ship, was engaged by the small ship They fought under the black flag at the main-topmast (with death's head in itt), the red flag at the foretopmast head, and St George's colours[23] at the Ensigne staff We tacked and stood in for to assist him, when perceiving the *Cassandra* aground, tacked and stood off, making the best of our way for Bombay. About 8 following spy'd one of the Pirates in chase after us, she having the land breeze first got almost within gunshot of us before we had the breeze, then we cut away our longboat and lost our yawl, the main giving way, with two sailors in her, by name James Tate and William Prescott Night approaching, soon lost sight of the Pirate and proceeded without any further attempt We were not fully satisfied whether the *Cassandra* was taken or not The last time we saw her perceived them hotly engaged, but could not come to her assistance"

[*India Office Marine Records*]

3

Narratives of Richard Lazenby of London, Second Mate of the Cassandra, Captain James Macrae, Commander, taken by two pirates, Captain Seager of the Fancy and Captain Taylor of the Victoria

No 97 Letter from Richard Lazenby

"I omit the particulars of our engagement and being taken, because do not doubt but your Honours have had a satisfactory account of that from Capt Macrae, and likewise in what manner I was taken from him The first night I came aboard [? the pirate ship] and the time came for these people to sleep, there was a watch ordered on my account, which made some of them so angry as to say that if they saw me out on the deck on any account soever they would knock my brains out, which did not a little concern me Some who were in the cabbin bade me be of good cheer, but not to venture on deck for fear of the worst. The Chief Surgeon in particular, who took care to lay me down on the cabbin floor by him, more to prevent my escape than any good nature in the villain, which I found afterwards when I rose in the night by his following me into the gallery and telling me if I offered at escaping they would oblige Captain Macrae to find me or else take all from him again and burn the ship

"The next morning they unmoored and hove short for sailing Captain Macrae came on board and interceded much for me, but to no purpose He left me and soon after they got under sail designing to proceed for India, where they arrived some time in October [1720]. The day before they made the land saw two ships to the eastward, whom at first sight took

22 See Log of the *London* (Captain William Upton) under date 4 Nov 1720
23 The White Ensign

to be English, whereupon the Captain called for me and threatened to cut me in pieces if I did not immediately tell him the signals[24] between us and our consorts from England I made him answer I knew of none, or ever had occasion to make any during our company together He then abused me, calling me scurrilous names, shook his broad sword at me, saying he would plague me like a dog as I was and I [had] better tell him Then came up with the ships soon after, which proved to be two small Moor ships which came from Muscat with horses, which they took by firing a gun or two They brought on board their Captain and Merchant, putting them to torture to make them confess of their money, believing they were come from Muscat They continued all night, rifling and tormenting the people and the next morning made the land At the same time a fleet[25] in shore plying to the northward, they instantly held a Council what to do with the fore mentioned ships Some were for sinking them, men and horses in them, others for throwing their sails overboard, others again for cutting away their masts, and all was, they said, for fear of being discovered on the Coast After their debates were over, they brought them to an anchor in thirty-five fathom water, throwed all their sails overboard and cut one of the ship's masts half through

"When at anchor one of the fore mentioned fleet bore away to them They made them and hoisted English colours, the pirates answering with red[26] The rest of the day they employed in taking all their water from them and at night weighed with the sea-wind, and left the two Moor ships to stand to the northward after the fleet, which they came up with about four the next morning, just as they got under sail with the land-wind, making no stop but ran through them, firing[27] their small arms and great guns on both sides as fast as they could load and fire till day light, then saw their mistake, having all along taken them for Angria's fleet They were in great consternation, not knowing what to do, whether to run from them or pursue, being so much inferior to them in strength, having no more than 300 men in both ships and 40 of them negroes, besides the *Victory* at that time had four pumps at work and must inevitably have perished some time before had it not been for the hand pumps and several pair of standards they took out of the *Cassandra*

"Observing the indifferency of the fleet, they took courage to chase rather than run, which they did when the sea-wind came in, but were to leeward about a gunshot, some ahead (especially the great ships) and some astern, which were afraid to tack upon believing them to be fire vessels The great ships began to gain upon them towards sunset They continued the same course all night Do see several boats pass they had cut away The next morning were all out of sight, only some few Gallevats and a small Ketch to leeward, which they bore away after The Ketch perceiving it embarked their people on board a Gallevat and set fire to her They then left off chasing, the Gallevats being too nimble for them About an hour after they see a Gallevat to the north which they chased and took, being come from Gogo[28] and bound for Callecut, loaded with cotton

24 When the Company's ships left England together, the senior Captain drew up a set of signals for recognising each other at a distance, if they happened to be parted, and for certain other occasions These appear to have varied from time to time, as, if they had always been the same, the capture of any one ship by an enemy would have made them not only useless but even dangerous.

25 This was the Bombay fleet under Captain Upton of the *London*, sent against Angria His cowardly behaviour in presence of the pirates is referred to by Hamilton

26 Muhammadan colours, which were plain red

27 "21 October 1720 Capt Harvey came aboard and reported they were the *Cassundra* and Great French ship [i e, the *Victory*] The other two they took to be their prizes Upon the *Antelope's* coming near them, she fired a shot to leeward, they did the same and immediately after hoisted their bloody flag at mast head and fired two shot at her"—Log of the *London*

28 Gogha in the peninsula of Kâthiâwâr, Gulf of Cambay —ED

"They asked them after the fleet, believing they were in it, but the fellows told them they had not seen a ship or boat before that day since they left Gogo, and notwithstanding the poor fellows' pleading, they threw all their cargo overboard, tormenting them by squeezing their joints in the vice to make them confess of the fleet They kept the boat with them all that night and part of the next day, but blowing fresh eventually they split the Gallevat's sail, so that they could not keep company with the ship They then put the people into their boat, having nothing but a small try-sail, no provisions and about four gallons of water half salt, and then out of sight of the land

"They then resolved on cruising southward The next day were between Goa and Carwar At noon heard guns fire at Carwar They instantly came to an anchor and at night sent their boat to discover what ships there was in the Road, who returned about two in the morning, giving an account of two Grabs at an anchor there They then weighed and ran nearer to the Bay and anchored again at daylight The Grabs having sight of them ran out to get under India Diva [Anjidiv] Castle, which they did with much difficulty The pirates were so much displeased at it, wanting water, that they had a Council whether they should make a descent that night and take the island They could not agree on it, so proceeded to the southward The next morning see a small ship at an anchor in Onnore [Onore, Honâvar], which in the evening they took, having no one on board but a Dutchman and two Portuguese, the Captain and his officers being gone on shore The next morning they sent on shore to acquaint the Captain that if he would supply them with some water and fresh provisions he should have the ship again At night he sent on board his mate, Frank Harmless, with a letter to them that if they would deliver the ship into his possession over the Bar he would supply them with what water and provisions they wanted and not before They not liking his proposals the Mate said he would carry them where they should get what they wanted They not liking to trust him being a stranger, resolved of seeking water at the Lacker Diva [Laccadive] Islands, which they put for directly, where they arrived in three days after The same day of their arrival they took a small Monchew[29] with the Governor of Carwar's pass on board, who gave them an account that there was no anchor ground among the islands[30] They then being near the Island of Melindra [? Amendivi] sent their boat on shore to see if there was any water or whether the island was inhabited They returned giving an account of there being good water and abundance of houses, but that the inhabitants at the sight of the ships were fled off in boats to the adjacent islands, only abundance of women and children, which they found a day or two afterwards hid in the bushes, and forced them in barbarous manner to their lascivious inclinations, destroying their cocoa-trees and everything they met with setting fire to several of their houses and churches Had fresh gales of wind whilst there, which occasioned their losing three or four anchors there, the ground being so rocky, and lastly with a hard gale of wind were forced from the island where they left about 70 people, black and white, and most of their water casks In about ten days they made shift to find the island again, where they filled their water, took their people on board Provision being very scarce among them, they now resolved of proceeding to Cochin and see what they could get from their good friends the Dutch, who, they said, they were confident would not fail of supplying any of their profession

(*To be continued*)

[29] A *manchua*, the Portuguese name for a cargo boat on the West Coast of India. See *Travels of Peter Mundy* (Hak Soc), ed Temple, III Pt I, p 205 n —ED

[30] Captain Biden, Master Attendant at Madras, stated in 1848 —" Except on a small bank off Minicoy there is no anchorage amongst the Laccadives "—Low, *Indian Navy*, II, 195.

THE HÂTHIGUMPHÂ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF KHÂRAVELA

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THE Hâthigumphâ cave inscription of Khâravela in the Udayagiri hill (Orissa), edited and translated by Mr K P Jayaswal in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 3 425–504, 4 364–403, deserves careful study, because it throws light on early Indian history, and because Mr Jayaswal claims that it compels us to revise our dates for Buddha and the Śaiśunaka kings of Magadha

The inscription opens with a salutation to the Arhats and the Siddhas, thereby indicating its Jaina origin It then introduces us in line 1 to Khâravela, the emperor (अधिपति) of Kalinga, whom it calls a lunar king (Aira=Aila), Mahâmeghavâhana (=Mahendra), Mahârâja, and the increaser of the dynasty of King Cheta (चेतराजवंशवर्धन) The *Purânas* mention, among post Ândhra kings nine very powerful and wise kings called Meghas in Kosala (F E Pargiter *Purâna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 73) These Meghas must be the Meghavâhanas of Kalinga who were therefore emigrants from Kosala This is confirmed by an Oriya MS of the 16th century A D preserved in the Indian Museum which states that the Aira kings of Utkala, *i e*, Kalinga, had come to Khandagiri (Udayagiri) having abandoned Kosala (कोसलनगर त्यक्त्वा खण्डसेलसमीपे तु) And Khâravela, too is called an Aira This MS also informs us that Kalinga was first conquered by Nanda, the famous Magadhan king (नन्दस्य माहितो युद्धे ऐरो जितवान भवेत्, नदराज सुविख्यात मगधे विद्यन तदा), that it was later on recovered by another Aira king, the destroyer in Kalinga of Nanda's Vedic faith (नद वेदधर्मपरायण, ऐरो जयमाप्नोति उत्कले ख्याति । वेदधर्मविनाशक and that it was again conquered by Aśoka (अशोकस्य महामित्र गिर उत्कलेश्वर) These are confirmed by Megasthenes' statements that the last Nanda who was ruling when Alexander arrived at the Hyphasis (Bias) in September 326 B C (V A Smith *Early History of India*, 114) was king of the Prasii (Magadha) and the Gangaridæ (Kalinga) also, and that in his own time Kalinga was a free kingdom (McCrindle's *Translation*, pp 135, 155), and by Aśoka's claim to have conquered Kalinga hitherto unconquered (अविजित) by the Mauryas (*Rock Edict* 13)

Târanâtha says (pp 34, 38, 41 ch 6) that Kâmâśoka conquered the country on the south-eastern ocean (Kalinga) and was converted by Yasas who held a council at the Kusumpuravihâra in Vesâli under King Nandin The *Dîpavamsa* (4 44, 47), and the *Mahâvamśa* (4 8) place this Vesâli council of Yasas in Kâlâśoka's eleventh year Therefore Kâmâśoka=Kâlâśoka=Nandin , and Nandavardhana, who, as we will show elsewhere, ruled from 401 to 361 B C , conquered Kalinga *before* his eleventh year, *i e* , 401—10=391 B C

Since the last Nanda held Kalinga till September 326 B C , it must have recovered its independence between that date and the date of accession of Chandragupta Maurya to whom it was not subject

In the time of Megasthenes, it was a powerful kingdom But eight years after his anointing (*Rock Edict* 13), Aśoka conquered Kalinga, and the suffering which his conquest had caused through slaughter, captivity, famine and pestilence stung Aśoka with remorse, and made him forswear for the future all military ambition Twelve years after his anointing, Aśoka, in addition to his fourteen rock edicts at Dhauli (Cuttack district) and Jaugada (Ganjam district) in Kalinga, issued two edicts special to Kalinga enjoining its just government and insisting upon sympathetic and tactful treatment of its wild tribes In the same year he gave two cave-dwellings, and, eighteen years after his anointing, he gave a third cave dwelling in the Barabar hills (Gayâ district) to the Âjîvikas, a sect of naked ascetics So Kalinga probably continued to be under Aśoka's rule till his death, and only thereafter became free once more

The Hâthigumphâ inscription then gives a brief and sober account of Khâravela's doings from year to year. When he had completed fifteen years of his age, he was anointed crown prince (युवराज) and ruled as such for nine years. He had already thoroughly learnt royal correspondence (लेख), currency (रूप), state accounting (गणना), municipal law (व्यवहार), *dharma* injunctions (विधि), and all the arts (विद्या). These facts are related in l. 2 of the inscription. Mr. Jayaswal infers from them that it was then usual to postpone the formal anointing as king to the twenty-fifth year of age, even though the predecessor die long before that time. But the inference is not a necessary one. Khâravela's anointment at that age might have been due to his predecessor having died only then. Mr. Jayaswal argues that his inference would account for the four years' interval between the accession and the coronation of Asoka (*I.A.*, p. 21). But the interval might have equally well been due to the struggles between Asoka and his brothers for the succession to the throne, which are dimly reflected in the Buddhist legends about Aśoka's destruction of *all* his brothers before his conversion to Buddhism.

When Khâravela had completed twenty-four years, he was anointed Mahârâja in the third Kalinga dynasty for one generation (पुरुषयुग) (insc. l. 3). The reference to Chetas dynasty as the third, confirms the conquests of Kalinga by Nandavardhana and Aśoka. The first dynasty ruled down to the time of Nandavardhana, the second from after the time of the last Nanda to the ninth year after the anointing of Asoka, and the third after Asoka's death. The reference to the anointing *for one generation* indicates that the people were in theory free to choose their kings for a limited number of generations, or for the whole duration of that dynasty, just as they liked.

In the first year of his rule, soon after his anointment, Khâravela repaired the towers, city walls, buildings, and embankments of reservoirs in the Kalinganagara which had been damaged by a storm (l. 3), and pleased his subjects, reckoned at three and a half millions. Then in the second year, disregarding Sâtakarni, he sent a large army to the west, and, by his army which had reached the Kanhabena, he burnt the Mûshikanagara (l. 4). We will show elsewhere that the Sâtakarni here referred to must be identified with Śrî Sâtakarni (170—160 B. C.), the third Ândhra king of the *Purâna Text* (p. 71). The Kanhabena is doubtless the river formed by the junction at Bhandara (Central Provinces) of the Kanhan and the Wainganga which in its turn joins the Wardha. The Mûshikanagara, therefore, was situate in the Central Provinces. This inference is confirmed by Khâravela having sent his army to the west (of Orissa). But the Mûshika kingdom is placed by the *Keralolpatti* in South Travancore, and its capital was, according to the *Mûshikavaṁśa*, Kolam, the modern Quilon (*Travancore Archæological Series* 2. 106-7). So the Mûshikas of South Travancore were emigrants from the Central Provinces after A. D. 825, the starting point of the Kollam era which marks the foundation of that city ("கொலலம தோனறி நூறறு நாறபததொனபதாமாணடு" Stravallavankodar's insc., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8), since it was the capital of even the first Mushika king Ramaghata. In sending an army to the west and burning Mûshikanagara, Khâravela is said to have *disregarded* Sâtakarni, because apparently the latter's sway extended as far east as the Central Provinces.

In the third year, Khâravela entertained the people of Kalinganagara with dances, music and feasts (l. 5). In the fourth year, he subdues the leaders of the Rashtrikas and Bhojakas, apparently Central Indian republican tribes. In the fifth year, he brings into the capital city from the Tanasuliya Road the canal excavated by King Nanda त्रिवर्षशत (l. 6). Mr. Jayaswal translates the last term by '300 years before', and argues that, since this inscription places Khâravela's fourteenth year in the

Mauryan year 164, Nandarâja must have ruled over Kalinga in 325 (Chandragupta's acc.)—164+300+14—5=470 B.C. and that this fact is consistent only with his chronological scheme, and the date 544 B.C. not c. 480 B.C., for Buddha's death. But, in his scheme, even the earliest Nanda, Nandavardhana, ascended the throne only in 449 B.C., twenty-one years later than the date arrived at for him on Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of the inscription. And, since Mr. Jayaswal's scheme professes to be not merely an approximation, but exact, being arrived at by taking into account even fractions of years, this fact alone is fatal to his interpretation. Moreover, even allowing the maximum figures for each king, Nandavardhana's accession cannot be dated before 325+12+28+43+42=450 B.C. (Pargiter *Purâna Text*, 69). On the other hand, it is impossible to take the 300 years to be an approximation, because there is no term to express the meaning 'about.' There is nothing in the term to express the meaning 'before' (पूर्वे) either. On the contrary, the use of the accusative singular can only be consistent with the interpretation '*in* such and such year.' The interposition, moreover, of वर्ष between त्रि and शत is intentional, to prevent our taking त्रि to qualify शत. So the term should be translated by 'in the year 103.' The use of वर्ष here between त्रि and शत is parallel to the use of अग्र in l. 17 between चतु षाष्ठि and शतिक, and to the use of वर्ष itself between पञ्चातरित षाष्ठि and शते in Mr. Jayaswal's original reading of the dated portion of the inscription. His interpretation of the former term as 64+100=164, and not 64×100=6,400 years, and the latter term as 65+100=165, and not 65×100=6,500 years, is inconsistent with his principles of numerical interpretation. If the engraver had meant '300 years' he would have inscribed त्रिषु वर्षशतेषु or त्रिशतवर्षेषु with त्रिषु completely separated from वर्षशतेषु or with वर्षेषु in the end, and with शतेषु or वर्षेषु in the plural on the analogy of पञ्चत्रिशै शतसहस्रै (=35,00,000 l. 4), नवतानि वृषशतानि (=90,00 bulls—original reading of l. 14), शतसहस्रै (100,000 l. 7), पञ्चसप्तत्या शतसहस्रै (=75,00,000, l. 16). And even if the term meant '300', the proper translation would only be 'in the year 300', not '300 years before.' The year 103 should be counted in the same era as the year 164 in the same inscription (l. 16), since no other era is here referred to. And that era is the Mauryan (मुरियकाल). Mr. Jayaswal objects that King Nanda, who preceded Chandragupta, could not have lived in the year 103 of an era which must have started from the date of accession of the latter, because he was the first Mauryan king. But there is no reason to identify the King Nanda of this inscription with any King Nanda of Magadha. There might have been a later king of that name in Kalinga itself. There is nothing unusual in kings of different lands and dynasties having the same name. In fact, much of the confusion in Indian chronology arises from different kings bearing the same name. Finally it is more probable that the canal was extended into the capital city within 164—14+5—103=52 years of its excavation by King Nanda, than that the people took 300 years to realise the advantages of such extension, even if after all these years, the canal was in existence and in proper repair. This passage of the inscription should therefore be translated by "In the fifth year Khâravela extended into the capital city, from its former terminus in the Tanasuliya Road, a canal excavated by King Nanda (of Kalinga) in the Mauryan year 103."

In the sixth year, Khâravela performed Râjasûya (a sacrifice asserting imperial claims), and, in honour of the occasion, remitted all tax money (करपण) and bestowed many privileges on civic and village corporations (ll. 6–7). The reference to करपण shows that taxes were paid in money also. The reference to civic privileges shows that the imperial government did not interfere with the internal administration of cities and villages, but left it to local corporations. It is usually assumed that Khâravela was a Jaina, but there is

apparently nothing in this inscription to support that view If he is referred to in l 12 as paying respect to the Jaina image of Kalinga, and in ll 14–5 as granting maintenances to Jaina professors, and caves for learned Śramaṇas to meet in assembly, he is, on the other hand, also referred to as performing Râjasûya (ll 6-7), and, for the success of his expedition to Bhâratavarsha, Vedic sacrifices (l 10), and as granting gifts of golden *Kalpa* trees, horses, elephants, and houses with *fire-altars*, and, to make them accepted lands to the caste assembly of the Brahmans (l 9) It is more likely that a Hindu might also have worshipped Jaina images and patronized Jaina professors and Śramaṇas, than that a Jaina might have performed Râjasûya and other Vedic sacrifices, as Jainism and Buddhism were primarily revolts against Vedic sacrifices He therefore seems to have been a liberal Hindu, like King Harshavardhana of Kanauj This is confirmed by the references to him in l 17 as a restorer of every temple (देवायतन), perhaps mere wooden structures in his time, as a respector of every sect (सर्वपाषण्डपूजक), and as one born in a family of Kshattriya Vedic seers (राजर्षिवशकुलविनि सृत), and is not really inconsistent with his respecting forms and acts of lay observance (l 14), because worship and ritual are common to all religions, though the particular forms may differ

In the seventh year, his wife Dhusi of the house of Vajira gave birth to a son (l 7) Mr. Jayaswal identifies Vajira with Alexander's Bazira, west of the Indus (*Arrian* 4 27), because in l 15 Dhusi is called the queen of Simhaprastha (=Simhapura) and Simhapura is placed near Kashmir in the *Mahâbhârata* (*Sabhâ Par* 17–20) But it is unusual to call a queen as the queen of her parental instead of her marital home, though she might be spoken of as the Vajira 'princess' So Simhapura must be the capital city of her husband's Kalinga country itself, though Mr Jayaswal thought it impossible to identify the Kalinganagara And we should expect her parents' country Vajira to be nearer Kalinga The Tamil epics *Śilappadhikâram* and *Manimekhalai* of the second century A D confirm these inferences by saying that Simhapura was a capital city of Kalinga ("கலிங்க நனாடடு, வடிவேற றடககை வசுவுங்குமரனுந, தீமபுன றபழனச சிஙகபு ...., காமபெழு கானக கபிலபுரததினு, மரசாள செலவதது நிரைதார வேநதா" *Silap* 23 138 42, "கலிங்க நனாடடுத, தாயமனனவா வசுவுங்குமரனுஞ, சிஙகபுரமுஞ செழுநீரக கபிலையும, மனகான கினறோடற செறுவுறு காள"—*Manim* 26 15–8), and that the king of the Vajra country 'bounded by the holy expanse of water' gave tribute to the Choḷa king Karikala ("மாநீர வேலி வசசிர நனாடடுக, கோனிறை கொடுதத கொறறப பநதரும" *Silap* 5 99 100) Adiyârkunallâr (twelfth century A D), who commented on the former work, remarks that the Vajra country lay about the banks of the river Son (வசசிர நாடு-சோணையாறறக கரை-) which passes through eastern Bundelkhand and that part of Bihar which lies between Benares and Gaya, and effects a junction with the Ganges (the 'holy expanse of water'), which bounds them on the north, near Patna So we must identify Vajira with the Vajra country, i e, South-West Bihar and East Bundelkhand Adiyârkunallâr interpreted 'மாநீர வேலி' to mean 'கடல வேலி' i e, 'bounded by the sea'. But this is a mistake due to his ignorance of the geography of North India, because neither Bazira nor Vajra was bounded by the sea, and because it is impossible that, in Khâravela's time when the whole of North India and Deccan was practically partitioned between the three powerful sovereigns Śrî Satakarni who ruled from the west coast to the Kanhabena, Pushyamitra who ruled from the Indus to the Barabar hills, and Khâravela who ruled from the east coast to the Barabar hills and the Kanhabena, the Vajra country could have extended its sway to the limits of the eastern or the western sea But Vajra is not to be confused with Magadha, since the Magadhan king is separately mentioned as having also given presents to Karikâla after defeat "மகத நனாடடு வாள வாய வேநதன, பகைப்புறததுக கொடுதத பட்டி

மண்டபமும்"—*Śilap* 5 101-2) As regards the site of Simhapura, Mr Jayaswal has already shown that the capital city of Kalinga could not have been far from the Udayagiri hill and this is confirmed by the Oriya MS already referred to which says that the Aira kings of Kalinga had their capital city near Khandagiri (Udayagiri) (खण्डसैलसमीपतु)

In the eighth year, having with a large army stormed the Gorathagiri barrier (Barabar hills), Khâravela besieged Râjagriha, which had again become the capital of Magadha apparently after Aśoka's death, and caused its king to retreat in haste to Mathurâ, abandoning his army to its fate, but, owing to a gap in the inscription, the result is unknown (ll 7-8) The fact that the then Magadhan king, Pushyamitra (as we learn in l 12) retreated to Mathurâ shows that he was not merely, as is usually supposed, a local ruler, but an emperor whose power extended in the west not merely as far as Mathurâ, but, if Kâlidâsa who refers to Vasumitra's victory over the Yavanas, in defence of his grandfather Pushyamitra's sacrificial horse, on the banks of the Indus (सिन्धु) (*Mâlavikâgnimitra*, Act 5 'Pushyamitra s letter to Agnimitra'), and Patañjali, the contemporary of Pushyamitra (Smith *EHI*, 214), who refers to the expulsion of Yavanas and Śakas beyond the borders of India (*Mahâbhâshya* on शूद्राणामनिरवसितानां. 2 4 10) are to be believed, as far as even the Indus

In the ninth year, Khâravela grants gifts of golden *Kalpa* trees with sprouts, horses, elephants, and houses with *fire-altars*, and, *to make them accepted,* he gives lands to the caste assembly of the Brahmans (l 9) This shows the unwillingness in his time of Brahmans to accept gifts at the hands of non-Brahmans, although they were kings, and also the esteem in which they were held In the tenth year, after performing Vedic sacrifices, he sends a successful expedition to *Bhâratavarsha* which must, in his time, have been restricted in its application to the Gangetic valley (l 10) In the eleventh year, he leads out in procession, in a wooden car, the *nim* wood statue of त्रयोदशवर्षशतकेतुभद्र (l 11) As before, Mr Jayaswal takes this term to mean 'Ketubhadra who lived 1300 years before' and identifies Ketubhadra with Ketumân, the eldest son of the Kalinga king, who, as the commander of the Kalinga forces in the Bhârata war, died on the field of battle (*Mahâbhârata Bhîshma Par*, chs 17 and 54) But, for reasons already given, this passage also should mean 'Ketubhadra who lived in the Mauryan year 113', and the epithet *Bhadra* indicates that Ketu was a king of Kalinga It is more probable that the people of Kalinga honoured the statue of a king who lived 164—14+11−113=48 years only before their time, than that they honoured a prince who died 1300 years before and that his statue came down to them intact through all that long period, even if the art of making statues was known as early as the time of the Bhârata war

In the twelfth year, frightening the Northern kings (उत्तरापथ) and the people of Magadha, Khâravela crossed the Ganges from its northern side on his elephants standing end to end across the river, and made the Magadhan king Bahasatimitra bow at his feet (ll 11-2) 'Bahasati' is Prâkrita for 'Brihaspati', the deity presiding over the Pushya Nakshatra (*Sânkhyâyana Grihya-Sûtra,* 1 26 6) Therefore, Mr Jayaswal argues, 'Bahasatimitra' is identical with Pushyamitra, the first Sunga king, and he establishes the identity convincingly by citing the *Mitra* coins of Oudh, Gorakhpur, etc (*JASB*, 1880, pt 1, pp 21—8, 87—90, Cunningham *Coins of Anc Ind*, 69, 74, 79, 93, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol 1 184) which refer to Pushyamitra by that name The twelfth year of Khâravela corresponds to the Mauryan year 164—14+12=162 Pushyamitra was therefore living in that year Since the Purânas place him in the Mauryan years 137-173 (Pargiter *Purâna Text,* 70), this inscription confirms the Purânic chronology for the Mauryan and Sunga kings of Magadha

Then occurs the following passage as edited by Mr Jayaswal —नदराजनीतच कालिंगजिनसनिवेश । गहरतनान पडिहारेहि अगमागधवसु च नेयाति (l 12) The plate clearly reads नदराजानीत, not नदराजनीत. The central line is distinctly lengthened to mark the long vowel and the very small gap between shows the lengthening is intentional The lengthening is material, because नदराजानीत would mean 'brought by King Nanda', while नदराजनीत *may* mean 'taken away by King Nanda' In the one case, Nanda would be the king of Kalinga, and, in the other, he *may* be the king of a foreign country like Magadha It may be argued that the inscription mentions only acts of peace *or* of war in alternate years and that, the twelfth year being a war year, the events referred to in this passage should also be war events, and that, therefore, the correct reading should be नदराजनीत But the very next event of the *same* year, his building towers with carved interiors is an act, not of war, but of peace And, in the sixth year, which ought to be a war year, no act of war is mentioned or even hinted at The 'च' after 'नीत' connects वदापयति' (immediately before नदराजनीत) with another predicate which is missing after 'सनिवेश' perhaps something like 'serves' The 'च' after 'वसु' connects this predicate with 'नेयाति' Pandit Bhagavanlâl reads 'गहरतनपडिहारेहि,' and his reading would mean 'by doors set with family gems', while Mr Jayaswal's reading would be meaningless, unless, like him, we take प्रतिहार in the unusual and unauthorised sense of 'recaptures' Even then, how are we to construe the instrumental plural पडिहारेहि with the accusative singular सनिवेश and वसु च, what are we to supply in the gap, and how are we to construe the whole passage consistently? On the other hand, with our reading राजानीत and Pandit Bhagavanlal's reading गहरतनपडिहारेहि we may translate it by "And he serves the Jaina image of Kalinga brought by King Nanda (of Kalinga) with doors set with family gems, and brings the wealth of Anga and Magadha" Finally, even if the reading be नदराजनीत, 'नीत' in this term might have the same sense as 'नेयाति'='brings' instead of 'takes away', and in that case too, Nanda would be a king of Kalinga

In the same year, Khâravela built towers with carved interiors, and received presents of elephant ships, precious stones like rubies, pearls, etc from the Pândya king (पडराजा). The Pândya country was famous for its pearls (l 13) Then, in the thirteenth year, he grants maintenances to Jaina professors of philanthropy (यापु) who resided on the Kumârî hill (Udayagiri), and he respects forms and acts of lay observance like Srî Jivadeva, apparently Khâravela's father, of whom he might have been deemed a worthy successor, by continuing his pious observances (l 14) He also makes the present cave for learned ascetics (श्रमणा) to meet in assembly, and near their residences he builds a palace with beryl inlaid columns for Dhusi, the queen of Simhaprastha, to halt in while on a visit to this place (l 15) When this inscription was engraved, Khâravela had completed (स्वबच्छिन्न) the Mauryan time (मुरियकाल) of a 64+100=164 years' interval, *i e*, the Mauryan year 164 (l. 16) Then the inscription calls Khâravela by the names 'king of prosperity' (खेमराज), 'king of increase' (वधराज), 'king of ascetics' (भिखुराज), and 'king of Dharma' (धमराज), and refers to him by the favourite idea of kingship, *i e*, as rolling his wheel of Dharma (पवतचक्रो), (ll 16–7) With this the inscription comes to a close

To fix the chronology of this inscription, it is necessary to determine the date of Chandragupta's accession A passage from Justinus' *Epitoma Pompei Trogi* (15 4) relevant in this connection is translated by Dr Hultzsch as follows —"Seleucus carried on many wars in the east . . First seizing Babylon, and then reducing the Bactrians . Thereafter he passed into India which had, since Alexander's death, killed his prefects, thinking that the yoke of slavery had been shaken off from its neck The author of its freedom had been

Sandrokottos, but, when victory was gained, he had changed the name of freedom to that of bondage For, after he had ascended the throne (*siquidem occupato regno*), he himself oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had rescued from foreign dominion Though of humble birth, he was impelled by innate majesty to assume royal power When King Nanda (Nandos) whom he had offended by his boldness, ordered him to be killed, he had resorted to speedy flight Sandrokottos, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness" (*JRAS*, 1914, 948-9) Since Dr Hultzsch has omitted in his translation some relevant passages after ' he had resorted to speedy flight", we will supply them from McCrindle's translation in his *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* " It was this prodigy (of a lion licking him) that first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant approached him and, receiving him on its back, fought vigorously in front of the army Sandrokottos, having thus, etc " The course of events mentioned in these passages may be arranged as follows —

(1) When King Nanda ordered Sandrokottos (Chandragupta) to be killed, the latter had resorted to speedy flight ,

(2) While a fugitive, he met Alexander when the latter was preparing to retreat from the Hyphasis (Bias) Plutarch (first century A D) writes in his *Life of Alexander* (ch 62) — " Androkottus himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country, since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition, and the meanness of his origin",

(3) The prodigy of a lion licking him first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne,

(4) He then collected a band of robbers and *instigated* the Indians to overthrow the existing government (obviously of Magadha),

(5) He was thereafter *preparing* to attack Alexander's prefects when a wild elephant, taking him on its back, fought vigorously,

(6) Sandrokottos thus *gained* the crown,

(7) India *killed* Alexander's prefects *shortly* after his death, because if the killing had occurred long after Alexander's death, the latter event alone could not be said to have made India *think* that the yoke of slavery had been shaken off from its neck,

(8) Sandrokottos, by taking advantage of the confusion caused by killing the prefects to raise a revolt, was the author of India's freedom,

(9) But after Sandrokottos *ascended* the throne, he oppressed the very people whom he had freed from foreign control,

(10) Sandrokottos *held* India, when Seleucus was *laying the foundations* of his *future* greatness

It is thus clear that, *soon* after he heard, *i e*, in about two months of Alexander's death at Babylon in June 323 B C (Smith *EHI*, 114), Chandragupta was *preparing* to attack

Alexander's prefects. Then he fought with and killed Nanda and thus *gained* the crown. The Indians regulated their military movements strictly by precedent. So serious fighting could not have been begun before Kârttika in the cold season of 323 B.C. The military operations themselves would take about six months, *i.e.*, till about April 322 B.C. Then only could he have helped the people of the Punjab who had killed Alexander's prefects to revolt successfully. This again would take many months, about a year, if we remember that it took even Alexander nearly two years, from January 326 to October 325 B.C. to conquer the Punjab and the Indus valley. So the accession of Chandragupta, who ascended the throne only after he had freed the Punjab and the Indus valley, could not be dated before 321 B.C. Neither could it have taken place after that year, since, in that same year, in consideration of the changed conditions and the diminished territory, Antipater had to divide the satrapies anew and practically recognise the independence of India by giving the Indus valley, which had been under Peithon in Alexander's lifetime, and the Punjab, as a matter of form, to the Indian kings Porus and Ambhi of Taxila "for, it was impossible to remove them without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general" (*Diodorus*, 18. 39).

That the accession of Chandragupta must be dated after Alexander's death is also clear from the course of events in the Punjab. When Chandragupta met Alexander as the latter was preparing to retreat in September 326 B.C., the former was still a fugitive. Alexander stayed in India till the beginning of October 325 B.C., when he began his march through Gedrosia. While he was marching through Karmania in February-March 324 B.C., Alexander heard that Philippos, one of his Indian satraps, had been murdered by his mercenary troops who, however, had been slain at once by his Macedonian bodyguard, and directed Ambhi, king of Taxila, and Eudemos, commandant of a contingent on the Upper Indus (*Curtius*, 10. 1. 11) to assume temporary administration of the province. The murder of Philippos must not be confused with that of Alexander's prefects referred to by Justinus, because the former occurred *before*, and the latter *after*, Alexander's death, and since the former involved no loss of territory to the Greeks, like the latter. Nothing more happened till Alexander's death (Smith. *EHI*, 109-10, 113-4). So Chandragupta's accession must be dated after Alexander's death, and in 321 B.C.

The *Purâṇas* (Pargiter. *Purâṇa Text*, 70) assign Chandragupta 24, his son Bindusâra 25, and his son Asoka 36 years. Buddhist works assign them 24, 28 and 37 years (*Dîpavaṁśa*, 5. 73, 100, 101, 11. 5, 12, 13, *Mahâvaṁśa*, 5. 18, 19, 20. 6, Buddhaghosha's *Samantapasâdikâ*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, Oldenberg 3, 321, Bigandet's *Life of Gautama* 2. 128), and say Aśoka was anointed four years after his accession (*DV*, 6. 1, 20, 21, *MV*, 5. 21, *Sp* 299, *Bigandet*, 2. 128). The total for the Maurya rulers was 137 years (Pargiter. *Purâṇa Text*, 70), but, by adding the figures of individual reigns, we get only 133 years (*Vâyu*, and *Brahmâṇḍa* purâṇas). To get the 137 years, we must add the four years' interval between the accession and the coronation of Aśoka. On the other hand, the Buddhist works, by adding three years for Bindusâra, and one year for Aśoka, count the period twice over. So we should give these kings 24, 25, and 4+36=40 years. Târanâtha, by giving Bindusâra thirty-five years, confirms the unit figure of the *Purâṇas*, and probably misread त्रिंशत् for विंशत् in the decade figures. We may also note that Aśoka commenced publishing his 'rescripts on morality' twelve years after his anointing (*Pillar Edict* 6, *Rock Edict* 4).

We now give the following Chronological Table to illustrate this inscription —

c 400 B C —Kalinga conquered by Nandavardhana (401—361 B C)

333—321 B C —Sumâlya Nanda of Magadha

326—321 B C —Kalinga freed by an Aira king

321—297 B C —Chandragupta Maurya of Magadha destroyed Nandas, and freed Punjab and the Indus valley from the Greeks before his accession Kalinga a powerful and independent kingdom

297—272 B C —Bindusâra of Magadha

272 B C —Accession of Aśoka, and struggle between him and his brothers for the throne

268 B.C —Anointing of Aśoka

260 B C —Aśoka conquered Kalinga, and was converted

256 B C —Aśoka's Kalinga edicts He presents two caves in Barabar hills to the Âjîvikas

249 B C —He presents another cave in the same hills to the same

232 B C —Aśoka died Probably Kalinga freed under Megha king Cheta of Kosala

218 B C —Nanda of Kalinga excavated a canal with terminus in Tanasuliya Road He also brought the Jaina image of Kalinga Succeeded by Ketubhadra (208 B C)

184—48 B C —Pushyamitra Sunga of Râjagriha expelled Yavanas and Śakas, and ruled all North India as far west as the Indus

194 B C —Khâravela (son of Jîvadeva ?) born

179 B C —Khâravela *yuvarâja* after studying लेख, रूप, गणन, व्यवहार, धर्म, and विद्या

170 B C —His father's death Anointed king for a पुरुषयुग Repaired storm-damaged Simhapura His subjects counted 3,500,000 Accession of Śrî Śâtakarni, Ândhra king

169 B C —Disregarding Śâtakarni, Khâravela sent an army to the west and burnt Mûshikanagara on the Kanhabena (Central Provinces)

167 B C —Khâravela subdues the Râshtrika and Bhojaka leaders

166 B C —He extended Nanda's canal into Simhapura

165 B C —He performs Râjasûya, remits tax-money, and bestows privileges on civic and village corporations

164 B C —His queen Dhusi of Vajra house (East Bundelkhand and South-West Bihar) bears a son

163 B C —Stormed Gorathagiri (Barabar hills) and besieged Râjagriha Its king retreats in haste to Mathurâ, abandoning his army

162 B C —Grants gifts to Brahmans, and, to make the gifts accepted, lands to their assembly

161 B C —After performing Vedic sacrifices, he sends a successful expedition to Bhâratavarsha (the Gangetic valley)

160 B C —He leads out in procession, on a wooden car, the statue of Ketubhadra of Kalinga-acc in Mauryan year 113 =208 B C , Sâtakarni dies

159 B C —Frightening the उत्तरापथ kings, and the Magadha people, Khâravela crossed the Ganges from its northern side on elephants, and bowed Pushyamitra of Magadha He presented jewelled doors to Nanda's Jaina image of Kalinga Brings wealth of Anga and Magadha Built towers with carved interiors Received presents of elephant-ships, rubies, pearls etc from the Pandya king

158 B C —He grants maintenances to आर्य professors on the Udayagiri hill and makes the Hâthigumphâ cave as an assembly room for learned Śramanas Near their dwellings, he builds a halting-place with beryl inlaid columns for Dhusi, queen of Simhapura

157 B C —The Hâthigumphâ cave inscription engraved in Muriya year 164

MORE ABOUT NICOLAO MANUCCI

BY L M ANSTEY

IN his Introduction to the translation of Nicolao Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, 1653—1708 (*Indian Texts Series*, 4 vols , 1907 08), the late Mr William Irvine writes (vol I,—pp lxvi–lxvii) " On January 14, 1712, the president [of Madras] informed the Board that a special order had come to Pondicherry calling for Manucci's attendance at Shâh' Âlam's court [then at Lâhor] However, the emperor Shah' Alam' died at Lâhor on February 27, and the report thereof reached Madras in April 1712 , thus, no doubt, Manucci did not start for the court I have failed to trace Manucci farther at Madras or Pondicherry "

Since these lines were written three additional references to Manucci have come to light, two of them being later than April 1712

(1) *Extract of Minutes of Mayor's Court Proceedings* ("*Records of Fort St George*, " *p* 7) [1]

2 *September* 1689 Nicola Manuche complains against Manuel Gonsalves de Livera for one hundred pagodas

(2) *Extract of a letter from John Scattergood at Madras* ("*Scattergood Papers, communicated*" *by Mr Bernard P Scattergood, F S A*)

8 *October* 1712 I have sold my garden house to Maunutcho, designing to send my wife home the next year

(3) *Extract of Minutes of Mayor's Court Proceedings* ("*Records of Fort St George*, *pp* 72-73) "

3 *December* 1718 Doctor Manuch Enters an Action against Cojee Bauba [Khwâja Bâbâ] for 400 Pagodas

Warrant return'd and Served

Bail'd by Cojee Gregory

26 *December* Petition read

Ordered that Cojee Bauba be summoned the next Court day.

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1 Abbreviations in the documents quoted have been extended

6 *January* 1718-19 Answer read, and Petition read

Doctor Manuch produces Certificates under Sevrall Persons hands declaring that Cojee Bauba desired them to send for the said Doctor Manuch to make up the matter between them on Account of what he was indebted by playing at Back Gammon

The said Manuch likewise produces two Witnesses that declare they severall times carried Physick to Cojee Bauba from Doctor Manuch

Ordered that Doctor Manuch give in next Court day a particular Account of what money he won of Cojee Bauba, and likewise of what physick he gave him and that he take his oath to the same if the Bench require it

20 *January* Doctor Manuch delivers in an Account of what Cojee Bauba is indebted to him at Gaming, but it not proving satisfactory, and it being difficult to get a true light into the matter,

Agreed that the affair of the Gaming be thrown out of Court

Doctor Manuch likewise gives in his bill for what Physick he gave Cojee Bauba, which the Bench are of opinion ought to be wrote in a more ample manner and do not approve of the same

Order'd that Doctor Manuch deliver in next Court day an Account of what Physick he gave Cojee Bauba drawn up in a proper form when the Bench will consider of the reasonableness of his demand

30 *January* Doctor Manuch delivers in a reply to Bauba['s] answer to the Petition

The bench having thorowly Examind this affair, do give Judgment for the Defendant to pay the plaintiff 50 pagodas as likewise the Cost of suit

The second of the above references confirms Mr Irvine's supposition that, on receipt of the news of the death of Shâh 'Âlam, Manucci gave up the idea of going to Lâhor, and it shows, moreover, that he returned to Madras as a resident

The third reference finds him still at Madras, six years later, and proves, as Mr H D Dodwell remarks in his Preface to the Minutes of the *Mayor's Court Proceedings*, that the period of Manucci's death must be later than 1717, the date tentatively assigned to it by Mr Irvine (*op cit*, vol I, p lxvii).

THE WORDS *VACHA* AND *VINITA* IN THE AŚOKA EDICT

BY VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA SASTRI, SANTINIKETAN.

IN Aśoka's Rock Edict VI there are two words, *vacha* and *vinita*, about the true meaning of which some controversy has been started Mr Jayaswal (*Ante*, Vol. XLVII, February, 1918, pp 53 54) has attempted to interpret them in the light of *Arthaśâstra*, but as regards the second word, *i e*, *vinita*, Prof Radha Govinda Basak has satisfactorily proved (*ibid*, Vol XLVIII, February, 1919) that the interpretation suggested by Mr Jayaswal is not correct I have also a few remarks to offer in this connection which I believe deserve attention

I am afraid, Mr Jayaswal has laid too much stress on the Royal Time Table given in the *Arthaśâstra* (pp 37—39) assuming that it was strictly followed by Aśoka It is quite true, as he says, the chapter of the *Arthaśâstra* in which the Time Table is given emphasises *utthâna*, 'the quality of energy' and also in the Aśoka Edict VI it finds prominence. But

there is no proof whatever that the same daily routine was carried out in practice by him The fact, as has been related by Megasthenes, that Chandragupta used to receive petitions when he was being shampooed is no evidence that he was in the habit of acting upon the time table enjoined in the *Arthaśâstra* Nor can we agree with Mr Jayaswal when he says that this " shampooing " naturally refers to the hours *before bath* On the contrary, it may safely be said that it refers rather to the hours following not only the bathing time, but also the meal time, *i e*, the time fixed for *svairavihâra* or *mantra* in the *Arthasastra* We find our support in Kâdambarî where it describes the king Śûdraka enjoying his shampoo [1]

Following this, we may reasonably infer that Aśoka was willing to extend the time for receiving reports even to the hours spent in his inner apartment or private room (*gabhâgâlasi*, Skt *garbhâgâre*) [2] in taking rest or consultation with ministers " षष्ट स्वैरविहार सेवेत " —*Arthaśâstra*, p 38) It is well known that it was the custom of other kings to employ for this purpose the second part of the day, say between 7-30 a m and 9 a m , (*Ib* , p 37) But all the same there are reasons to think that the daily routine of duties according to the *Arthaśâstra* has no connection with the words used in the Edict VI Prof Basak has convinced us that the word *vinita* cannot mean " military exercise," as suggested by Mr Jayaswal Buhler has taken the word in the sense of a ' carriage ', but he did not give any particulars about it According to Prof Basak *vinita* or *vinîta* might mean either a well trained (*sâdhuvâhî*) horse (*Amara*, II, 8, 44 , *Medinî*, Tântavarga, 158) or a vehicle which is called *vainîtaka* in Amara (II, 8, 58) and *vinîtaka* in some other Sanskrit lexicons [3] But the question occurs to us why the word '*well-trained* horse' should be mentioned here in place of the general term for a horse, *aśva*, or why elephants should be excluded which were equally important as a means of conveyance I, therefore, incline to accept the second meaning proposed by Prof Basak, *i e*, ' a vehicle '

But there can be no doubt that some special kind of vehicle is meant by the words *vainîtaka* and *vinîtaka* Following Amara (II, 8, 58), Prof Basak rightly calls it a *paramparâvâhana* which he explains by saying (perhaps relying upon Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) that it is " a porter carrying a litter or a horse dragging a carriage " This explanation is far from being satisfactory *Paramparâvâhana* literally means a *vâhana* ' vehicle ' dragged in *paramparâ* ' succession ' by animals, or in other words, a vehicle dragged by a relay of horses, etc It is needless to say that this sort of conveyance was necessary in those days for a long journey

Now, the word *vinita* or *vinîta* (=*vainîtaka, vinîtaka*), being a common term denoting a particular mode of conveyance, has to be coupled for the definiteness, with some other

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1 भुक्त्वा अस्थानमण्डपमयासात् । तत्र च खड्गवाहिन्या करसम्पुटेन स वा ह्य मा न च्च र ण तत्कालोचितदर्शनैरवनिपातैभि अ मा त्यै मि त्रै श्च सह तास्ता कथा कुर्वन् मुहूर्तमिव असाञ्चक्र ।" *Kâdambarî*, Pûrvabhâga, ed Girisachandra Vidyâlankâra, Cal 1885, p 33 This passage is important as it agrees with what is prescribed in the *Arthaśâstra* (p 38) " षष्ठे स्वैरविहार मन्त्र वा सेवेत । " It is to be noted that in this extract the king is described as being attended here with his *amâtyas*, ' ministers ', friends, and only those chiefs who could be allowed to meet him at that time Mark also the significance of the phrase " मुहूर्तमिव " ' for a very short space of time '

2 Mr Jayaswal has not offered any proof for his supposition that the *garbhâgâra* in the Edict ' was most likely an underground cool room for स्वरविहार in summer " The underground room भुमिगृह (*Arthasâstra*, p 40) seems to be more for safety on particular occasion than for ordinary rest

3 Prof Basak did not give any particular name But see Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, *s v* विनीत

word that describes the special kind of carriage meant by the speaker, as for instance, *rathavinîta*, which means a *ratha* 'chariot' drawn in the aforesaid manner This view will be supported by a Pali passage which is quoted below from the *Rathavinîtasutta* of the *Majjhimanikâya*, 24 (I, 3,4 P T S, Vol I, pp 148-149, *Rajwade*, Vol I, pp 106-107) —

"Seyyathâpi âvuso rañño Pasenadissa Kosalassa Sâvathiyam pativasantassa Sâkete kiñchid-eva achchâyikam karanîyam uppajjeyya, tassa antarâ cha Sâvatthim antarâ cha Sâketam s a t t a r a t h a v i n î t â n i upatthapeyyum Atha kho âvuso râjâ Pasenadi Kosalo Sâvatthiyâ nikkhamitvâ antepuradvârâ pathamam rathavinîtam abhirûheyya, pathamena rathavinîtena dutiyam rathavinîtam pâpuneyya, pathamam rathavinitam vissajjeyya dutiyam rathavinitam abhirûheyya, dutiyena rathavînitena tatiyam rathavînitam pâpuneyya, - - - sattamam rathavinîtam abhirûheyya, sattamena rathavinîtena Sâketam anupâpuneyya antepuradvâram"

In the above quotation it is stated that in case the king Pasenadi of Kosala owing to some urgent business had to go to Sâketa, there would be arranged for him seven *r a t h a- v i n î t a s* between Sâvatthi and Sâketa Here it is evident that the *rathavinîta*, 'a *vinîta* in the form of a *ratha*' is a *paramparâvâhana* It should be noted that the gender of the word is neuter According to Amara (II, 8, 58) this word must be used either in masculine or neuter gender And therefore the word *vinîta* in *rathavinîta* being used in neuter gender cannot mean anything else but a *paramparâvâhana*

Buddhaghosa explains the word *rathavinîtâni* by *vinîta-assâjânîya-yutte rathe*, 'the chariots to which are yoked the horses that are well trained and of good race' But strictly speaking, this explanation does not seem to be quite accurate For in that case the *ratha vinîta* in the original text could not be employed in the neuter gender

One thing deserves to be pointed out here, and it is this It is clear from the use of the word in the Majjhimanikâya that the seven vehicles arranged for the king between Sâvatthi and Sâketa were separate and that each of them was drawn by a different set of horses It, therefore, is not unlikely that either a succession of vehicles is meant by Amara in his describing *vainîtaka* as *paramparâvâhana*, or the same vehicle dragged in succession by a supply of fresh animals, or both, according to necessity or convenience But such distinction is immaterial, the important point being the particular manner of conveyance

We have clearly seen in the above extract of the Majjhimanikâya that the vehicle named *vinîta* is employed in a long journey And therefore Aśoka's meaning is evident in the Edict whereby he proclaims that when travelling a long distance in a vehicle drawn by a relay of horses he will expect his men to report the people's business to him This interpretation will be strengthened by what I am going to say about the second word of the Edict, *i e*, *vacha*, which has hitherto generally been taken to mean a 'latrine'

It cannot be disputed that the Sanskrit equivalent of the word *vacha* in the Edict is nothing but *vraja* For the Pali word *vacca* literally means *excrement* and not a 'latrine', and to denote the latter, the word *vachchakuti* is constantly used in Pâli literature Furthermore, as Mr Jayaswal rightly observes, "No king in his senses would ask officers to announce the business of suiters in his latrine"

Through the influence of Paiśâchî Prâkrit, according to Prâkrit grammarian (*Hem*, VIII, 4 325, *Trivikrama*, III, 2 65) Skt *vraja*, Pâli or Pkt *vaja* becomes *vacha* But what is the meaning of it? Mr Jayaswal takes it to mean "the royal stables for horses, mules,

bullocks etc , and their breeding farms " Here he himself has gone against the royal business routine fixed in the *Arthaśâstra* on which he has laid so much stress The *Arthaśâstra* nowhere enjoins that a king himself should look through the affairs in the *vraja* Moreover, this word in the *Arthasâstra* does not necessarily mean a 'royal' *vraja*, but it refers rather to a common *vraja* from which the Collector-General is to collect revenue Then again, we ask why, should Aśoka particularly mention the *vraja*, *i e* , the stables for "cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses, and mules " (*Arthaśâstra*, p 60), and not the stalls where his elephants were kept which were undoubtedly not less important This leads me to think that a road, which is one of the meanings of *vraja* according to Sanskrit lexicons,[4] exactly fits in with the context If we read it now together with what I have already said about the word *vinita*, the sense of these two words, *vacha* and *vinita*, becomes clear And I have no doubt in my mind that Aśoka in his declaration means to say that whether the king is on the road for a short walk or journey or being carried to a long distance by the help of successive arrangements of carriages the reporters should report the people's business to him. [5]

MISCELLANEA

AN EARLY REFERENCE TO PORT CORNWALLIS, IN THE NORTH ANDAMAN ISLAND

(*Madras Courier*, 22 *Dec* 1790)

The Honorable Commodore Cornwallis was at the Andamans, on board the *Crown*, when the *Atalanta* came away , and it appears by the account she has brought, that a new Harbour had been discovered in one of the small Islands to the North East, extremely capacious and commodious , much more so than even the former one which has been hitherto occupied and known by the name of Port Cornwallis [now Port Blair] The name therefore will probably be now transferred where it is best deserved, and the new Harbour established [now known as Port Cornwallis]

The natives of the Andaman Islands appear unfortunately to be of an untractable disposition, not easily made sensible either to benefits and the kindest treatment or to the superiority of Force On the boat of the *Crown* landing on the little Islands mentioned above a small number of them appeared , and notwithstanding every friendly demonstration, attempted a determined resistance, and actually wounded with their Bows and Arrows some of the Seamen [1] A few of them, however, who were taken, being treated with all possible lenity and dismissed with friendly assurances, it is hoped they may acquire a disposition more favourable both to themselves and us and that there may be no inconvenience whatever from a contrary spirit to the establishment of so good a Harbour in a situation so eligible

R C TEMPLE

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[4] "*Gosthâdhvanivahâ vrajah*"—*Amara*, III, 3 30, *Śâśvata*, Poona, 1918, v 626, *Medini*, Cal, 1897, Jânta, 16, *Viśvaprakâśa*, Benares, Jânta, 3, *Keśavasvâmin*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1176

[5] [It may help the discussion to note that I recollect the well known native magistrate of Mandalay, U Pe Si, helping European officials in 1887 to deal with cases in open Court lying on his face while being shampooed The Burmese Court continued many *very* old *Indian* customs ED.]

[1] The tribe met with was the Akakora Tribe of the Northern or Akayerowa Division of the people The cause for hostility to strangers is explained in *Census of India*, 1901, Vol III, *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, p 44

other, (adj) **1.** not the same iglā (da), âkà-tedi-bôlya (da), âkà-tōro-bûya (da) **2.** some other ōko-tōro-bûya (da) **3.** additional tûn (da), fiâ (da), tâlik-ûba-tûl (da) (pron) the other, the remaining one, (a) of two persons âr dilu (da); (b) of two animals, birds, etc . ôt-dilu (da), (c) of two inanimate objects âkà-lôglik Give me the other bow *kârama l'âká-lôglik den â* (plur) the others, the rest, (a) of three or more persons . arat-dilu (da), (b) animals, birds, etc ôtot-dilu (da) I speared one pig and Bia shot the others *dô reg ûba túl jēralire, bia l'ôtot-dilu taijre*, (c) inanimate objects akat-lôglik *See* **test** (s) the other side, opposite bank or shore tedi-bala (da) *See* **opposite**

otherwise, (conj) else kînig *See* **or** (adv) differently, in a different manner iglā (da)

ought, (v aux) **1.** should tô-guk *See* **should** **2.** be bound in duty tōlata Your mother having recently died you ought to fast *ng'abêtinga ârla-l'ikpōr-tek okolinga l'edâre tōlata ngô yâpike*

our, (poss pron) mêta (da), mêtat, môtot, mòiot, makat, mebet, amet, etc *See* App ii Our hut *mêta bûd (da)* Our women *mêtat (â-) pail (da)* Our step-sons *mebet adenire* Our feet *mòiot pâg (da)* **2.** our own, ours (pron adj) mêkan **3.** in ref to a community (pron adj) marat-dûru (da) It is our practice to treat the aged as well as children with kindness *at-janggi ôlbêdig bālag len ōko-jengenga wai marat-dûru l'-adêranga (da)*

ourselves, (pron) môyut-batâm môyut-têmar, mōto *See* **barter**

our kind (style, make, original type) of, (adj) . bôjig This word is applied, as illustrated below, in order to indicate the distinction between the five tribes of the central group (bôjig-ngîji) and the five of the northern group (yêrewa) and the two of the southern group (onge-jarawa), see *ante*, p 24 (a) bôjig-ngîji (da) *lit* "our (or fellow-) kinsmen," and denotes the affinity existing between the âkà-bêa, âkà-bôjig-yâb, âkà-balawa, âkà-kōl, and âkà-jûwai tribes (b) bôjig-yâb (da) *lit* "our original type of speech", the name of one of the five tribes in question It is said that the dialects spoken by the other four tribes sprang from that of this tribe (c) bôjig kârama (da) "our style of bow" The bow of these five tribes is distinct from those of the yêrewa and also from those of the onge-jarawa Who gave you this bow of our make? *mija ngen ûcha bôjig kârama mânre?*

out, (adv) **1** not within, not at home ab-yābaya **2** of a fire, torch, light, etc *See* **extinguished** (postp) **3** forth, from tek Take the honey-comb out of the bucket *dâkar tek kânga ôyu-wâl (ke)* (Phr) out of breath âkan-chaiatinga (da), out of one's depth . ar-wôdlinga (da) *See* **reach**, out of sight iji-marere (da) out of sorts . ad-jābag-tâgnga (da) *See* **sort**

out-rigger, (s) **1** of canoe . del (da), châriqma (da) **2** out-rigger-canoe . . . châriqma (da)

outside, (s) **1** exterior . wâlak (da) **2** of a mat, when rolled âr-ête (da) The same word is applied to the *under*side

when unrolled, as in rolling a mat the underside becomes the outer side of the roll

outstrip, (v t) out-run, out-walk lûkra (ke)

ovary, (s) ab-îjnga (da)

over, (adv) 1 overhead, above . tâng-len. *See* **above, up.** 2 finished, past, at an end âr-lûre (postp) above, higher in place tot-êra-len *See* **up**

overboard, (v t) throw ôt-jûra (ke) (v i) overboard, fall ōto-jûmu (ke)

overcast, (v i) of the sky ela dîl (ke), yûm-la-kâg (ke)

overcome, (v t) get the better of otolâ-ômo (ke)

overflow, (v i) . ōto-êla (ke)

overhead, (adv) aloft tâng-len. *See* **above, bridge and up**

overjoyed, (p a) kûk-l'âr-wâla-kîninga (da)

overland, (adv) by land tinga len

overtake, (v t.) come up with . âr-châ-raga-emi (ke)

owing to, (postp) 1 on account of, because of . edâre 2 by the action of ông-jîg *See* **abet** Owing to the rain he is not pig-hunting to-day *yûm l'edâre ôl kawai reg-deleke yābada.* The recovery of Bira's child was owing to you (*i e.,* your treatment) *bîri'ablîga tig-bôinga-bêdig ng'ông-jîg l'edāre*

owl, (s) kôru (da)

own, (adj) êkan There's our own canoe *wai kâto mêkan rôko (da)* *See* App ii (s) own country-man . . ig-bûdwa (da) own (or fellow-)tribesman ab-ngîji(da)

own, (v t) 1 possess bêjiri (ke) 2 admit . ar-wai (ke) *See* **acknowledge.**

oyster, (s) 1 *Ostrea cucullata* tòiña. (da). 2 small oyster (*Ostrea hyotis*) . wōp (da)

P

pace, (s) step â-tâng (da)

pack, (v t) of food o-dêk (ke). *See* **bundle** (v i) bestow things for carrying or storing ōto-chō (ke) *See* **fasten**

package, (s) *See* **bundle**

paddle, (s) waligma (da) (a) handle of . waligma-tâ (da) , waligma l'ông-tōgo (da) (b) blade of . waligma-lông-tâ (da)

paddle, (v t) 1 transport by paddling ûn-târ-tegi (ke). *See* **row.** 2. mid-ship (î-)tâpa (ke) 3. at the bows ôt-tâpa (ke) 4. at the stern ar-tâpa (ke) 5. astern, back-water . î târ-tâpa (ke) 6. rapidly, as in racing tôgori (ke) *See* **propel**

paddy-bird, (s) egret (*Ardeola leucoptera*) chōkab (da)

pail, (s) . dâkar (da) *See* **bucket**

pain, (s) 1. due to a wound or any disease . yed (da), with prefix ig, ôt, ab, etc according to the part affected. *See* App ii The child is crying because of the wound in his hand *ông chûm l'a yed l'edâre ablîga t'ê'kik (ke)* 2. due to blow, sickness or fatigue châm (da), with prefix (as above).

pain, cause (v t) *See* **hurt** (v i) 1 suffer pain from wound or disease yed (ke), with prefix according to part affected. *See* App ii 2. suffer pain from blow,

sickness or fatigue chām (ke), with prefix according to part referred to *See* **hurt** (v i) and App ii 3 suffer pains of labour īk-ig-nū (ke)

painful, (adj) . yêbaba (da) The bite of a centipede is painful *kârapta châpinga bêdig wai yêbaba (da)*

paint, (v t) **1.** the face, body or limbs of another with tâla-ôg chōrocha (ke), with prefix ig, ab, ar, etc according to part of body referred to [This work is done by women with their finger-nails] **2.** the face or forehead (esp of infants) with great care and skill ig-pêma (ke) **3.** the face, body or limbs of another roughly with one's fingers with ôg ngōtowa (ke), with prefix ig, ab or ar as required **4** face, body or limbs roughly with ôg with one's palms . leat (ke), with prefix (as above) *See* **daub** **5** the face, body or limbs roughly with kòiob . eap (ke), with prefix (as above) **6.** the upper lip of another with kòiob âka-lêmaudi (ke) **7.** one's self in any of the above methods respectively iji (or ad)-chōrocha (ke), iji-pêma (ke), iji (or ad)-ngōtowa (ke), iji (or ad)-leat (ke), iji (or ad)-eap (ke), âkan-lêmaudi (ke) **8** any inanimate object (white) leat (ke) **red** eap (ke) *See* App xiii

painting, (s) *See* **picture**

pair, (s) couple, (**a**) of animate objects ar (or ara)-jôpinga (da) (**b**) of inanimate objects jôpinga (da)

Pajanelia multijuga, (s) kōkan (da) This is one of the trees used for making canoes *See* App xi

Palaeornis erythrogenys (s) êyep (da)

palate, (s) âkà-dêliya (da), âkà-laia (da)

palatable, (adj) âkà-bêringa (da). *See* **savoury**

pale, (adj) pallid ig-mûgu-panab-nga (da), ig-pâkatnga (da)

palm, (s) **1** of hand ông-elma (da) I placed it in the palm of your hand *wai dô ng ông kōro l ông elma len tegire* **2** palm tree or shrub For principal varieties *see* App xi

palpitate, (v i) ōna (ke)

pan leaf, (s) *Chavica macrostachya* yême-l'âi-tong (da)

Pandanus Andamanensium, (s) **1.** mâng (da) The fruit and seeds are eaten and the leaves are used in making articles of attire, e g gaiters and wristlets *See* App xiii **2.** *Pandanus verus* ûdala (da) **3** *Pandanus odoratissimus* ītil (da) The seed is eaten *See* App xi

panic, (s) ab-lât-lig-gûru (da)

pant, (v i) âkan-chaiati (ke)

pap, (s) ôt-yôb (da)

papa ! (exclam) maia !

paper, (s) chiti (da) From the Hindustani word chitthi

paradise, (s) jereg (da) The desirable place of the departed souls of those who, having led good lives, are accounted worthy, and whither the wicked may be admitted after expiating their crimes in purgatory *See* **purgatory.**

Paradoxurus Andamanensis, (s) baian (da)

parcel, (s) *See* **bundle**

parch, (v t) ig-kîu (ke) (v i) âka-mōl (ke), el-â-êr (ke)

parched, (p p) **1.** of land el-â êr-re, el-âkà-êr-ie **2.** with thirst êr-nga (da), âkà-mêlenonga (da)

pardon, (v t) ep-tig-lai (ke) (v i) ask pardon eb-yâp (ke)

pare, (v t) kajili (ke) Pare your nails *ng'ông bôdoh kajili (ke)*

parent, (s) having one or more children ûn-bā (da) parents ab-maiol-chânol All our parents are dead *marat dûru l'at-maiol-chânol okot-lînga* (*da*) See **beforehand** The relationship between a married couple's respective parents âkà ya kât (da) *See* App viii

paroquet, (s) *Palæornis erythrogenys* êrep (da)

part, (s) **1.** *See* **bit, fragment** **2** region quarter êrema-l'êâte (da) The Jarawas inhabit that part (of the jungle) *kât'êrema-l'êâte len jarawa bûduke*

part, (v t) **1** the hair ôt-mâl (ke) **2** divide ôt-kōbat (ke), dulâ (ke) **3** by splitting âka-târah (ke) (v i) separate as friends ōto-kâ (ke)

parting, (s) the act of âkan-tâi-tôainga (da), pûraujinga (da) The latter refers to the act of blowing on each other's hands by friends at parting Before the removal and burial of a corpse the mourners blow on its forehead in token of farewell

party, (s) *See* **assemblage, gathering**

pass, (v t) **1.** go by ig-pōrowa (ke), ab-îji (ke) **2** cause to move or go by, hand î târ-tak (ke) (v i) **1** spend (as time) pòli (ke) **2** (a) a night away from home (of one person) ara-mâmi (ke) (**b**) (of more than one) ara-barmi (ke) **3** pass under, by stooping teb-êi-dôati (ke) *See* **stoop**

passion, (s) rage îj-âna (da)

past, (p a) elapsed î-tarire, ar-yā-baire

past, (s) The î-dal-l'â-îtarie

path, (s) **1** pathway tinga (da), tinga-bā (da) **2.** by-path tinga-l'âkà (or l'âr)-châti (da)

patient, (adj) calm, tolerant ad-mûkur-teginga (da).

pattern, (s) **1.** in tattooing bōrta (da) **2.** in painting the person ornamentally rêtawa (da) with prefix ig, ab or ai, according to part referred to *See* App ii and **paint** **3** in painting the face ornamentally ig-pêma (da) **4.** on a shell î-tōna-tanınga (da)

paw, (s) **1** fore- ông-kōro (da). **2.** hind- ông-pâg (da)

pay attention! (exclam) ucha! (*lit* "this")

pay a visit, (v t) *See* **visit**

pea, (s) âkà-ban (da)

peaceable, (adj) in disposition ab (or ig) likinga (da)

peal of thunder, (s) gōrawa l'âkà tegi (da)

pebble, (s) rem (da)

peck, (v t) as a bird dut (ke) [to peck once only petah (ke)] *See* **harpoon,** (v t) as a woodpecker . êitōro (ke)

pectoral fin, (s) (yat l')ig wad (da).

peel, (s) skin, rind, bark ôt-êd (da) (in constr ôt êj) (v t) *See* **skin** (v t). strip off skin, rind, etc doch (ke); dòich (ke) *See* **skin**

peepul tree, (s) *Ficus laccifera* ràu (da)

penetrate, (v t) **1** pierce chêgai (ke) As you did not shoot with (sufficient) force your arrow only penetrated the pig's skin *ngô dôdopinga l'edare ela ogun reg l'ôt êj chêgaire* *See* **pierce** **2** undergrowth in jungle târ lōtok (ke) *See* **enter.**

peninsula, (s) tanma (da)

people, (s) **1** persons collectively . at-dâlig (da) Many people were assembled at my village yesterday *dilêa dia bûraij lat atdâlag ârduru to laine* **2** of a certain tribe or community laga (da) The

Bong-yab people are coming here to-day *kawai bông-yâb laga kârin ònke* 3 race (s) *See* **race**

perceive, (v i) apprehend ıjı-bâdı (ke) *See* **see**

perch, (v i) âken (or âra) yôboli (ke) (s) for fishing tâga (da)

perfect, (adj) without defect ôt-goıojım (da) *See* **sound, whole**

perforate, (v t) âı-ıûm (ke)

perform, (v t) *See* **accomplish, complete**

perfume, (s) *See* **smell**

perhaps, (adv) tilik It will perhaps rain to day *ka-wai tilik yum la-pâke* *See* Ex at **bring** (by water)

period, (s) time, day ı dal (da) *See* **antediluvian**

perish, (v i) 1 through accident on water ōrowa (ke) 2. through any disaster on land oko-titan (ke) 3. as a plant ıtika (ke) 4 ... flower maiñ (ke)

peritoneum, ( ) ong taga (da)

permit, (v t) ı tan (ke), titân (ke) *See* **let** Permit us to go hunting *met delenga lat titân (ke)* *See* **allow**

perpendicular (adj) of a post, etc *See* **erect, upright**

person, (s) 1 individual ab dalag (da) Many persons came here yesterday *dîlêa at dalag ândura kârin onre* (b) body of a human being ab chau (da), ab dâla (da) His wife has just (ornamentally) painted Wor person *ab-l yate wai i ab-chàn ka-got chono-kan* *See* **well-made**

personal ornaments, ( ) *See* **ornaments** and App xııı

personate, (v t) ab-chau-ren (ke) *See* **assume**

perspiration, ( ) 1 ōmûna (da) Takes prefix of ab, etc according to part of the person referred to 2. odour of

ôt galanga (da) (v i) gûmaı-l'aı-wêjeı ı (je), gûmaı-l'ar-dôatı (ke)

perverse, (adj) *See* **obstinate**

pester, (v t) ıg-ôjolı (ke) Don t pester me! *d'ıg-ôjolıke ng'ôke!*

pet, (s) a favourite animal ık-lırnga (da) *See* **accompany** and **go** (v t) *See* **caress, cherish**

petal, (s) koktâr-dâla (da) The petal of this flower is beautiful *ûcha kōl l ia koktâr dâla wai ıno (da)*

phlegm, (s) mucus ôt-tulepo (da)

phœnix sp , (s) ıâb (da)

phosphorescense of the sea, (s) pêwoı (da)

pice, (s) Indian copper coin ık-pûku (da) *See* **coin**

pick, (v t) 1 select *See* **choose** 2 pick bones with the teeth tâ-tûp (ke) 3 pick flowers or fruit tōp (ke) *See* **break off, gather** 4 pick up em (ke) 5. pick up fallen fruit gît (ke) *See* **gather** 6 pick out, as a mollusc, from its shell karepa (ke) (v i) pick one's teeth âkan-karepa (ke)

picture, (s) ôt-yôlo-yîlınga (da) (lit reflection-tattooing)

pie-bald, (adj) bâratnga (da)

piece, (s) *See* **bit, fragment**

pierce, (v t) *See* **penetrate** 2 as in stabbing jaıñ (ke)

pig, (s) 1 female ıôgo (da) 2 male or female ıeg (da) 3 sucking-pig ıeg-bā (da) 4 full-grown young male ıeg wâra (da) 5 full-grown young female ıeg-jadı-jôg (da) Until we shot that pig yesterday we had been without meat for two days *tōbatek dilêa meda kâto reg len taıpe arla îkpōr môtol paıchalen dama yāba (da)* 6 pig-arrow êla (da) 7 pig-spear âı-dûtnga (da), âkà dûtnga (da) 8 pig hunter

ig (or ōko)-delenga (da) **9.** mock pig-hunt (a game) ad-reg'igṇga (da) *See* **game**

pigeon, Imperial. *Carpophaga insularis* mûiud (da)

pigmy, (s) ai-dêdeba (da)

pigment, (s) ôg (da) , tâla-ôg (da) , kòiob (da), used for ornamental, curative, or other purposes *See* **paint** and App xiii

pile, (s) *See* **heap**

pilfer, (v t) ōko-lôdo (ke)

pillow, (s) ōto-tōkṇga (da)

pilot, (v t) êr-tal (ke) *See* **measure, weigh**

pimple, (s) rûtnga (da) with prefix, ab, ar, etc according to part of the body to which reference is made

pincers, (s) *See* **tongs**

pinch, (v t) tōpi (ke)

pine, screw- *Pandanus odoratissimus,* (s) îtil (da) The seed is eaten *See* App xi

pinion, (v t) lōropti (ke) (signifies also the tying of a line round the flappers of a harpooned turtle in order to haul it into the canoe) (s) ig-âcha-tâ (da) *See* **wing.** **pinna,** (? **squamosa)** (s) chej (da) **P sp** chîdi (da) For mode of use *see* App xiii

pip, (s) ban (da)

pit, (s) gara-l'ōko-bang (da)

pitch, (v t) throw dapi (ke) , dêpi (ke) (v i) as a ship or boat at sea ōto-kōchia (ke)

pitiful, (adj) *See* **compassionate, sympathetic**

pitiless, (adj) *See* **cruel**

pity, (v t) îtâ-bûlap (ke) What a pity ! *widi !*

place, (s) locality, spot êi (da) (in construct el) *See* **Andaman Islands** (adv) in place of *See* **instead of** (v t) **1** put tegi (ke) **2.** place near one's self ōto-paichalen-tegi (ke) **3** put in order or in its proper place kadli (ke) Did you put my bow in its proper place ? *an ngô dia kârama lat kadlire ?* **4** on one side ep-tot-mânu (ke) Place the bow on one side we are going to dance, *kârama l ep-tot-mâni, meda kôi* (ke) (v i) **1** put a hand over the eyes as when crying ji-mûju (ke) **2** put the hand over the mouth as when astonished, laughing or owing to an offensive smell ōkan-mûju (ke) **3** Take place *See* **happen**

plain, (adj) **1** unornamented lûpa (da) **2** even, flat, level (of land) êlinguiya (da) , ôt-jêperya (da) (s) er-l'ôt-jêperya (da) *See* **land**

plait, (v t) . tôpi (ke)

plan, (v t) contrive mûla (ke) v i) ponder, meditate ji-mûla (ke)

plane, (v t) **1** by means of an adze tōlòp (ke) **2** by scraping or rubbing **(a)** by means of *Cyrena* shell or boar's tusk ôt-lêjo (ke) , pōi (ke) **(b)** by means of boar's tusk only . . . pulau (ke) , pulàuwa (ke)

planet, (s) châto-chabil chàu (da)

plank, (s) board patema (da)

plant, (s) dêdeba (da) , (if edible), âkà-dêdeba (da) (v t) yât-bûguk (ke) *lit* food-bury

plantain, (s) (*Musa simiarum*) **1** the plant eng'ara-l'âkà-tâng (da) **2.** The fruit eng'ara (da)

plaster, (v t) *See* **daub, paint, smear,** and **cover**

plate, (s) of shell chîdi (da) A *pinna* shell is commonly used for food or pigments *See* **pinna** and App xiii

platform, food- (s) **1.** in hut tâga (da) **2** burial- (on tree) î tâga (da)

platter, (of wood), (s) pûkuta-yât-maknga (da) *See* **plate** and Ap xiii

play, (v i) **1.** î-jâj (ke) **2.** some sort of game î-jâjag-tâg (ke) *See* **amuse, sort**

plaything, (s) ig-lîrnga (da)

please, (v t) give pleasure, gratify en-ôt-kûk-bêringa (ke)

pleased, (p a) ōto-yêlanga (da) *See* **glad**

plentiful, (adj) *See* **abundant**

plenty, (s) ôt-ûbaba (da) *See* **many, much** There are plenty of pigs in that jungle *kât' êrem len reg ôt-ûbaba (da)*

pliable, (adj) supple ōto-yôb (da), yâragap (da).

plot, (v t) conspire . ab-chî (ke)

pluck, (v t) flowers, fruit or feathers tōp (ke) *See* **gather, pick**

plunder, (v t) (iâmoko-l') âr-lîcha (ke)

plunge, (v i) dive ōto-jûmu (ke), tōl (ke) *See* **dive, launch**

pod, (s) . . yûi (da) *See* **shell**

point, (s) **1.** cape, promontory tōko-chōronga (da) **2.** tip (tapering end) naichama (da) *See* **beak** and **end** (v.t) point an arrow mōk (ke), por-mōk (ke) *See* **make** We make (prepare) the wooden point of the *râtà* arrow from the *châm* arrow *meda châm tek râtà pōr-mōk (ke)* (*lit* we point the *râtà* arrow from the *châm*) **2.** point to . . (ab-) ràu (ke)

point out, (v t) (ōko-t') ig-ràu (ke), itân (ke) *See* **show.**

pointed, (adj) . . . . âkà-naichama (da), âkà (or ōko)-yôb (da)

poison, (s) . wâr (da)

poke, (v t) . gêiau (ke)

pole, (s) of bamboo, employed in propelling a canoe in shallow water tōg (da), (in construc tōk), (a) when used at the stern tōk-l'âr-lôbinga (da) (b) when used at the bows tōk-l'ôt-lôbinga (da) (c) also used at the bows, but so made as to serve as the shaft of the harpoon used in spearing turtles, dugongs, etc tōk-l'âkà-chânga (da)

pole, (v t) a canoe when proceeding along the shore in search of fish or turtle, or to visit another place ôt-lôbi (ke). *See* **bow of canoe** and **propel** Now pole the canoe from the bow, it will afterwards be your turn at the helm *âchitik ng'ôt-lôbi, târôlolen ngia ârtît (da)*

polish, (v t) **1.** with fibre chûlu (ke). **2.** with shell, tusk, etc. gêlig-ma (ke) *See* Ex at **abscond**

pollute, (v t) *See* **defile**

Polyalthia jenkinsii, (s) reg-l'âkà-châl (da)

pond, (s) . . îna-l'ig-bang (da)

ponder, (v t) consider thoughtfully kûk-l'âr-êr-gâd (ke) (v i) meditate iji-mûla (ke)

pool, (s) . kûbe (da) deep pool in bed of stream kôbunga (da)

poor, (adj) indigent ôt-lêkinga (da)

popular, (adj) *See* **favorite**

pork, (s) reg-dama (da)

porpoise, (s) chôag (da) *See* Ex at **way**

port, (s) **1.** harbour el-âr-ûla (da) 2 larboard, left side of canoe i-târag (da)

portage, (s) for conveying newly-scooped canoe-hulls to shore âr-tinga (da)

portion, (s) *See* **bit, fragment**

portrait, (s) . . . ôt-yôlo-yîtinga (da). *See* **picture**

possess, (v t) own . . bêjiri (ke). *See* **rich**

position, in original, (adv) *in situ* wai (da) *See* **in situ**

possible, (adj) **1.** that may be done (ông-)châk-bêringa (da) **2.** that may happen tilik (da) Is it possible ! (interj) *ba-ôcho !*

post, (s) **1.** of hut dagama (da) **2.** fishing-post tâga (da) *See* **platform** These are fixed on the foreshore and provided with a perch for the fisherman on the watch for a shot at a passing fish

posteriors, (s) *See* **buttocks**

posterity, (s) ôtot-bōrta-wîchi (da) *See* **descendant** and **seedling**

postpone, (v t) defer ñgêtebla (ke)

pot, cooking- (s) bûj (da) *See* App xiii

pot-sherd, (s) bûj-l'âkà-pâj (da) *See* **bit**

potato, (s) gôdam-l'âr-ōta (da)

pot-bellied, (adj) âr-bût (da)

potter, (s) bûj-latnga (da)

pottery, (s) ig-lat-yâte (da)

pound, (v t) tâi (ke)

pour, (v t) cause to flow ôt-êla (ke). (v i) pour, rain heavily yûm-l'âr-pûlu (ke), yûm-chânag-la-pâ (ke)

powder, (s) pûlaiña (da)

power, (s) *See* **influence** and **strength**

powerful, (adj) muscular . ab-gōra (da)

practice, (s) custom kîan-wai (da), ekâra (da), ad-êranga (da) It is not our practice to burn the dead *oko-lînga jôinga-len mêtat adêranga yāba (da)*

practise, (v t) rehearse âr-tal (ke), kōr (ke) They are now practising (rehearsing) the chorus *eda âchitik râmid-chàu kōr (ke)*

praise, (v t) commend yômai (ke)

prattle, (s) . yâbnga-dêreka (da). (v.i) yâbnga-l'ig-lâp (ke).

prawn, (s) **1.** fresh-water . . . àu (da). **2.** sea-water (young) kaibij (da) (also applied to shrimps) **3.** full-grown . kai (da)

pray, (v t) after the manner of Moslems ârla-l'ik-yâp (ke) *See* **daily** and **mention**

prayer, (s) . ârla-l'ik-yâbnga (da). *See* **daily** and **speech**

precede, (v.i) . oto-lâ (ke) *See* **first.**

precious, (adj) valuable âi-inga (da)

precipice, (s) tig-pau (da)

precipitous, (adj) el-ôt-chûdma (da)

predict, (v t) foretell ig-garma (ke)

prefer, (v t) î-tâi-bûi (ke)

pregnant, become, (v i) conceive . ōto-rang'a (ke) (adj) enceinte, (**a**) after a few months . . ôt-bûd-bā (da). *See* **dwelling** and **small** (**b**) after 6 or 7 months âr-bôdi (da), ôt-bûd-bôdia (da). *See* **big** (**c**) about to be confined . îk-ig-nûnga (da) The term pîj-jābag (da) (*lit* hair-bad) is applied to both husband and wife during the latter's pregnancy

prepare, (v t.) **1.** make ready . . ar-tâmi (ke) **2.** prepare for a journey . . tôt-yâr (ke).

presence, (s) . . âr-lôg (da). *See* Ex. at **trace**

presence of, in the (postp) . îdal-len, âkà-elma-len. *See* **before** and **time** (period).

present, the (s.) present time . . . kawai-ârla (da) At present (adv.) (**a**) now, at the present moment . . . âchitik, kawai. There is nothing more to say at present: *âchitik ñâ târchînga yāba (da)* (**b**) now-a-days . kawai-ârlalen. Presently (adv.) *See* **later on.**

present, (s.) *See* **gift.**

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851

BY S CHARLES HILL

XX

THE STORY OF THE *CASSANDRA*, 1720—1723

No 97. *Letter from Richard Lazinby*

(*Continued from p* 42)

"Three days after they left the island they arrived off from Tellicherry where they took a small vessel belonging to Governor Adams,[31] John Fawke Master, whom they brought on board very drunk He having heard of my misfortune, enquired for me, having been acquainted with him in my former voyage to Bengal in the *Duke of Cambridge* He began presently to tell me that my old Captain Macrae was fitting out after them, at which news the Quarter-Master told me to prepare, for the next day, he swore, he would hang me like a dog as I was, not doubting, he said, but if I was cleared from them, I would take the first opportunity to come and fight against them as Captain Macrae had, who, they said, like a villain as he was, they had used so civilly in giving him a ship to carry him from Johanna, and swore for the future, if in his power, he would carry the Masters and Officers of all ships they ever overpowered, to plague them like dogs as they were to abuse civility They then proceeded to Calicut, where they endeavoured to take a large Moor ship out of the Road, but were intercepted by some guns that were mounted on shore I was down below as usual, thinking the story Captain Fawke told them was forgot, but, unknown to me, the Captain and Quarter-Master were so malicious to order me to the Braces on the Booms in hopes I should be shot When they got clear of the Road they called me up to know the reason why I was not on deck according to their order I replied I had no business there at the time, entreating to be put on shore The Quarter-Master answered that if ever he knew me off the deck in time of action, he would shoot me through the head I told him 'twas better directly to do it than keep me in misery there, at which he begged the Captain to correct me for my impudence, he being lame of his hands According to his desire, he fetched his cane and began to belabour me unmercifully, which some of their people seeing came to hinder him and said he might be ashamed to abuse me in such manner for nothing, saying they would do their endeavour to have me put on shore at Cochin with Captain Fawke The next day in their passage down, came up with a Dutch galliot bound for that place with limestone They sent their boat on board with Captain Fawke, which the forementioned people seeing, came to the Captain and told him he might as well then let me go as not, and pressed it very hard, but the Captain's answer was that if they had a mind to overset their proceedings by letting a dog go, who had heard their designs and resolutions for the ensuing year, they might, but he would never consent to it Abundance of the Captain's party also objected against it, which occasioned a strong debate, and so far enraged the Captain that he swore if I went he would have a limb of me first to his share. He likewise added that my going there might be a hindrance of their having a supply from the Dutch.

"Captain Fawke was sent away in the Galliot The next day they arrived off Cochin, where by a fishing canoe they sent a letter on shore, and, in the afternoon with the sea-breeze ran into the Road, where they anchored, saluting the Fort with eleven guns each ship, the Fort returning their salute, gun for gun At night there came on board a large

31 Robert Adams, Chief of the Company's factory at Calicut, and later of Tellicherri

boat laden with fresh provisions and liquors with the servant of an inhabitant of that place, vulgarly called John Trumpet [32] who told them they must immediately weigh and run further to the southward, where they should have a supply of all things they wanted, as well Naval stores as provisions They had not been long at an anchor before they had several canoes on board with Inhabitants as well white as black which never ceased more or less during their stay there At night came on board the forementioned John Trumpet, bringing with him a large boat with Arrack which they received with abundance of joy, asking if they could have any more He said that he had procured all on the place for them which was about 90 Legors [leaguers] and 60 bales [? of sugar [? canes], which they should have off before he left them, which they did in about three days the boat going and coming as fast as it could The second day they sent on shore a fine Table Clock which was taken in our ship [the *Cassandra*], a present to the Governor, also a large gold watch to his daughter, who, in return sent them ten bales of sugar

"When they had all on board, they paid Mr Trumpet his money gave him three cheers [or huzzahs][33] and eleven guns each ship, throwing handful of ducatoons into his boat as he put off from the ship That night being little wind they did not weigh, and the next morning John Trumpet returned with more Arrack and two large chests of piece-goods and ready made clothes, bringing with him the Fiscal [magistrate] of the place At noon they saw a sail to the southward which they immediately weighed after and chased, but she, having so good an offing, got to the northward of them and that night anchored a small distance from Cochin Fort, which in the morning, they had sight of and gave her chase, she standing into Cochin Road and they after her being asured by the forementioned Gentlemen that they might take her from under the Castle without any molestation, begging withall not to carry her away, for they would purchase her and give as good a price as anyone The Captain begged them to go into their boats and he would talk with them after he had taken the ship They stood in boldly to board her but when they were within about a cable length or two of her, the Fort fired two small guns at them, the shot falling close almost to their muzzles, at which they instantly bore out of the Road and made easy sail to the southward, where [? they arrived] at night and in their former berth, at night a great boat was sent by John Trumpet to get them water and to let them know if they would stay there some days longer there would be a very rich ship pass by commanded by the General of Bombay's brother

"That night they spent in getting of water, and in the morning weighed to continue their cruise southward, having disbursed for Liquor, Provisions &c between six and seven thousand pounds After finishing their affairs with the Dutch some were for proceeding to Madagascar forthwith, others to stay and cruise for a store-ship for them, the latter at last agreed on, they plied to the southward, where sometime after they see a ship in shore, but she having the wind of them they could not get near her till the sea-wind set in, which was very faint Night coming on they separated, one ship to the northward and the other to the southward, thinking in the morning to have her between them, but, contrary to their expectation, when day broke, instead of their chase, [they] were very near five sail, who immediately made them signals to bear to them, which put them in great confusion, their consort being three leagues to the southward of them They immediately stood to

[32] In his Deposition, Lazinby says this was an assumed name, but does not give the real one

[33] See Lazinby's Deposition, *infra*

their consort and joined him, the fleet chasing them Being at first very much dejected, believing it to be the forementioned fleet commanded by Captain Macrae, they made all sail from them possible, and, after three hours found none of the fleet came up with them, only one Grab, who came very near half way between them and the fleet, they began to take courage and rejoice It presently after fell calm and so continued till night When the land-wind came they ran directly off shore and in the morning finding the fleet out of sight, were extremely satisfied, not desiring any of Captain Macrae's company They now thinking themselves out of danger, proposed to carouse and keep their Christmas before they would stir any further, which they did in a most riotous manner, destroying all their fresh provisions they had, and two thirds in waste I believe

"This lasted near three days, when they then proposed to go to the island Mauritius, there to repair, their leaky ship [the *Victoria*] being in a very bad condition That being agreed on made the best of their way there In their passage expected the leaky ship to sink every day They were going several times to quit her and I believe had done so, were it not for the scarcity of provisions and water, another thing being there a great quantity of Arrack The allowance among them at that time was one bottle of water per man a day, and not above two pound of Beef and a small quantity of rice for ten men per day, which, had it not been for the Arrack and Sugar, must the greater part of them have perished

"In this condition they arrived at the Island of Mauritius about the middle of February [1721], where they found very good refreshment, refitted and sheathed their leaky ship, and the 5th of April they sailed in order for the Island Mascarine They arrived on the 8th ditto in the morning, where they found lying there a large 70 gun Portuguese, whom they immediately took with very little resistance, she having lost all her masts and likewise guns save 21 in a storm they had met with in 13° South Latitude She had on board, when they took her, the Viceroy of Goa,[34] and several other gentlemen that were Passengers, who came on board that morning believing they were English ships Having an account of another ship, an Ostender, that lay to the leeward of the island, they made the best of their way to it and took her She was formerly the *Greyhound Galley* belonging to London

"There happened a great Cabal among the pirates on the Viceroy's account,[35] some being for carrying him to Mozambique and make him ransom [himself], others saying they did believe this rich prize they had taken might partly belong to him, and said it was better to take a small ransom there than be troubled with him, which was at last agreed on for 2,000 dollars I then begged to be set on shore, which was granted Accordingly was [set on shore] on the 10th with His Excellency and the rest of the prisoners The Governor of the place interceded, as also the Viceroy, very much to leave a ship [either the Portuguese or the *Greyhound*][36] to carry the prisoners away, alleging that the island was not in a condition to maintain so many people They with smooth promises said they would call a Council about it to see what might be done, but contrary to that in the night sailed away, carrying with them the best of the men that they had taken in the two ships, besides 200 of Mozambique negroes in the Portuguese, designing for Madagascar, there to

34 The Count de Recoira

35 See below for the traditional story of this affair which became current in the island.

36 See Deposition.

clean the *Cassandra* and from thence to the Red Sea where, if they met with no success, they would to their old friends at Cochin and sell their diamonds they had taken in the Portuguese ship (which since as the Viceroy told me, were to the value of between three and four millions of dollars) and thence to make the best of their way into the China Seas, believing there might be men-of-war or other ships fitted out in pursuit of them

"During my stay on the island there arrived in May two ships from France bound to Madagascar for slaves and from thence to Mississippi The beginning of June arrived another from St Malo for China, and in her way to settle the Island of Pulle condore [Pulo Condore], having on board her a Governor, two Engineers and about one hundred soldiers and officers They made but very little stay When they sailed I took care to write to China to acquaint your Honours of what is herein mentioned

"On the first of November last arrived the *Triton*, French ship from Mocha, last from the Island of Mauritius, where had stayed forty days, during which time had taken possession of the said island by erecting a large Cross and leaving a French flag flying "[37]

"The Governor of this place had some time before been in expectation of ships from France for that purpose, but none coming had begun to build a small vessel to send up there with people to settle it, much fearing that the Ostenders would do it before them, which he had an account they intended

"Having now an opportunity, I embarked with the Viceroy and several others for France, but luckily touching at the Isle of St Helena met Captain [William] Hutchinson [of the *Sunderland*], who was so obliging to take me on board, being almost starved in the French ship

RICHARD LAZINBY "

3 A.

No 99 *Deposition of Richard Lazinby* (Extract)

"And this deponent further saith that during his stay at the said island Don Mascarenhas he saw and discoursed with Captain Condon and about forty of his people, who had been a pyrating, that they told him they had taken a rich India ship, which they brought to Madagascar and sunk her at or near Port St Mary's,[38] and from thence came to Don Mascarenhas on the encouragement of the French King's Act of Grace, that about fifteen of them came from thence taking passage on a French ship called the *Triton*, bound for Europe, on which this deponent also took passage in November last, that Captain Condon and about eighteen more continued on the island and the rest were dead That this deponent understood from the French Directore there that the French East India Company's orders were that, if any of the pirates on the island died leaving a wife, his widow should enjoy

[37] Bernardin de St Pierre says the French took possession after the Dutch abandoned it in 1712

[38] Commodore Matthews in 1721/2 found at St Mary's the wreck of a fine Jeddah ship which had been taken by Capt Condon of the *Flying Dragon* with 13 lakhs of treasure on board The pirates, in ignorance of or careless of their value, had left all the rest of the cargo, spices, drugs, cloth and guns, lying on the shore (Biddulph, *Pirates of Malabar*, p 186) According to Johnson, *History of the Pirates* (II, 140, 143), the *Flying Dragon* was a former privateer which Condon (or Condent) took from the Dutch off the island of St Jago Johnson says that he assisted in the capture of the Viceroy of Goa (which seems unlikely from Lazinby's account) and that he retired to St Malo where he became a merchant Condon was in Madagascar in 1720 (see *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol 12, No 256)

the effects belonging to the deceased, but, if not, then such pirates were not allowed to give away any of their effects at their death This deponent saw the Directore take into his possession the effects of two of the said pirates immediately after notice of their decease And lastly this deponent saith that the ship *Triton*, in her homeward bound passage, touching at St Helena, found there the ship *Sunderland*, belonging to the United English Company aforementioned, on which this deponent came to England '

[*India Office Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol 13, Nos 97 and 99]

4

Account of Bourbon

"It is well known that the first inhabitants [of Bourbon or Mascarenhas] were pirates, who co-habited with negro [native] women from Madagascar They fixed here first about the year 1657 The [French] India Company had also at Bourbon a Factory and a Governor who lived with them [*i e* the pirates] in great circumspection The Viceroy of Goa came one day to anchor in the Road of St Denis and was to dine with the Governor He had scarcely set his foot on shore before a pirate ship of fifty guns anchored alongside his vessel and took her The Captain landed forthwith and demanded to dine at the Governor's He seated himself at table between him and the Portuguese Viceroy, to whom he declared that he was his prisoner Wine and good cheer having put the seaman in good humour, Monsieur Desforges (the Governor) asked him at how much he rated the Viceroy's ransom 'I must have,' said the pirate, 'a thousand piastres'[39] 'That's too little,' said Monsieur Desforges, 'for a brave fellow like you to receive from a great Lord like him—ask enough or ask nothing' 'Well, well, then I ask nothing,' replied the generous corsair, 'let him be free' The Viceroy embarked instantly and set sail, happy at having escaped on such good terms This piece of service of the Governor was recompensed shortly after by the Court of Portugal, who presented his son with the order of Christ

"The pirate[40] afterwards settled on the island and was hanged a considerable time after an amnesty had been published in favour of his companions, and in which he had failed to get himself included This injustice was the work of a Judge who was desirous of appropriating his spoils to his own use But this last villain, a little while after, came to nearly as wretched an end, although the justice of men did not reach him

"It is not long [written 21 December 1770] since the last of these pirates, whose name was Adam, died aged 104 years."

[J. H Bernardin de St Pierre, *Voyage to the Isle of France*, p 192]

5

The end of the "Cassandra"

On the—March 1723 John Freeman, Second Mate of the *Ostend Galley*[41] deposed that he was taken by the *Cassandra* at Don Mascarenhas in April 1721 The *Ostend Galley* was taken thence to St Mary's in Madagascar, but having been sent down the coast for a mast, the Dutchmen and Portuguese on board, finding themselves with only two pirates, put

39 This would be at the most one quarter of the sum mentioned by Lazenby

40 It is a pity St. Pierre does not give us the pirate's name It may have been Condent or more probably Labouche who was a Frenchman Again, if it was Taylor, it would account for his good treatment when he surrendered to the Spaniards

41 *I e*, the old *Greyhound* See above, p 59

the latter ashore and escaped with the ship Freeman said that no less than eighty of the pirates died at St Mary's In December they sailed thence, the *Victoria* with 64 guns and 100 men and the *Cassandra* with 40 guns and 100 men At Tullear Bay on the west coast of Madagascar[42] they took a French ship of 200 tons and burnt her Thence they went to St John's[43] and Dillego [Delagoa Bay] then to Mozambique and to Massaledge,[44] where they parted company, the *Victoria*, now carrying 220 men, with a small sloop of 20 guns going to St Marys and the *Cassandra*, *viâ* the Cape, St Helena the Assiento [Ascension Island] Fernando Po, and the Island Rube,[45] to the Shamblan Keys[46](?) in the West Indies

[*India Office Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol 14, No 162]

5 A.

Letter from Jamaica to Humphrey Morrice Esq, 12 *May* 1723

"We have received an account from Portobello by a vessel just arrived from thence that a pirate ship of 40 guns and 140 men was lying about thirty leagues to the windward of Portobello The ship was the *Cassandra* formerly taken from Captain Mackray in the East Indies The last place they came from was the Island of Madagascar, having been from thence five months and halfe The present Captain of the Pirate ship is named Taylor and he has sent down by a small turtle fishing sloop to Portobello, the Doctor of the Pirate ship desiring a pardon This letter was delivered to the Commander [Captain Laws] of the *Mermaid* man-of-war, whom he, the Doctor, informed that the Captain of the Pirate ship was not above twelve leagues distance, and he believed if the Captain of the man-of-war would send up an hostage that the Captain of the Pirate would come down aboard the man-of-war, which was readily consented to and the Captain of the man of war sent down his brother Two days after the Captain of the Pirate ship came down aboard the man of-war and was very solicitous for a pardon The Captain of the man of war treated the Captain of the Pirate very civilly and persuaded him to bring down his ship and go with him to Jamaica and he would not molest him After two days' stay the Captain of the Pirate ship went to his Concerts to prevail with them to surrender to the Captain of the *Mermaid* man-of-war. The pirates have got the ship *Cassandra* into so crooked a place that all the Navy of England cannot hurt her. They have lighted [*sic*] their ship three foot to get her over the shoals and were six days hauling her in between the rocks [so] that it is impossible for any vessel to come near her They give out that they can divide in silver and gold £1,200 a man, and to have a great value aboard in diamonds besides a great many rich goods"

5-B

Letter from James Pearce to Humphrey Morrice, 4 *July* 1723

"Captain David Greenhill in one of the South Sea Company's Snows arrived from Portobello two days before we sailed from Jamaica and brings account that the *Cassandra* Pirate was come into Portobello and the people had a free pardon for themselves and goods [*i e* were allowed to keep their booty], only paying the King's duty, and they were selling their diamonds and India goods there when he came away. They have taken the ship for the King of Spain and christened her with great ceremony"

42 Tullear is on the north of St Augustine's Bay

43 St John's Road, S. W. Africa (Umzirubu).

44 N W coast of Madagascar (? modern Majanga) See Hamilton's map, I. fig I, and correct note on p 20, *ante*

45 Aruba or Oruba, off the Gulf of Maracaibo, Columbia

46 Gulf of San Blas, Columbia, where there would be a good hiding place for pirates in the Archipelago de las Mulattas

5 c

Letter from Captain James Pearce of the "Ruby" Snow to Humphrey Morrice, dated Jamaica 19 June 1723.

"By a sloop belonging to the South Sea Company arrived here from Portobello we have an account that the large Pirate on the Spanish American Coast formerly called the *Cassandra* have surrendered themselves[47] to the Spaniards allowing 20 per cent out of their riches."

[*India Office Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 14, p. 205 *et seq.*]

XXI

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE *REVENGE* AND *BOMBAY GRAB* AND A MARÂTHA FLEET, 1775

Technically I suppose the Marâthas engaged in this fight were not pirates, as their commander was a Marâtha officer but practically the whole Marâtha fleet engaged in piracy in peace time, and became respectable like the old Elizabethan privateersmen, when war broke out. The fight described below was altogether one sided, as the Marâthas were no match for the English in gunnery, though they were quite as heavily armed as the English ships. In the circumstances attending the encounter now reported one can, therefore, only admire the courage of the Marâtha commander who sacrificed his ship to save the rest of his fleet.

A Narrative of the Engagement between the Revenge and the Bombay Grab[48] *with the Moratta fleet off Cape Dobbs*[49] [*1st and 2nd February 1775, by a Passenger on the Bombay Grab*]

The enemy were seen in the morning of the 1st instant, consisting of five large ships and two ketches with some gallivats. At one in the afternoon the two ketches with three gallivats bore away to the eastward. At four the Commodore [John Moore] made the Grab's signal to chase to the south-west. At ½ past five the ships separated, two departing to the eastward and two to the westward with the remainder of the gallivats. The fifth ship stood on to the south east, which the *Revenge* and the [*Bombay*] *Grab* pursued.

About ¼ past seven in the evening the [*Bombay*] *Grab* had the good fortune to get up alongside within pistol shot of the Moratta ship (since found to have been the *Sensare Jung* [*Shamsher Jang*] of forty guns and 350 men), when she began a brisk firing both with great guns and small arms. Some few of both were returned by the enemy, but far short of what might have been reasonably expected from a vessel of her force. The *Revenge* was at this time far astern nor could she come up till about ten o'clock, when a brisk firing commenced from her also.

The evening being dark, it was impossible to see the damage she must have received from the *Bombay Grab*'s cannonading the shots were heard to strike very forcibly against

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47 Probably at the Gulf of San Blas.

48 Two of the Company's cruisers.

49 By Cape "Dobbs" the writer apparently means the southern point of the mouth of the Vâshishti river, from which Dâbhol, in Ratnagiri district, is six miles distant.—ED.

her sides, and as the *Revenge* had joined us to destroy her, it was reasonably expected she would speedily become a prize to our superior force, and though repeatedly desired not to make any further resistance, yet they [the enemy] refused, preferring to receive a most smart cannonading from both vessels than strike. On her part a very slow fire was returned.

From her keeping so much to the eastward we were of opinion the enemy meant to run their vessel on shore (since we have been informed that was their design), though the [*Bombay*] *Grab* followed her into 4½ fathoms rocky ground and anchored, but the Commodore, knowing the *Revenge* drew less water, he directed the boat from each vessel to tow him up alongside the Moratta ship. It was about ¼ before eleven o'clock when the [*Bombay*] *Grab* anchored. At ½ past she again weighed and the land wind all the vessels out, prevented the enemy running on shore. At ¼ past she blew up and was continually in a flame from head to stern. The cause of this accident cannot be determined but is reasonably supposed to have happened from the careless manner in which they have their powder or by a hand grenade. Perhaps a shot from one of the vessels struck a bolt in her Magazine, but how it happened is merely conjecture. Sufficient to say that she is totally destroyed.

It is impossible to describe so terrible a picture. The ship itself in flames was dreadful, but more so were the cries of the unhappy sufferers, many of whom after being severely burnt were found swimming, endeavouring to avoid the power of one element by flying to another. Our Commodore sent his own boat and the *Bombay Grab's* to relieve as many of the people as they possibly could. To the number of thirty were saved, but many of them such objects that it hurt the nature of man to see them, some shot in different places, others miserably burnt. Many will in all probability die. Every method was used to ease them that was in the power of the Surgeons by the application of such medicine as were proper and suitable.

It is to be remarked how singularly fortunate it was that not a person on board either vessel received the smallest hurt from the enemy, nor did either of our ships suffer, unless from one shot which struck the [*Bombay*] *Grab* forward. From the nearness with which the Company's vessels began, continued and ended the fight, it was reasonably to be expected that greater accidents would have happened than what did. The situation of each vessel was very dangerous at the time of the explosion as well as from the flames of the Moratta ship, but providentially they have both escaped.

It will ever afford me pleasure to relate with what spirit and bravery distinguished both officers and men on this occasion, each endeavouring to convince how much they were interested in the Honour of that Service in which they are engaged.

At the earnest solicitation of the prisoners, when off Gheriah,[50] the Commodore made a signal for a boat, which being observed by one going into that port from Vengurla, [Vengorla, Ratnâgiri District], she came to the *Revenge*, when those poor creatures were sent on shore—miserable objects indeed!

[50] Gheriah or Vijayadrug, a port in Ratnâgiri district, Bombay.—Ed.

Whilst lying to off this port there was seen flying a pendant similar to that which the vessel had we burnt, hoisted only half mast up [51] May it not reasonably be supposed a kind of mourning for either the ship or her commander, as she must be a very great loss to them, being by far the finest ship in their service new and mounting guns of 18, 12, 9, and 6-pounders, which are said to have been taken from the *Saint Anne*, Portuguese ship

Many enquiries made from the prisoners respecting the strength of the enemy's fleet, which they informed consisted of the following vessels, not including the ship destroyed before mentioned, *vit*

The *Fattee Jung* [Fateh Jang]	of 38 guns
Dat Paul [Datu Pal]	26 do
Narror Paul [Narhar Pal]	26 do
Naddow Paul [Nadav Pâl]	32 do
Rampersad [Ramparshad] Ketch	12 do
Groyspursaud [Guruparshâd] Ketch	12 do
Shoespursaud [Shivparshâd] Ketch	12 do

with two other ketches whose names they did not know, belonging to Rutnaguiry [Ratnagiri]

They also said that on seeing the [*Bombay*] *Grab* come up with them, they had determined to board her [52] but were stopt therefrom by the quick fire kept up from that vessel, which prevented them from keeping on deck Their sepoys [Marâtha soldiers] went down the Main [hatch or hold] and the lascars sheltered themselves in the Forehold, now and then stealing up to fire a gun or discharge a matchlock

We learn likewise that on finding themselves so much overmatched the Moratta Commander resolved if possible to run his vessel on shore, as he observed to his own people, when by them desired to strike, that he could not think of so doing, as he would by such an action incur the displeasure of his superior officer, who would decapitate him if ever he returned to Gheriah

The Head Subedar [53] (the prisoners informed us) left the ship How many accompanied him we cannot learn, but from the size of the boat concluded but few could have been so fortunate, from whence it may be concluded that the major part of the number have perished

[*India Office Records, Home Series, Miscellaneous*, Vol 120, pp 5—14]

(*To be continued*)

51 The flag at half mast replaced the black flag as a sign of mourning as early at least as 1700, but certain countries kept to the old custom much later

52 The Marathas, like the European pirates, were always much more strongly manned than the English ships of war, and generally, when unable to escape, tried to board in order to use their advantage of superior numbers The warships, on the other hand, with better disciplined crews almost invariably tried to sink or disable them and so force the pirates to surrender without coming to close quarters

53 Subahdar, the commander of the Marâtha seapoys

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

By LT COLONEL T W HAIG CSI CMG

THE following account of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty of Ahmadnagar is a translation of the second part of the *Burhân i Ma'âsir* by 'Ali ibn 'Azîz Allah Tabâtabâ of Samnân, of which only three copies are known to exist The first part of this work containing an account of the Bahmanî kings of the Dakan, is merely introductory and has already been translated by Major J S King, who published his translation in *The Indian Antiquary* Vol XXVIII, from which it was reprinted in book form in 1900 by Messrs Luzac & Co, under the title of *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty, founded on the Burhân i Ma'âsir*

Meeting Major King in the library of the India Office in 1909 or 1910 I asked him whether he purposed continuing his translation, and on ascertaining that he had no such intention, I made, for my own use, a translation of the rest of the *Burhan-i-Ma'âsir* which I was then reading I now offer this translation to readers of *The Indian Antiquary*

The author's style is bombastic and prolix in the extreme and in my translation I have freely curtailed the pompous phraseology of the original Some passages such as the description of the festivities on the occasion of a royal wedding I have omitted altogether, as being void of historical interest

The value of the work as a historical document is much impaired by its partiality, the author being a panegyrist of the dynasty whose history he professes to tell The most flagrant instances of his unscrupulous partiality are his impudent attempt to claim for the founder of the dynasty, in the face of the clearest historical evidence descent in the male line from the Bahmanî kings, his fictitious account of a defeat inflicted on Mahmud Shâh Begâra of Gujarât by Ahmad Nizâm Shâh fighting in defence of a mythical Mahmûd Shâh of Khândesh, and his praise of the maniac Murtazâ Nizam Shah I

Nevertheless the chronicle is not without value It is a record of events in the State in which the author lived, and is probably fairly trustworthy so far as it relates to domestic affairs, and the detailed record of the siege of Ahmadnagar by Akbar's troops is interesting, and is, so far as I know, the only original account of the siege from the point of view of the beleaguered garrison It contains much information not to be found elsewhere

Such a work as I have described requires to be carefully compared with other histories and this must be my apology for the number and length of the notes

Abbreviations

F —Firishta's *History*, Bombay text of 1832

AN —*Akbarnama*, Bibliotheca Indica edition, text, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

ZW —*An Arabic History of Gujarat* (*Zafar ul-Walih bi Muzaffar wa Alih*), edited by E Denison Ross, Ph D John Murray & Co, 1910 Indian Texts Series (Text)

Danvers —*The Portuguese in India*, by F C Danvers W H Allen & Co, Limited 1894

BS —*Basâtin-us-Salâtîn*, Haidarâbâd, lithographed edition

HA —*Hadiqat-ul 'Âlam* Haidarâbâd, lithographed edition of A H 1309

TMS —*Tarîkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shâhî* MS in author's possession

T W G

I.—Account of the origin of the Nizam Shâhî kings of Ahmadnagar

Since God's eternal mercy was closely connected with the preservation of the male line and the continuation of the kingdom and prosperity of the family, founded in vicegerency who, from father to grandfather, have been crowned kings and rulers since the days of Bahman the son of Isfandiyâr and, before that, as far back as Kayûmars, He saved the firmly founded house of the pillars of the kingdom of the king of the world, Sultân Muhammad Shâh Bahmanî, from the inroads of ruin and disintegration, and the misfortune of extinction and decay, by the birth of the successful and fortunate prince, a Farîdûn with the power of Jamshîd, protected by the one God, Abû'l Muzaffar Sultân Ahmad Bahrî Nizâm Shâh. Although historians differ much in their accounts of that king of high birth and the author of this noble work has seen in the royal library of the Nizâm Shâhi kings a treatise in the noble handwriting of His Majesty whose abode is Paradise,[1] at the end of which he had written, "The writer of this was Shaikh Burhân-ud din, son of Malik Ahmad Nizâm ul-Mulk, son of Malik Nâib, who had from His Majesty the title of Ashraf-i Humâyûn Nizâm Shâh," yet that which has come before the eyes of the writer of these lines in some works on the history of the sultâns of the countries of the Dakan, and which he has heard from experienced old men of this country, is the story which is now to be related.

Historians of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh have written as follows:—

When the king of the world, Muhammad Shâh Bahmani, was on the throne, some of the *amîrs* who were, by his orders, employed in collecting tribute from, and in laying waste, the country of the idolaters, captured a beautiful damsel. When they saw that she was worthy of the royal bedchamber, they sent her, with other gifts, to His Majesty. The modest virgin, on her arrival at court, found favour in the king's eyes, and was treated more kindly than any other member of the seraglio, as she excelled them all, not only in beauty, but also in courtesy, modesty, fidelity and understanding. Since it was God's eternal will that that Bilqîs of the period, that Maryam of the age, should be the shell which was to contain the gem of the vicegerency and the place of rising of the star of sovereignty, the plant of her hopes, after the Sultân had gone in unto her, bore fruit, and became heavy therewith. When her days were accomplished, a prince was born, and the Sultân on receiving news of the event, rendered thanks to God and gladdened his eyes with the sight of the child. The young prince was entitled Môtî Shâh, and received the name of Sultân Ahmad. The king then bestowed gifts on all around him, and commanded the astrologers to draw the young prince's horoscope with the utmost care. They foretold, from the aspects of the seven planets, that the child would become king, and that the further he could be sent from the court and the capital, the better it would be for the interests of the State.

When they reported the result of their investigations, the king, though delighted by the bright future foretold for the child, writhed with anguish at the thought that he must part from him. At last he decided that the interests of the State would be best consulted by his sending the prince and his mother to Malik Hasan Humâyûn Shâhî who ultimately obtained the titles of Majlis-i-A'lâ Mansab-i-Mu'allâ, and Malik Nâib, in order that that *vazîr* might send the prince and his mother to Râmgîr and Mâhûr, which were *parganas* far from the capital and held by Malik Nâib, and keep him in that country, taking the greatest pains in his education and in the care of him. Majlis-i-A'lâ Mansab-i-Mu'allâ Malik Nâib

1 Burhân Nizâm Shâh I.

was therefore summoned, and the Sultân took counsel with him on the project Malik Nâib agreed that it would be best to send the young prince to Râmgir and promised, as a faithful servant, to neglect nothing that would be for the benefit of him and of his education The Sultân accordingly carried out his design, and the education of the young prince was entrusted to Malik Nâib

Some historians say that Sultân Mahmûd Shâh [2] gave Malik Nâib a slave girl from his *haram* and that when Malik Nâib took the girl to his *haram* she was discovered to be pregnant Malik Nâib of necessity brought the matter to the notice of the king and it was decreed with the connivance of the slave girl, that since that royal offshoot had first seen the light in Malik Nâib's house, Malik Nâib should thenceforth be his tutor and afterwards when Mahmud Shâh came to the throne, the young prince (Ahmad) was generally regarded as the son of Malik Nâib But God knows the truth of all things [3]

Majlis i A'lâ (Malik Nâib) formed great hopes of advancement from the favour which had been shewn to him, and sent the young prince with a large retinue to Mahûr and Râmgir, which were his own *jâgîrs*, and took the greatest possible care of him The king too, inquired closely and constantly into the young prince's affairs and devoted much attention to his education, always seeing that he was well supplied with rich clothes Arab horses arms, and all that was understood to become his position as a prince, and sending them to him

When the prince came to years of discretion, having devoted his time to the acquisition of accomplishments and learning, his talk was ever of arms, and the distinction and honour to be gained by their use, and he was ever conversant with them so that kingship

2 *Sic* A mistake for Muhammad

3 This fictitious account of the origin of the Nizâm Shâhi dynasty has apparently been fabricated by the author The origin of the dynasty is well known Its founder, Ahmad Nizam ul Mulk, who afterwards assumed the title of Shâh was the son of Hasan, entitled Malik Nâib Hasan was a Brâhman, originally named Tîmâ Bhat, who had been captured in his youth by Ahmad Shâh Bahmani in a campaign against Vijayanagar in 1422 or 1423 Although he was captured in Vijayanagar territory he was a Brâhman of the Marâtha country, his father, whose name is corruptly given as Bhairo probably a version of Bhairon or Bhairava, having belonged to the family of the *kulkarnis* or *patwaris* of Pathri on the Godâvarî, and having fled from that place to Vijayanagar in order to escape the persecution to which he was subjected by the Muslims From a further corruption of the name of Ahmad's grandfather, the cognomen Bahri, often applied to the dynasty, was formed

Sayyid 'Alî cites no authority for his story except some unnamed historical works and the oral testimony of some old men The evidence on the other side, both positive and circumstantial, is overwhelming There is the statement of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I in his own handwriting which is mentioned by Firishta (ii, 199) as well as by Sayyid 'Alî, that he was the grandson of Malik Nâib there is the evidence of the historians Firishta and Nizâm ud din Ahmad, author of the *Tabaqât i Akbarî* that Ahmad always passed and behaved as the son of Malik Nâib, and there is the action taken by Burhan Nizam Shah I in 1518 when he demanded of 'Alâ ud din 'Imâd Shâh of Berar the cession of the town and district of Pathri, then included in the Berar kingdom, in exchange for another district, on the ground that Pathri was the home of his ancestors and that many of his relations still lived there On 'Ala ud din's refusal to cede the district, Burhân I made war on him and annexed it

The circumstantial evidence is also strong Had Ahmad been a Bahmani prince he would have called himself Bahmanî rather than Bahri, and when the feeble Mahmud was completely dominated by Qâsim, Barid ul Mumâlik, he would have made some claim to the throne of his ancestors, or at least to the regency The house of Bahman still commanded much respect, and the rebellion of the provincial governors, Yusuf Khân of Bijâpur, Fathullah 'Imâd ul Mulk of Berar, and Sultân Quli Qutb ul Mulk of Golconda was a revolt, not against Mahmud Shâh and his four feeble successors, but against the tyranny of the *maires du palais*, Qâsim and his son 'Alî Barid I, whose usurpation they resented A prince of the royal house would certainly have commanded the allegiance of Qutb ul Mulk and 'Imâd ul Mulk, and probably that of Yûsuf Khân also As a matter of fact those three *amirs* were hostile to him

seemed, as it were, to blossom in him, and to be evident in his speech and actions. Indeed, he soon outstripped all in the use of arms. He attained all this perfection in his twelfth year, when Sultân Muḥammad Shâh died.

Sultân Muḥammad was succeeded, according to his will, by his son, Sultân Maḥmûd Shâh. Maḥmûd Shah honoured Malik Ḥasan Humâyûn Shâhî (Malik Nâib) above all his fellows, and promoted him above all the *amîrs*, so that he became the butt of their envy, and the whole of the management of affairs of State was left in his hands.

II.—Accounts of the early exploits of Malik Ahmad.

While the prince was living happily in Râmgîr and Mâhûr, war broke out between Sultân Maḥmûd Shâh [4] and the accursed Uriya, who was the chief of the irreligious unbelievers of Tilang. The king, having resolved on a holy war, set out with a large army for the country of the seditious polytheists, and the rebels prepared to resist him. The dispute came at last to actual fighting and a disaster befell the (usually) victorious army, the army of Islâm being defeated by Uriya the polytheist, so that most of the baggage, nay, some even of the ladies and female servants of the *ḥaram*, were disgraced by falling into the hands of the enemy. The prince, on hearing of the disgrace which had befallen the king's army, resolved to go to his assistance, and, assembling his followers, marched in the direction of the enemy, who were pursuing the royal army. He took up a position in a mountain pass which blocked their way, defeated the infidels, and put them to flight. He plundered them and regained possession of the spoil which they had taken from the royal army, including the ladies of Maḥmûd's *ḥaram*, and sent these to the king. The king was overjoyed to hear that the prince, with so small an army, had defeated the forces of the unbelievers and had redeemed the honour of the house of Bahman by rescuing the ladies of the *ḥaram* who had fallen into the enemy's hands by reason of the negligence and quarrels of the *amîrs*, but a number of jealous and envious men, who were ever at enmity with Malik Nâib on account of the relation in which he stood to the prince, took this opportunity of recalling to the king's recollection what the astrologers had predicted in respect of the prince, and represented to the king that the prince had now reached years of discretion and that the predictions of the astronomers to the late king were being fulfilled, for strange and wonderful signs of their fulfilment were daily apparent in the prince's actions. They said further that it would be but prudent to consider what steps should be taken to prevent any mischance.

III.—The account of the sending of the victorious Prince to Junnâr and all other places in the Konkan, as far as the sea coast.

When the king was beginning to be anxious regarding the prince, which anxiety was perceived by Majlis-i-A'lâ Malik Nâib, the subjects in the province of Junnâr and its dependencies complained to the king of the oppression of the unbelievers of Shivner and other

[4] Sayyid 'Alî again writes Maḥmud for Muḥammad. "The prince" is, of course, Aḥmad. Malik Nâib, his father, was at this time governor of Telingana and the great *vazîr*, Maḥmud Gâvân, being suspicious of the loyalty of Malik Nâib and his abler and more energetic son Ahmad, had induced the king, Muḥammad III, to separate them by giving Aḥmad the command of 300 horse and fiefs in Mâhûr. Another reason for Aḥmad's removal from the court was a connection which he had formed with one of the women of the royal seraglio. This intrigue may have suggested to Sayyid 'Alî his story of Aḥmad's royal descent. Malik Nâib checkmated the minister by persuading the king to recall Aḥmad to Telingana, where the Court then was, as commander of 1,000 horse, and this was the occasion of his return from Mâhur to the royal camp. The story of the defeat of the royal army is not correct. It was Malik Nâib, governor of Telingâna, who was then living at Râjamahendrî, who was defeated by the Râja of Urîsâ.

forts in those parts, which were in the hands of the infidels. Malik Nâib seized this opportunity, before the king had issued any orders in respect of the prince, and represented that the prince, who had now come to years of discretion, was the fittest person to be sent to restore order in that country. The king accepted Malik Nâib's advice, and it was decided that the prince should be sent to Junnâr with orders to restore prosperity to that beautiful country, and to do his utmost to this end, applying the plaster of ease and justice to the wounds caused by the swords of the lords of oppression and injustice, thus by his kindness and courtesy consoling the inhabitants of the land.

Malik Nâib, in accordance with the royal orders issued a *farman* to the prince and sent with it a petition of his own, urging the prince to set out for Junnâr without delay on receiving the royal commands, as his enemies had been busy at court and had turned the king against him, and it was to be feared that if the prince did not set out at once, an order might be issued, the rectification of which would be beyond human power. The prince, as soon as he received his orders, issued pay to his army and set out for Junnâr. When the prince arrived at Junnâr he was met by the principal inhabitants, and took his seat on the throne of honour and majesty like an independent sovereign, and opened the doors of justice and mercy in the faces of the cultivators, the inhabitants, and the merchants of that country, thus restoring happiness and prosperity to them. Thus all the inhabitants of that country and all travellers therein, Dakanîs and Khurâsânîs, Hindus and Musalmans, passed their lives in peace and content, and gladly submitted, in all loyalty, to the prince.

Ali Bâlish Dihi, who had been one of the dependants of Khvaja Jahan Mahmûd Gavân, and was at this time governor of the fort of Châkan and its dependencies, when he heard of the obedience and loyalty of the inhabitants of Junnâr, and of the prosperity of that country, was moved by envy and jealousy, the fruit of which can be nothing but shame and repentance, to stray from the way of concord and amity with the prince, and entered into conspiracy with his enemies at court, constantly sending to court lying reports and petitions prompted by self-interest, and the prince's enemies at court taking advantage of this opportunity, persuaded the king that the prince cherished designs on the throne, and thus poisoned his mind against him. The king who was not free from a natural desire to see the prince again, issued an order summoning him to court. The prince marched for Bidar with his troops and was favourably received there, being accorded the honour of the *istiqbâl*, which was performed by all the *amîrs* and officers of State, the Sayyids, Shaikhs and learned men. He succeeded in disabusing the king's mind of the ideas which had been instilled into it by his enemies and was received most considerately and affectionately by him, and acquired further honours. He thus became more than ever the object of the envy and jealousy of his enemies.[5]

When the king heard of the manner in which the prince had treated his subjects in Junnâr, and of the satisfaction of all the inhabitants of that country with him, he sent

5 This is a garbled account of what actually occurred. After Malik Nâib had outwitted Mahmud Gâvân, the latter, apprehensive of the power of the provincial governors, subdivided the four great *tarafs*, or provinces of the kingdom, into eight. Thus Gulbarga was divided into the provinces of Gulbarga and Bijâpur, Daulatâbâd into those of Daulatâbâd and Junnar, Berar into those of Gawîl and Mahur, and Telingâna into those of Râjamahendri and Warangal, and the powers of the provincial governors were much curtailed. The old governors, and especially Malik Nâib, bitterly resented this reform, and in 1481 Mahmud Gâvân's death was compassed by a band of conspirators of whom Malik Nâib was the chief. Malik Nâib succeeded Mahmud Gâvân as minister and sent his son Ahmad to Daulatâbâd as governor. These expeditions into the Junnâr province were an attempt to reunite the provinces of Daulatabad and Junnar.

for Malik Nâib, who had been his tutor and mentor, and privately consulted with him as to what should be done with the prince. On Malik Nâib's advice, the king decided that the prince should not remain at court, but should return to Junnâr as governor, and on the following day, when the prince waited on the king, he was given a robe of honour and the honourable title of Nizâm-ul-Mulk. He was reappointed governor of Junnâr and its dependencies, and it was ordered that any forts that he might conquer from the unbelievers should be added to his *jagîrs*. The prince then left the court for Junnâr, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants as before. He took his seat on the throne in the royal capital and again employed himself in administering Junnâr with justice and mercy.

VI.—An Account of the Prince's Expedition against the Fort of Shivner, and all other Forts and Districts of the Konkan.[6]

Since the prince was ever desirous of raising the standard of Islâm and propagating the faith and sacred law of Muhammad by engaging in a holy war and stamping out the strife and wickedness of infidels without faith and without righteousness, and most of the forts of the Konkan and the hilly country of the Dakan were in the hands of the polytheists and idolaters, vile misbelievers who harassed merchants and all other inhabitants of that country, it was necessary for the proper administration of the country that those forts and strongholds should be captured and the infidels punished. The Prince, therefore, with a view to carrying out this work, distributed rewards to the army, and in a short time collected a very large army of horse and foot, and when the army had assembled, the prince ordered that it should march first against Shivner.[7]

Shivner is a fortress situated on a high hill in the neighbourhood of the town of Junnâr so strong that it had never before been captured. The prince's army marched against it. After a short siege, in which the prince's army displayed the most determined valour and the infidels offered a stout resistance, the defenders had no choice but to capitulate, and the commandant of the fort and his chief officers came before the prince with swords and shroûds suspended round their necks and offered him the keys of the place. The prince took pity on them and granted them their lives, and his troops entered the fort, where they recited the *takbîr* and the *kalimah* and, after destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters erected mosques in their place. Much spoil, including jewels, money, rich clothes, merchandise, and beautiful slaves, was taken by the prince's army and presented before the prince, who took what he required for the treasury and remitted the rest to the troops.

The prince regarded this great victory as an earnest of God's grace, and decided to proceed to the conquest of other forts in the Konkan. After appointing one of his trusted officers to the command of Shivner, he marched against the fortress of Jond, which also is in the neighbourhood of Junnâr.

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6 The circumstances in which this campaign was undertaken are misrepresented. Muhammad Bahmani III died in 1482 and left Malik Nâib, by his will, regent of the kingdom and guardian of his infant son Mahmud Shâh. Malik Nâib transferred his son Ahmad from Daulatâbâd to Junnâr, but also transferred to that province Bir and many other *parganas* which had belonged to Daulatâbâd. Ahmad was commissioned to reduce several forts held by Marâtha officers who were loyal to the Bahmani dynasty but were not disposed to submit to the regent or to the provincial governors and this campaign was undertaken in consequence.

7 Shivner is the hill fort of the town of Junnâr, situated in 19° 12′ N and 73° 52′ E.

The army surrounded Jond and captured it without much trouble much spoil falling to the lot of the victors The prince handed over the fort to one of his trusty officers, and marched on the fortress of Luhaka, which is known as Lohogarh [8]

Lohogarh is situated on a high and rocky hill and when the prince reached it he commanded his troops to surround the fortress and to harass the defenders in every way possible The troops fought with great valour, and the defenders resisted them stoutly, but the army of Islâm prevailed The fort was taken by storm and the defenders were massacred, their bodies being thrown from the high rock on which the fort is built The temples of the idolaters were overthrown, and mosques were built in their place Much plunder was taken, and the prince, after appointing one of his officers *kotwal* of the fort, marched on the fort of Tung and Nikona [9]

When the prince and his army arrived before Tung and Nikona the garrison, who had both heard of, and seen, the invariable success and victory of the prince, refrained from offering any resistance, and came forth and submitted The prince had mercy on them and granted them their lives, granting them immunity from any attack by his army The army, however, obtained much plunder from that place and the prince placing one of his trusted officers in command of that fort, marched to Kondhâna [10] which was one of the greatest forts of that time

As soon as the prince's army arrived at Kondhana, that fort like the others, was conquered, and the prince, after appointing one of his servants to command it marched for Purandhar [11]

The prince encamped before Purandhar and his troops resolutely attacked The garrison exerted themselves in its defence, but their efforts were of no avail and the attacking force pressed them ever harder and harder, till they lost hope, and the fort was taken by storm, many of its idolatrous defenders being killed and their houses plundered and then burnt The prince bestowed the governorship of that fort and its dependencies on one of his officers and marched towards Bhorap [12]

When the army arrived at Bhorap the prince, by liberally bestowing largesse, encouraged them to attack the place with such spirit that it was at once taken by storm with much slaughter of the polytheists Temples were overthrown and mosques were erected in their place, and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors, the wives and children of the miserable defenders being made captives The prince then made arrangements for the restoration of the fortress by placing one of his officers in charge of it, and marched towards Marabdes

8 Lohogarh is a fort of some antiquity and importance situated in 18° 42′ N and 73° 29′ E It was much used as a State prison by the Nizâm Shâhi kings

9 Tung and Nikona are two hill forts, the former five miles to the south by west and the latter twelve miles to the south east of Lohogarh

10 A fort situated in 18° 22′ N and 73° 45′ E and now known as Sinhgarh which name was given to it in 1647 by Sivaji, when he acquired it by means of a large bribe paid to the Muhammadan commandant

11 A hill fort situated in 18° 17′ N and 73° 59′ E, now a sanitorium for European troops

12 A hill fort situated fifteen miles south west of Lohogarh

The garrison of Marabdes, who had heard of the fate of Bhorap and all other forts, profited by the example which had been given to them, and showed consideration for their wives and children by opening the gates of the fort and appearing submissively before the prince with shrouds round their necks. The prince had mercy on them and ordered his troops to molest neither their persons nor their property, but to destroy all temples and idols and to build mosques in their place. The prince collected an indemnity from them, and ordered a commandant for that fort, and officers to assist him, to be chosen, and a body of troops to be stationed there for its protection, and for the propagation of the holy law of Muhammad. These orders were carried out, and the mind of the prince was set at ease with respect to that fort.

The prince next marched to Jûdhan,[13] and the army besieged that fort and attacked it with great spirit. The garrison at first defended that place bravely, but could not long endure the assaults of the prince's valorous troops, and at length came forth and humbly offered to surrender the fort. Their lives were spared, but the place was sacked, and the property of its inhabitants plundered and their houses destroyed. The prince appointed a trusty officer to the command of that fort, and the army then marched to the fortress of Khaj, and encamped before it.

The fortress of Khaj, like all other forts, was captured with very little trouble, all outward signs of idolatry were overthrown, and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. The army then marched towards Kher Drug.

When the army arrived before Kher Drug[14] the inhabitants were much alarmed, and submitted with great humility to the prince, who mercifully spared their lives and appointed one of his officers to the command of the fort.

The prince next marched on the fort of Moranjan,[15] and cleared that fortress also of the base existence of evil men, uprooting the foundations of polytheism and infidelity, and thence marched for the fort of Tungî and Taronî.

Those forts were very soon captured and much spoil, both in money and kind, was taken by the troops.

Thence the prince marched to Maholî, and, having encamped before the fort, issued orders for an assault. His troops attacked the place with great valour, and at the first assault overcame the garrison and captured the fort, and many of the polytheists were slaughtered. Much plunder fell to the lot of the army of Islâm, and the idol temples were levelled with the ground. The prince appointed one of his servants to the command of the fort, and marched on Pâlî.[16]

13 About thirteen miles north west of Junnâr.

14 About twelve miles south of Poona.

15 A fort about forty seven miles south west of Junnâr.

16 A fort about forty five miles west by north of Poona.

Pâlî is a fortress situated on a high mountain peak rounded like a dome, extremely strong, and well-nigh impregnable When the prince arrived before it, he ordered that a regular siege should be undertaken and that the siege train should open fire upon it The army set itself to obey these orders, and to capture the fort from its accursed and idolatrous defenders The garrison defended the fort most strenuously, but to no avail, for weak gnats and ants, how numerous soever they may be, cannot resist the storm wind At last victory declared for the Muslims, the vile misbelievers were overpowered, and this strong fortress fell into the hands of the prince The troops proceeded to slay and plunder, granting no quarter, so that a large number of the unbelievers, young and old, were put to the sword, and rich spoil, elephants, horses, money, and goods, fell into the hands of the captors, and the smoke of annihilation rose from the dwellings of the idolaters and misbelievers After thus wiping out the infidels, the prince appointed one of his trusty officers to the command of the fort of Pâlî, with instructions to repair its ramparts and bastions, and marched for Kot Danda Râjpuri, and encamped before the fort

The fortress of Danda Râjpurî[17] is a fortress on the shores of the Indian Ocean, so situated that the waters of the ocean come up on two sides of it, and it is approached on the third side by a road across the dry land, but athwart this road runs a deep and broad artificial ditch, connecting the two branches of the sea The ramparts and bastions of the fort are of stone, and are very high The garrison of that fort, a band of vile unbelievers, had the greatest confidence in its strength, and contumaciously banded themselves together to oppose the prince But since the prince was under God's special protection, he was in no way perturbed by the thought of the strength of that fortress, and fearlessly ordered his valiant troops to attack it and send the contumacious miscreants to hell The army attacked it with great valour, and a terrible fight was fought The garrison of the fortress discovered that it was useless to attempt to contend with the prince's victorious army, and came forth and humbly submitted themselves to the prince, imploring mercy both for themselves and their children The prince, in his mercy, ordered the troops to spare the lives of the inhabitants of the fortress, but to plunder their property, in order that they might furnish an example to other contumacious wanderers from the right way, and that nobody might henceforth swerve from obedience, or incline towards disobedience The army, in accordance with the prince's orders, sacked the place, taking possession of all that belonged to the unbelievers

In short, in a brief space of time all the forts and districts of the Konkan both above the Ghats and below the Ghats, were captured by the prince's army and there remained nobody who had not submitted to the prince's authority, although the infidels had been many and had fought valiantly

[17] Danda and Râjpurî were two forts standing on either bank of the Râjpuri creek, on an island at the entrance of which now stand the fort and village of Janjira, situated in 18° 18′N and 73° E, forty four miles south of Bombay Island Janjira is the capital of the State of the same name.

The prince, having accomplished all this, returned to his royal capital of Junnâr, where he was welcomed and congratulated by his subjects He then sent to the king a report of his victories together with rich offerings from the spoil which had been taken by his army The king of the Dakan, when he heard of the prince's victories, highly praised him before the court, and offered up thanks to God He bestowed robes of honour on the prince's messengers, and sent by them to the prince a special robe of honour, and a jewelled waist-belt, and bestowed on him in *jâgîr* all the forts which he had captured The prince then enjoyed himself, free from care, in his capital [18]

(To be continued)

MORE ABOUT KHWÂJA (AGHA) PETROS

An Addition to Sidelights on Omichund (*ante, Vol XLVII, pp* 265—274)

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE

In the *Life and Adventures of Joseph Emin*, Second Edition, edited by Amy Apcar, there is an interesting allusion to the Armenian merchant who remained loyal to the East India Company in 1756 1757 and also a long note (pp 434—438) giving details regarding Khwâja Petros and his family Both are worth reproducing as an appendix to my article, noted above

After an account of how Joseph Emin obtained an Ensign's brevet from Governor John Cartier, President of Bengal, in 1770, the author adds the following remark —

" Emin omitted inserting that when Mr Cartier favoured him with the brevet, the late rich Armenian Coja Petrus, at that time the earthly god of the other Armenians in Calcutta, being an old acquaintance of the author's father, and hearing of his good success, thought it polite to make him some presents, and ventured to send him a large horse (worth 600 rupees), with rich Turkish silver harness, and a pair of stirrups of the same metal, each large enough to weigh four pounds of silver, together with several fine shauls, the whole of the value of about 2,000 rupees, but Emin, whose spirit was above it, though poor, refused the present, and returned it with the following message —

" 'Several afternoons, when, in obedience to my father, I used to make you visits, you detained me in your house, in the cold season, till it was dark and foggy, without even offering me a mashal [torch] to light me home, and now, when you see me supported by the English, you send me presents! I return them with many thanks Be pleased to send me some bread and salt, with a maund of rice, and half a maund of ghee, to confirm our friendship and to satisfy you that I can forgive all your Asiatic artful methods of setting a father against his son, who was lost, and then found The same noble nation, through whom you thrive with riches among the Armenians in Calcutta, have provided, and will provide for me, rest satisfied '

" At this the Armenians were astonished, but the noble-minded English admired it, commending Emin for his disinterested spirit, when they heard his simple reasons, saying,

18 The nature and object of this campaign in the Konkan are entirely misrepresented Ahmad was not a chivalrous young prince defending or extending the dominions of his elder brother, but a rebellious Provincial governor busily engaged in carving a kingdom for himself out of the *disjecta membra* of the kingdom of the Bahmanids and in overthrowing all officers who still remained faithful to that dynasty The absurdity of the claim of royal descent for Ahmad is once more apparent Maḥmud Shâh ascended the throne in 1842 at the age of twelve, and according to Sayyid 'Ali Aḥmad was his younger brother, so that at the time of this campaign, which occurred in 1482 or 1483, he was not more than eleven or twelve years of age Ahmad had been, in fact, sufficiently old, before 1478, to become an object of suspicion and was then sent to Mâhur as a commander of 300 horse See note 4

that to take any thing which is given with an ill will, is not better than exacting it by main force, for neither Petrus, nor any of the same cast, would do a piece of kindness without having some low design in it They are to be pitied rather than blamed, since having once lost the sweets of liberty, and being kept under exorbitant tyranny for several centuries they are become like fatherless children, and it is impossible they should conduct them selves with the same delicate sentiments as a free or polite nation

NOTE [BY THE EDITOR, AMY APCAR]

Khoja Petrus Arathoon, the "earthly god of the Calcutta Armenians, died in 1778 Emin is perhaps a little unjust to him He was the Armenian [who] supplied the refugees at Fulta in 1756 with provisions for six months

Pietros Arathoon's tombstone in the south choir of Nazareth's Armenian Church, Calcutta, is a white marble stone let into the marble flooring with an inscription in an exaggerated style, as follows —"The eminent princely chief Aga Pietros Arathoon of Erivan, New Julfa, Ispahan, of the family of Abraham, was a lustrous hyacinthine crown of the whole Armenian nation He acquired a great fame amongst all peoples to the glory of his nation He worked assiduously and expended lavishly His generosity towards the destitute orphans and widows was without parallel By his frequent munificent gifts he erected handsome and well embellished churches He departed in the hope of salvation at the age of fifty-three, and was placed in this tomb with pomp, in the year of Our Lord 1778, the 29th of August, corresponding with the year 163 of the era of Azariah, the 12th of the month of Nadar"

The word translated princely chief is *Ishkhan*,—prince, or absolute ruler There were no princes, or even "meliks" in New Julfa Next to Khojah Pietros lies his wife, under a plain stone of blackish grey marble, inscribed with five lines of Armenian, as follows —

"This is the tomb of Dastagool, the daughter of Aga Minas of the family of Khoja Minas of Erivan (a parish of Julfa) and wife of Aga Pietros She departed this life on the 3rd of June 1805"

Pietros Arathoon erected two small altars in the Armenian Church of Calcutta, on the north and south sides of the sanctuary there are respectively a vestry and a sacristy, and a flight of steps was introduced in each, leading up to an altar on a higher elevation than the principal altar In an Armenian Church there should be only one altar but apparently a man of Pietros Arathoon's position was privileged to make an innovation The inscriptions on the walls facing the congregation above the doors leading from the choirs into the vestry and sacristy are as follows In the north choir —

"This altar in the name of the Apostles S Peter and S Paul is [erected] to the memory of Aga Pietros, the son of Arathoon, a native of Old Erivan, in the year of Our Lord 1763"

In the south choir —

"This altar in the name of S Gregory the Illuminator is [erected] to the memory of Aga Gricor, the son of Arathoon, a native of Old Erivan, in the year of Our Lord 1763, December 21st"

Both altars were erected in the lifetime of the donor

Aga Gricor (Gregory), known in Indian history as Gurgin Khan, was the brother of Aga Pietros He was in the service of Mir Kasim, commanding his soldiery, and he fought against the troops of the East India Company He established a foundry at Monghyr for casting cannon and manufacturing firelocks He died by assassination in August 1763, and his brother erected the small altar to his memory in the same year Aga Pietros was also the founder of the Armenian Church at Saidabad, built in 1758

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Bâchmatî.—The river Bâgmatî in Nepal. Eight out of fourteen great Tîrthas of Nepal have been formed by the junction of the Bâgmatî with other rivers. The names of the eight Tîrthas are:—Punya, Sânta, Śaṅkara, Râja, Chintâmani, Pramadâ, Śatalakshana, and Jayâ. The source and exit of the Bâgmati are two other Tirthas. Same as **Bhâgvatî**.

Badarî—The O-cha-li of Hiuen Tsiang. It has been identified by Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 494) with Edar in the province of Gujarât; it was, according to him, Sauvîra of the Paurânic period. According to the *Brihat-jyotishârnava*, Edar is a corruption of Ilva-durga. It is situated on a river called Hiranyanadî. The name of Badarî is mentioned in the Dhavala inscription at Vasantagad near Mount Abu (*J. A. S. B.*, 1841, p. 821).

Badarî—*See* **Badarikâśrama**.

Badarikâśrama.—Badrinâth in Garwal, United Provinces. It is a peak of the main Himalayan range, about a month's journey to the north of Hardwar and 55 miles north-east of Srînagara. The temple of Nara-Nârâyana is built on the west bank near the source of the Bishengangâ (Alakânanda), equidistant from two mountains called Nara and Nârâyana, over the site of a hot spring called Tapanakunda, the existence of which, no doubt, led to the original selection of this spot: it is situated on the Gandha-mâdana mountain (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XI, article x; *Mahâbhârata*, Sânti, ch. 335). The temple is said to have been built by Śaṅkarâchârya in the eighth century A.D. It was also called Badarî and Biśâlâ Badarî (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 144). For a description of the place, see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XI, article x.

Badavâ—Same as **Jvâlâmukhi** (see *Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 82).

Baggumudâ—Same as **Bhâgvatî**.

Bâgmatî—A sacred river of the Buddhists in Nepal. The river is also called Bâchmatî as it was created by the Buddha Krakuchhanda by word of mouth when he visited Nepâla with people from Gauda-deśa. Its junctions with the rivers Maradârikâ, Manis rohinî, Râjamañjarî, Ratnâvalî, Chârumatî, Prabhâvatî and Triveni, form the Tirthas called Sânta, Sankara, Râjamañjarî, Pramodâ, Sulakshana, Jayâ and Gokarna respectively (*Svayambhu Purâna*, ch. v; *Varâha P.*, ch. 215. See also Wright's *Hist. of Nepal*, p. 90).

Bahela—Baghelkhand in Central India. It has been placed with Kârusha (Rewa) at Vindhyâmula (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 13). Rewa is also called Baghilkhand (Thornton's *Gazetteer*).

Bâhika.—The country between the Bias and the Sutlej, north of Kekaya. It is another name for Vâlhika (see *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 27, where Vâlheka is evidently used for Vâlhîka): it was conquered by Arjuna. According to the *Mahâbhârata* (Karna P., ch. 44), the Vâhîkas lived generally between the Sutlej and the Indus, but specially on the west of the rivers Ravi and Âpagâ (Ayuk Nadî), and their capital was Śâkala. They were a non-Aryan race and perhaps came from Balkh, the capital of Bactria. According to Pânini and Patañjali, Vâhîka was another name for the Panjab (IV, 2, 117; V, 3, 114; *Ind. Ant.* I, 122). See *Takka-deśa*. Bâhi and Hika were names of two *Asuras* of the Bias river after whom the country was called Vâhika (*Mbh.*, Karna P., ch. 45 and *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. V). They lived by robbery. According to the *Râmâyana* (Ayodhyâ K., ch. 78), Valhika was situated between Ayodhyâ and Kekaya.

Bâhudâ—The river Dhabala now called Dhumela or Burha-Rapti, a feeder of the Rapti in Oudh The severed arm of Rishi Likhita was restored by bathing in this river, hence the river is called Bâhudâ (*Mahâbhârata*, Sânti, ch 22, *Harivamśa*, ch 12) But in the *Śiva Purâna* (Pt VI, ch 60), it is said that Gaurî, the grandmother of Mândhâta, was turned into the river Bâhudâ by the curse of her husband Prasenajit It has been identified by Mr Pargiter with the Râmgangâ which joins the Ganges near Kanauj (see his *Mârkandeya P*, ch 57) *See* **Ikshumatî** But this identification does not appear to be correct, as it is a river of Eastern India (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch 87)

Bahulâ—A Śakti Pitha near Kâtwa in Bengal (*Tantrachudâmani*)

Baibhrâja-Sarovara—Same as **Manasa-sarovara** (*Harivamśa* ch 23)

Baidisa—See *Bidiśâ* (Brahma P, ch 27)

Baidûrya-Parvata—1 The island of Mândhâta in the Narbada, which contains the celebrated temple of Omkaranath, was anciently called Baidûrya Parvata (*Skanda P*, Reva-Kh) 2 It has been identified by Yule (*Marco-Polo*) with the northern section of the Western Ghats The Parvata or mountain is situated in Gujarat near the source of the river Visvâmitra which flows by the side of Baroda (Varâhamihira's *Brihat-Samhitâ*, ch 14, *Mahâbhârata*, Vana, chs 89, 120) 3 The Satpura range the mountain contained Baidûrya or Beryl (cat's eye) mines (*Mbh*, Vana, chs 61, 121)

Baidyanâtha—1 *See* **Chitâbhûmi** It is a place of pilgrimage (*Padma P*, Uttara Kh., ch 59) 2. In the district of Kangra in the Panjab. Same as **Kiragrama** (*Matsya P*, ch 122) [Temples of Baidyanâtha are —In Deogadh in the Sonthal Perganas in Bengal (*Brihad-Dharma P*, pt I, ch 14) *See* **Chitabhûmi** For the establishment of the god and the name of Baijnath (Vaidyanâtha), see Mr. Bradley Birt's *Story of an Indian Upland*, ch xi 2 In Dabhoi, Gujarat (*Ep Ind*, vol I, p 21). 3 In Kiragrâma on the east of the Kangra district, 30 miles east of Kot Kangra on the Binuan river (ancient Kandukâ-binduka) in the Panjab (*Ep Ind*, vol I, p 97)]

Baidyuta-Parvata—A part of the Kailâsa range at the foot of which the Mânasa-sarovara lake is situated It is evidently the Gurla range on the south of lake Mânasa-sarovara, the Saraju is said to rise from this mountain (*Brahmânda P*, ch 51) As Mânasa sarovara is situated in the Kailasa mountain (*Râmâyana*, Bala k., ch 24), Baidyuta mountain is a part of the Kailâsa range

Baihâyasî—Same as **Begavatî** (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, VIII, ch 11, *Mack Col*, pp 112, 211)

Baijayantî—Banavâsî in North Kanara, the capital of the Kadambas. Same as **Krauñchapura** It is mentioned as Vaijayanta in the *Râmâyana* (Ayodhyâ K, ch 9) It has also been identified with Bijayadurg by Sir R G Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p 33)

Baikantha—A place of pilgrimage about 22 miles to the east of Tinnevelly visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya charitâmrita*) It is situated on the river Tâmraparnî in Tinnevelly It is also called Śrîvaikuntham

Bairantya-Nagara—Where Bhâsa places the scene of his drama *Avimâraka*. It was the capital of a king named Kunti Bhoja (*Ibid*, Act VI). It is mentioned in the *Harsha-charita* (ch vi) as the capital of Rantideva. *See* **Kunti-Bhoja** and **Rantipura**

Bairâta-Pattana—The capital of the old kingdom of Govisana, visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century It has been identified with Dhikuli in the district of Kumaun (Fuhrer's *MAI*, p 49)

Baisâlî — Besâd in the district of Mazaffarpur (Tirhut), eighteen miles north of Hâjîpur, on the left bank of the Gandak (General Cunningham's *Anc Geo*, p 443 and *Râmâyana*, Âdikânda, ch 47) The *Râmâyana* places Bisâlâ on the northern bank of the Ganges and the *Ava Kalp* (ch 39) on the river Balgumatî The Pergana Besârâ, which is evidently a corruption of Bisâlâ, is situated within the sub-division of Hâjîpur Baisâlî was the name of the country as well as of the capital of the Vrijjis (Vajjis) or Lichchhavis who flourished at the time of Buddha The southern portion of the district of Muzaffarpur constituted the ancient country of Vaisâlî The small kingdom of Vaisâlî was bounded on the north by Videha and on the south by Magadha (Pargiter's *Ancient Countries in Eastern India*) It appears from the *Lalitavistara* that the people of Vaisâlî and the Vajjis had a republican form of government (see also *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*) Buddha lived in the Mahâvana (Great Forest) monastery called Kutâgârasâlâ or Kutâgâra hall, rendered as "Gabled Pavilion" by Rhys Davids (*Chullavagga*, ch v, sec 13 and ch x, sec 1, *SBE*, vol XI), which was situated on the *Markata-hrada* or monkey-tank near the present village of Bakhra, about two miles north of Besâd, and near it was the tower called Kutâgâra (double storeyed) built over half the body of Ânanda About a mile to the south of Besâd was the Mango-garden presented to Buddha by the courtesan Âmradârikâ called also Ambapâlî Châpâla was about a mile to the north-west of Besâd, where Buddha hinted to Ânanda that he could live in the world as long as Ânanda liked, but the latter did not ask him to live The town of Baisâlî, which was the capital of Bideha at the time of Buddha and Mahâvîra, consisted of three districts Baisâlî or Besâlî proper, Kundapura or Kundagâma (the birth-place of Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth or last Tîrthankara of the Jainas), and Bâniyagâma, occupying respectively the south-eastern, north-eastern, and western portions of the city (Dr Hoernle's *Uvasagadasao*, p 4 n, *Âchârânga Sûtra*, and *Kalpa Sûtra* in *SBE*, vol XXII, p 227 f) The second Buddhist Synod was held at the Bâlukârâma-vihâra in 443 B C., but according to Max Muller in 377 B C, in the reign of Kâlâsoka, king of Magadha, under the presidentship of Revata who was one of the disciples of Ânanda (Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, ch iv) Baisâlî, however, has been identified by Dr Hoey with Chidând, seven miles to the east of Chapra on the Ganges (*see* **Chidând** in Pt II) At Beluva (modern Belwa, north-east of Chidând), Buddha was seized with serious illness (*Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ch ii) Châpâla (*Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ch ii) has been identified by Dr Hoey with Telpâ (or Talpâ, a tower) to the east of the town of Chapra, which was built for the Mother of the Thousand Sons Titariâ, west of Sewan, has been identified by him with the forest, the fire of which was extinguished by the *Titar* or partridge The name of Satnairâlâ has been connected with the seven (*sapta*) princes who were prepared to fight with the Mallas for the relics of Buddha Bhâta-pokhar (Bhakta-Pushkara) is shown to be the place where Drona divided the relics among the seven princes The country to the east of the river Daha near Sewan was the country of the Mallas The river Shi-la-na-fa-ti (Suvarnavatî) of Hiuen Tsiang has been identified with the river Sondî Dr Hoey identifies Besâd with the town of the Monster Fish, *Vasâdhya* (really porpoise) [*JASB*,

vol LXIX—'Identification of Kusinara, Vaisali and other Places" and my article on "Chidân in the district of Saran" in *JASB*, vol LXXII The places where Buddha resided whiled in Vaisâlî are Udena-Mandira, Gautama-Mandira, Saptambaka-Mandira, Bahuputraka-Mandira, Saranda-Mandira, and Châpâla-Mandira (*Maha parinibbâna Sutta* ch 3, Spence Hardy's *MB*, p 343) For the names of other places in Baisâlî where Buddha resided, see *Divyâvadâna* (Cowell's ed, chs xi, xii)

Baisikya—Same as **Baśyâ** (*Brahma P*, ch 27)

Baitaranî—1 The river Baitaranî in Orissa it is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* as being situated in Kalinga (Vana Parva, ch 113) Jâjpur stands on this river 2 The river Dantura which rises near Nasik and is on the north of Bassein This sacred river was brought down to the earth by Parasurâma (*Padma P*, Tungârî Mâhâtmya, Matsya P, ch 113, Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*, pp 117, 122) 3 A river in Kurukshetra (*Mbh*, Vana, ch 83) 4 A river in Garwal on the road between Kedâra and Badrinâtha, on which the temple of Gopesvara Mahâdeva is situated

Bâkâtaka—A province between the Bay of Bengal and the Sri saila hills, south of Hyderabad in the Deccan The Kailakila Yavanas reigned in this province and Vindhyâsakti was the founder of this dynasty (*Vishnu P*, IV, ch 24, Dr Bhau Daji's *Brief Survey of Indian Chronology*) See, however, **Kilkila**

Bakreśvara—Bakranâth, one of the Sakti Pîthas in the district of Birbhum in Bengal It derives its name from Bhairava Bakranath, the name of the goddess being Mahisha marddini There are seven springs of hot and cold water (*Tantra-chudâmani*)

Bakreśvarî—The river Bâkâ which flows through the district of Burdwan in Bengal

Bakshu—The river Oxus (*Matsya P*, ch 101, cf *Chakshu* in *Brahmânda P*, ch 51, see *Sabdakalpadruma* s v. Nadî) Wuksh, the archetype of Oxus, is at a short distance from the river (Ibn Huakul's *Account of Khorasan* in *JASB*, XXII, p 176)

Balabhi—Wala or Wallay, a seaport on the western shore of the gulf of Cambay, in Kathiawad Gujarat), 18 miles north-west of Bhaonagar (*Daśakumâra charita*, ch vi, *JRAS*, vol XIII (1852), p 146, and Cunningham's *Anc Geo*, p 316) It is called Vamilapura by the inhabitants It became the capital of Saurâshtra or Gujarat It contained 84 Jaina temples (*JRAS*, XIII, 159), and afterwards became the seat of Buddhist learning in Western India in the seventh century A D, as Nalandâ in Eastern India (Itsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion* by Takakusu, p 177) The Valabhi dynasty from Bhatârka to Śilâditya VII reigned from *cir* A D 465 to 766 For the names of kings of the Valabhî dynasty, see Dr Bhau Daji's *Literary Remains*, p 113, *JASB*, 1838, p 966 and Kielhorn, "*List of Inscrs of N India*," *Ep Ind*, Vol. VIII, App Bhartrihari, the celebrated author of *Bhatti-Kâvya*, flourished in the court of Sridharasena I, king of Valabhî, in the seventh century Bhadrabahu, the author of the *Kalpasûtra*, flourished in the court of Dhruva Sena II (see Dr Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra Preface*) See **Ânandapura**

Bâlhika—1 The country between the Bias and the Sutlej, north of Kekaya (*Râmâyana*, Ayodhyâ, ch 78) The *Trikânda-sesha* mentions that Vâlhîka and Trigarta were the names of the same country (*see* **Trigartta**) The *Mahâbhârata* (Karna Parva, ch. 44) says that the Valhikas lived on the west of the Ravi and Âpagâ rivers, *i e* in the district of Jhang (*see* **Bâhika**) The Madras whose capital was Sâkala (Sangala of the Greeks) were also called Vahikas Bahika is the corrupted form of this name The inscription on the Delhi Iron Pillar mentions the Vâlhîkas of Sindhu (*JASB*, 1838, p 630) *See* **Bâhîka** 2 Balkh—the Bactriana of the Greeks—situated in Turkestan [*Brihat samhitâ*, ch 18 and *JASB*, (1838) p 630] About 250 B C Theodotus, or Diodotus, as he was called, the governor of Bactria, revolted against the Seleucid sovereign Antiochus Theos and declared himself king The Græco Bactrian dominion was overwhelmed entirely about 126 B C. by the Yue-chi, a tribe of the Tartars (*see* **Sâkadvipa**) Balkh was the capital of Bactria comprising modern Kabul, Khurasan, and Bukhara (James Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, vol I) The palaces of Bactria were celebrated for their magnificence Zoroaster lived at Bactria in the reign of Vitasa or Gustasp, a king of the Bactrian dynasty of Kâvja, between the sixth and tenth centuries B C According to Mr Kunte, Zarathasthura (Zoroaster) is a corruption of Zarat Tvastri or "Praiser of Tvastri Tvastri being the chiseller and architect of the gods (Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India*, p 55) From the *Brahma Purâna* (chs 89 and 132), Tvashtri and Visvakarmâ (the architect of the gods) appear to be identical, as well as their daughters Usha and Samjñâ, the wife of the Sun A few heaps of earth are pointed to as the site of ancient Bactria It is called Um ul-Bilad or the mother of cities and also Kubbet ul Islam (*i e* dome of Islam) It contained a celebrated fire-temple For the history of the Bactrian kings, and the Græco-Bactrian alphabet, see *JASB*, IX (1840) pp 449, 627, 733, for Bactrian coins, see *JASB*, X, (1842), p 130

Ballâlapurî The capital of Adisura and Ballâla Sena, kings of Bengal, now called Râmpâla or Ballalabâdî, about four miles to the west of Munshiganj at **Bikramapura** (*q v* in the district of Dacca The Sena Râjas, according to General Cunningham (*Arch S Rep*) retired to this place after the occupation of Gaur by the Mahomedans (*Arch S Rep*, vol III p 163) The remains of Ballala Sena's fort still exist at this place It is said to have been founded by Râjâ Râma Pâla of the Pâla dynasty, and a large tank in front of the fort still bears his name He was the son of Vigrahapâla III and father of Madana-pala The five Brahmans who came to Bengal from Kanauj at the request of Adisûra, are said to have vivified a dead post by the side of the gateway of the fort into a Gajaria tree, which still exists, by placing upon it the flowers with which they had intended to bless the king It should be here observed that Âdisura Jayanta or Âdisûra, who ascended the throne of Gour in A D 732, caused the five Brahmans to be brought from Kanauj for performing a Putreshti sacrifice, and he gave them five villages to live in, namely, Panchakoti, Harikoti, Kâmakoti, Kankagrâma and Batagrâma, now perhaps collectively called Pañchasâra, about a mile from Râmpâla Ballâla's father Vijayasena conquered Bengal and ascended the throne of Gaur in A D 1072 Ballâla Sena, who ascended the throne in A D 1119, is said to have been the last king of this

place His queens and other members of his family died on the funeral pyre (the spot is still pointed out in the fort,) by the accidental flying of a pair of pigeons carrying the news of his defeat at the moment of his victory over the Yavana chief Bâyâdumba of Manipur, the Bâbâ Âdam of local tradition, who had invaded the town of Bikramapura or as it was called Ballâlapuri, at the instigation of Dharma Giri the mahanta of the celebrated Mahâdeva called Ugramâdhava of Mahâsthâna whom the king had insulted and banished from his kingdom (Ânanda Bhatta's *Ballala-Charita*, chs 26 and 27) Bâyâdumba or Bâbâ Âdam's tomb is half a mile to the north of Ballâla bâdi Vikramapura was the birth-place of Dipankara Śrî Jñâna, the great reformer of Lamaism in Tibet, where he went in A D 1038, and was known by the name Atisa Râmpâla was also the capital of the Chandra and Varma lines of kings

Bâlmîki-Âsrama—Bithur, fourteen miles from Cawnpur, which was the hermitage of Rishi Vâlmîki, the author of the *Râmâyana* Sitâ, the wife of Râmachandra, lived at the hermitage during her exile, where she gave birth to the twin sons, Lava and Kusa The temple erected in honour of Vâlmîki at the hermitage is situated on the bank of the Ganges (*Râmâyana*, Uttara, ch 58) Sîtâ is said to have been landed by Lakshmana, while conveying her to the hermitage, at the Satî ghât in Cawnpur A large heavy metallic spear or arrow-head of a greenish colour is shown in a neighbouring temple close to the Brahmâvartta ghât at Bithur also situated on the bank of the Ganges, as the identical arrow with which Lava wounded his father, Râmachandra, in a fight for the *Asvamedha* horse, this arrow-head is said to have been discovered a few years ago in the bed of the river Ganges in front of the hermitage

Bâloksha—Beluchistan The name occurs only in the 57th chapter of the *Avadana Kalpalatâ* From the names of other places and that of Milindra, perhaps the Greek king Menander, mentioned in that chapter, Baloksha appears to be the country of the "Balokshias" or Beluchis It is called Balokshi in the *Bodhisattvâvadâna-Kalpasûtra* (Dr R Mitra's *Sans Buddh Literature of Nepal*, p 60) Beluchistan was formerly a Hindu kingdom and its capital Kelat or Kalat (which means fort) was originally the abode of a Hindu ruler named Sewâmal, after whom the fort there was called Kalat-i Sewa, now known by the name of Kalat-wa-Neecharah One of the most ancient places in Beluchistan is the island called Śata-dvîpa (popularly known as Sunga-dvîpa) or the island of Sata or Astola (Astula or Kâlî), the Asthala of Ptolemy and Sutalishefilo of Hiuen Tsiang (Astuleśvara), just opposite the port of Pasanee (Pâshânî) which is evidently the Pâshân of *Bodhisattvâvadâna-Kalpasûtra* According to tradition, it was once inhabited, but the inhabitants were expelled by the presiding goddess Kâli in her wrath at an incest that was committed there Śata-dvîpa is the Karmine of Nearchus, which is a corruption of Kâlyana or the abode of Kâli There is still a Hindu temple at Kalat, which is dedicated to Kâlî or Durga, and which is believed to have been in existence long before the time of Sewa Another place of Hindu antiquity in Beluchistan is the temple of Hingulaj (*see* **Hingulâ**) Mustang also contains a temple of Mahâdeva (*JASB*, 1843, p 473—"*Brief History of Kalat*" by Major Robert Leech)

Bâlubâhinî—The river Bagin in Bundelkhand, a tributary of the Jamuna [*Skanda P*, Âvantya Kh (Revâ Kh, ch 4)]

Bâlukesvara—The Malabar Hill near Bombay, where Parasurâma established a Linga called Vâlukesvara Mahâdeva (*Skanda P*, Sahya Kh, Pt 2, ch I, *Ind Ant*, III, (1874), p 248)

Bâmanasthalî—Banthali near Junagad

Bamri—Same as **Baveru**

Bamsa—Same as **Batsya** (*Jatakas*, VI, 120)

Bamsadhârâ—The river Bamsdhârâ in Ganjam, on which Kalingapatam is situated (Pargiter's *Markand P* ch. 57, p 305, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v *Ganjam* and *Vamsadhara*)

Bamsagulma A sacred reservoir (kunda) on the tableland of Amarakantaka, which is situated on the east (at a distance of about four miles and a half) of the source or first fall of the Narbada (*Mahabhârata*, Vana, ch 85)

Bana—1 The twelve Vanas of Mathurâ-mandala or Braja-mandala are Madhuvana, Tâlavana, Kumudavana, Vrindâvana, Khadiravana, Kâmyakavana, Bahulâ-vana on the western side of the Jamunâ, Mahâvana, Vilva-vana, Loha-vana, Bhândîra-vana and Bhadravana on the eastern side of the Jamuna (Lochana Das's *Chaitanya-mangala*, III, p 192, Growse's *Mathurâ*, p. 54) The *Varâha P* (ch 153) has Vishnusthâna instead of Tâlavana, Kunda-vana instead of Kumuda vana, and Bakula-vana instead of Bahulâvana 2 Same as **Aranya** (*Sabdakalpadruma*) 3 The seven Vanas of Kurukshetra are —Kâmyaka, Aditi, Vyâsa, Phalaki, Sûrya, Madhu, and Sîta (*Vâmana P*, ch 34). 4 For the Himalayan *vanas* or forests as Nandana, Chaitranatha, etc, see *Matsya P*, ch 120.

Bânapura—1 Mahâbalipura or Mahâbalesvara or the Seven Pagodas, on the Coromandel coast, Chingleput district, 30 miles south of Madras. It was the metropolis of the ancient kings of the race of Pandion Its rocks are carved out into porticoes, temples and bas-reliefs, some of them being very beautifully executed The ruins are connected with the Pauranic story of Bali and Vamana The monolithic "Rathas" were constructed by the Pallavas of Conjeveram, who flourished in the fifth century A D For descriptions of the temples and remains at Mahâbalipura, see *JASB.*, 1853, p 656 2 Same as **Sonitapura**

Banavâsî—1 North Kanara was called by this name during the Buddhist period (*Harivamsa*, ch 94) According to Dr Buhler, it was situated between the Ghats, the Tungabhadrâ and the Baradâ (*Introduction* to the *Vikramânkadevacharita*, p 34, note) 2 Same as **Krauñchapura** in North Kanara A town called Banaouasei (Banavâsî) on the left bank of the Varada river, a tributary of the Tungabhadrâ, in North Kanara mentioned by Ptolemy (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 176) still exists (*Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol VIII, p 188) Vanavâsi was the capital of the Kadamba dynasty (founded by Mayûravarman) up to the sixth century when it was overthrown by the Chalukyas Asoka sent here a Buddhist missionary named Rakkhita in 245 B C Same as **Jayantî** and **Vaijayantî** In the *Vanavâsî-Mâhâtmya* of the *Skanda Purâna*, Vanavâsî is said to have been the abode of the two Daityas, Madhu and Kaitabha, who were killed here by Vishnu. The temple of Madhukesvara Mahâdeva at this place was built by the elder brother Madhu (Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*).

Banâyu—Arabia (T N Taranatha Tarkavâchaspati's *Śabdastomamahânidhi*, *Râmâyana*, Âdi, ch vi) It was celebrated for its breed of horses (*Arthaśâstra* of Kautilya, Bk II, Aśvâdhyaksha) But the ancient name of Arabia as mentioned in the Behistun inscription (*JRAS* vol XV) was Arbava It appears from Ragozin's *Assyria* that the ancient name of Armenia was Van before it was called Urartu by the Assyrians But Armenia was never celebrated for its horses The identification of Vanâyu with Arabia appears to be conjectural (see Griffith's *Râmâyana*, Vol I, p 42 note) Araba (Arabia) has been mentioned by Varâhamihira who lived in the sixth century A D (*Brihat sahitâ* XIV, 17) The *Padma P* (Svarga, Âdi, ch iii) mentions the Vanâyavas (people of Vanâyu) among the tribes of the north-western frontier of India

Banga—Bengal "In Hindu geography," says Dr Francis Buchanan, "Baga, from which Bengal is a corruption, is applied to only the eastern portion of the delta of the Ganges as Upabanga is to the centre of this territory, and Anga to its western limits" (Beveridge's "*Buchanan Records*" in the *Calcutta Review*, 1891, p 2) According to Dr Bhau Daji, Banga was the country between the Brahmaputra and the Padma (*Literary Remains of Dr Bhau Daji*). It was a country separated from Pundra, Sumha and Tâmralipta at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ P, ch 29) Bengal was divided into five provinces Pundra or North Bengal Samatata or East Bengal, Karna suvarna or West Bengal, Tâmralipta or South Bengal, Kâmarupa or Assam (Hiuen Tsiang). According to General Cunningham, the province of Bengal was divided into four separate districts after the Christian era This division is attributed to Ballala Sena Barendra and Banga to the north of the Ganges, and Râda and Bâgdi to the south of the river (but see *JASB*, 1873, p. 211), the first two were separated by the Brahmaputra and the other two by the Jalingi branch of the Ganges Barendra, between the Mahanandâ and Karatoyâ corresponds to Pundra, Banga to East Bengal, Râda (to the west of the Bhâgîrathî) to Karna-suvarna and Bâgdi (Samatata of Hiuen Tsiang and Bhâti of the *Akbarnâma*) to South Bengal (*Arch S Rep*, vol XV, p 145, and see also Gopâla Bhatta's *Ballâla charitam*, Pûrva-khanda, vs 6, 7) Mr Pargiter is of opinion that Banga must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Râjshâhî, Pabna and Faridpur ("Ancient Countries in Eastern India" in *JASB*, 1897, p 85) At the time of Âdisûra, according to Devîvara Ghataka, Bengal was divided into Râdha, Banga, Barendra and Gauda At the time of Kesava Sena, Banga was included in Paundravarddhana (see Edilpur Inscription *JASB*, 1838, p 45) The name of Banga first occurs in the *Aitareya Âranyaka* of the *Rig-Veda* According to Sir George Birdwood, Banga originally included the districts of Burdwan and Nadia Banga was called Bângâlâ even in the thirteenth century (Wright's *Marco Polo*) For further particulars, *see* **Bengal** in Part II of this work Dr Rajendralâla Mitra (*Indo-Aryans*, vol II, ch 13) gives lists of the Pâla and Sena kings [see also *Ep Ind*, vol I, p 305] (Deopârâ Inscriptions regarding the Senas), *Ibid*, vol II, p 160 (Badal Pillar Inscription), *Ibid*, p 347 (Vaidyadeva Inscription at Benares), *JASB*, 1838, p 40 (Edilpur Inscription of Kesava Sena from Bakarganj] According to the copperplate inscription of Lakshmana Sena found in Sirajganj in the district of Pabna, it appears that the Sena kings were Kshatriyas who came from Karnata. For the ancient trade and commerce of Bengal, see Mr W H Schoff's *Periplus*, Bernier's *Travels*, p 408, Tavernier's *Travels*, Bk III, Mr N Law's article, *Modern Review*, 1918 *See* **Saptagrâma** and **Karnasuvarna**

VINCENT AQUILA SMITH

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE

BY the death of Dr. V. A. Smith, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S., the *Indian Antiquary* has lost a valued contributor of more than forty years standing and India itself an eminent student of her history and antiquities. It is fortunate, indeed, that he was spared to complete his invaluable *Oxford History of India*, a work of the first importance for all who wish to be introduced to an accurate knowledge of the story of that vast country in its many aspects.

His great attainments made it possible for him to take a leading part in the research which led up to his *Early History of India* from 600 B.C. to the *Muhammadan Conquest*, first published in 1904. Of this it has been truly said that it "sifted a vast quantity of evidence scattered in many monographs and periodicals and fashioned it into a connected and sane history. It conferred an immense boon on all interested in ancient India, and particularly on scholars, whose special researches made it difficult for them to assess all the information amassed by others. It became authoritative at once, for the want of such a compilation had been sadly felt. The third edition, published in 1914 with careful revision and large additions, will hold its position for many years to come."

Among other important works and contributions to a great number of Journals, he made a *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* at Calcutta in 1906, and writing for Indian students, he compiled an *Oxford History of England* in 1912. He did not confine himself to political and social history, for in 1911 he produced his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, a work of remarkable usefulness. His *Life of Akbar the Great Mogul* has become very popular as a notable and characteristic account of the great Emperor.

Vincent Smith's connection with the *Indian Antiquary* dates from 1878, commencing with a query on Śaka and Samvat Dates, and since 1885, when this *Journal* passed into the hands of the late Dr. J. F. Fleet and myself, he was a constant contributor to its pages, his notes and papers being naturally concerned with the details of research. He also constantly favoured this periodical with many valuable notices of books and a number of miscellaneous notes on a great variety of subjects connected with things Indian. His contributions covered his favourite studies in history, chronology, epigraphy, numismatics, art and architecture.

His papers were always illuminating and suggestive, even if at times controversial, and in him the world of students has lost a valiant pioneer in many lines of thought and research, and myself an old and valued friend and coadjutor.

Vincent Smith's principal contributions to the Indian Antiquary

1878 Vol. VII. Query: Śaka and Samvat Dates.

1885 Vol. XIV. Note in Miscellanea: The Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty.

1886 Vol. XV. A note on the Date of Mihirakula.

1889 Vol. XVIII. A Dated Græco-Buddhist Sculpture.

1896 Vol. XXV. Query as to a List of Mudrâs.

1902 Vol. XXXI. The Inscriptions of Mahânâman at Bodh Gayâ.

Revised Chronology of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty.

1903 Vol XXXII Tibetan Affinities of the Lichchhavis
A Chinese Asoka
Asoka Notes (continued in vols XXXIV, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX)
The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India (continued in vol XXXVI)

1906 Vol XXXV Pigmy Flints
Bacon's Allusion to the Oxydrakai

1908 Vol XXXVII The History and Coinage of the Chandel Dynasty of Bundhelkhand from A D 831 to 1203

1909 Vol XXXVIII The Pâla Dynasty of Bengal

1911 Vol XL The 'Outliers' of Râjasthâni
Discovery of the Plays of Bhâsa, a Predecessor of Kalidâsa
Indian Painting at the Festival of Empire, 1911

1914 Vol XLIII Painting and Engraving at Agra and Delhi in 1666
Joannes De Laet on India and Shahjahan

1915 Vol XLIV Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore, the Hoysala Style
The Date of Akbar's Birth

1918 Vol XLVII Asoka Notes, No XII (continued from vol XXXIX)
The Stratagem used by Alexander against Porus, alluded to in the Ain-i-Akbari

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EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851

BY S CHARLES HILL

(*Continued from p 65*)

XXII

A MALAY MUTINY, 1792

The Malays have been notorious for their readiness to mutiny ever since they were first employed by Europeans They are good seamen, but a blow, an insult real or fancied, or the desire and opportunity for plunder have always been sufficient to cause an outbreak

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Piracy and Murder

It is much to be lamented that this infernal practice seems to be gaining ground in India We have in the instance before us to lament the loss of a most deserving young man, Captain Nelson, who sailed from Bombay in the Snow *Betsy*, bound for the west coast of Sumatra and Batavia A few days after his leaving Bencoolen, the gunner, seacunnies,[54] and some Malays that were on board formed the plan of cutting off the vessel, and, having procured arms, in the night, during the Chief Mate's watch, came aft on the quarter-deck, wounded him on both his sides and cut him several times in the neck

[54] Helmsmen, from the Arabo Persian *sukkâni*, the man who steers the *sukkân*, helm —ED

The noise he made caused an alarm, which brought up the Second and Third Officers The Second Officer was immediately despatched and thrown overboard The Third leaped overboard and swam for the longboat towing astern Captain Nelson, finding everything lost, leaped out of the cabin window and got also to the longboat, though we have reason to think he was wounded before he left the cabin

Having no knife to cut the boat's painter, they threw overboard the mast and some oars and committed themselves to this raft At daylight they were discovered, and a boat with the gunner, some seacunnies and Malays were sent with a few muskets, who shot Captain Nelson and the officer On their return on board, there were three Caffries,[55] of whom the gunner seemed apprehensive They were therefore seized and most inhumanly murdered

The Syrang,[56] collecting from the conversation of the gunner and seacunnies their intention of carrying the vessel to Manilla, began to be apprehensive for his own and the lascars' safety, and formed the resolution of taking the first favourable opportunity of retaking the vessel, which soon after occurred

Having made the land and a boat being in sight, the gunner, with four of the seacunnies, the carpenter and his mate and some of the Malays went in the *Betsy's* boat in order to purchase some provisions This was not an opportunity to be neglected The party being weakened, the Syrang happily gained possession of the vessel, putting the seacunnies that remained on board to death He afterwards fell in with the *Jane*, Captain Bampton, from China, bound to Bombay He made a signal of distress which was observed by Captain Bampton, who immediately bore down, and after having learnt all the circumstances, sent an officer on board to take charge of her and conduct her safe to Bombay

[*Madras Courier*, 19 *July* 1792]

XXIII

KILLING THE WIND. A FIGHT BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND SOME MALAY PIRATES, *c* 1800

Captain Osborn in his book on Quedah gives this story as told him by an ex-pirate Jadee (Jaddî), who was employed upon a British ship-of-war A somewhat similar story of a Malay pirate *prahu*, which fought to the last when surrounded by Dutch gun-boats in the year 1715, is to be found in *Parliamentary Papers*, LVI, I p 63 (*Historical Notice upon the Piracies committed in the Indian Ocean, by J H R J P Cornets de Groot, Secretary General to the Minister of the Colonies*, 1846), but, from the date of Captain Osborn's book, this story, if true, must refer to an action which took place at a very much later date—probably about the year 1800

The courage displayed by the Malays against the Dutch was equally exhibited in their fights with the English cruisers, when the latter began to take their share in the suppression of piracy in these seas, but their peculiar animosity against the Dutch was due to a long record of suffering at their hands Osborn says (p 145) —" One example of the Dutch

55 Probably negro or Malagasy seamen.

56 The Syrang (Pers *sarhang*, a boatswain) who is the chief of the Indian seamen, was often the man who had engaged them—in many cases from amongst his own kinsmen or fellow-villagers

policy may be quoted, and it is no singular instance of their phlegmatic cruelty —John Petersen Koen [Jan Pieterszoon Coen], their most illustrious Governor General of the Indies, exterminated the inhabitants of the Banda or Spice Islands[57] and replaced them by slaves The piratical acts now [1865] committed in the Malay Archipelago are, I firmly believe, the result of the iniquities practised upon the inhabitants in the olden day, and the Dutch, Spaniards and English, even at the present time, are too prone to shoot down indiscriminately any poor devils who, for the first time in their lives, are told, with powder and shot arguments, that war as carried on by them is piracy by our laws '

In Dubois' *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux des Etablissemens Hollandois*, p 69, we are told that Governor Coen took the Spice Islands in the year 1621 The greater part of the inhabitants of "Lonthoir" (Lantor), which was the capital, retired into the interior, but after some years, when a large number of them had been killed, the remainder, owing to want of food, were compelled to leave the island

It is, however, I think, certain, that the Malays indulged in piracy from the time of their arrival in these seas, and it is equally certain that the only argument for the suppression of piracy to which they would listen was the argument of force, but how far that argument should have been carried is another question

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Narrative of Jaddî, a pirate

Long before that action with the English man-of-war which drove me to Singapore, I sailed in a fine fleet of prahus belonging to the Rajah of Johore [Sultân Mahmûd Shâh] We were all then very rich—ah ! such numbers of beautiful wives and such feasting !—but, above all, we had a great many most holy men in our force ! When the proper monsoon came, we proceeded to sea to fight the Bugismen [of Celebes] and Chinamen bound from Borneo and the Celebes to Java , for you must remember our Rajah was at war with them. (Jadee always maintained that the proceedings in which he had been engaged partook of a purely warlike, and not of a piratical character)

Our thirteen prahus had all been fitted out in and about Singapore I wish you could have seen them, Touhan [*Tuan*, Sir] These prahus we see here are nothing to them, such brass guns, such long pendants, such creeses [Malay *kris*, dagger] ! Allah-il-Allah ![58] Our Datoos [*datuk*, a chief] were indeed great men !

Sailing along the coast as high as Patani,[59] we then crossed over to Borneo, two Illanoon[60] prahus acting as pilots, and reached a place called Sambas [West Borneo] there we fought the Chinese and Dutchmen, who ill-treat our countrymen, and are trying to drive the Malays out of that country Gold-dust and slaves in large quantities were here taken, most of the latter being our countrymen of Sumatra and Java, who are captured and sold to the planters and miners of the Dutch settlements

'Do you mean to say,' I asked, 'that the Dutch countenance such traffic ?

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57 The Banda group of islands lies south east of Ceram —ED.

58 Lâ ilâha ill'allâh, part of the Muhammadan Creed There is no God but God. However, it is probable that what Jaddî really said, with the Malay pronunciation, was, Allâhu akbar, God is great

59 On the eastern side of the Malay peninsula —ED

60 The name of the Mindanaon and Sulu pirates, from Illana Bay in the Illano District of Mindanao.

'The Hollanders,' replied Jadee, 'have been the bane of the Malay race, no one knows the amount of villainy, the bloody cruelty of their system towards us They drive us into our prahus to escape their taxes and laws, and then declare us pirates and put us to death. There are natives in our crew, Touhan, of Sumatra and Java, of Bianca [Banka] and Borneo, ask them why they hate the Dutchmen, why they would kill a Dutchman It is because the Dutchman is a false man, not like the white man [English] The Hollander stabs in the dark, he is a liar!'

However, from Borneo we sailed to Biliton [island between Banka and Borneo] and Bianca, and there waited for some large junks that were expected Our cruise had been so far successful, and we feasted away—fighting cocks, smoking opium and eating white rice At last our scouts told us that a junk was in sight She came, a lofty-sided one of Fokien [Fuhkien] We knew these Amoy[61] men would fight like tiger-cats for their sugar and silks, and as the breeze was fresh, we only kept her in sight by keeping close inshore and following her Not to frighten the Chinamen, we did not hoist sail but made our slaves pull 'Oh!' said Jadee, warming up with the recollection of the event,—'oh! it was fine to feel what brave fellows we then were!'

Towards night we made sail and closed upon the junk, and at daylight it fell a stark calm, and we went at our prize like sharks All our fighting men put on their war-dresses, the Illanoons danced their war-dance, and all our gongs sounded as we opened out to attack her on different sides.

But those Amoy men are pigs! They burnt joss-paper, sounded their gongs, and received us with such showers of stones, hot-water, long pikes, and one or two well-directed shots that we hauled off to try the effect of our guns, sorry though we were to do it, for it was sure to bring the Dutchmen upon us Bang! bang! we fired at them, and they at us, three hours did we persevere, and whenever we tried to board, the Chinese beat us back every time, for her side was as smooth and as high as a wall,[62] with galleries overhanging

We had several men killed and hurt, a council was called, a certain charm was performed by one of our holy men, a famous chief, and twenty of our best men devoted themselves to effecting a landing on the junk's deck, when our look-out prahus made the signal that the Dutchmen were coming, and sure enough some Dutch gun-boats came sweeping round a headland In a moment we were round and pulling like demons for the shores of Biliton, the gun-boats in chase of us, and the Chinese howling with delight The sea-breeze freshened and brought up a schooner-rigged boat very fast. We had been at work twenty-four hours and were heartily tired, our slaves could work no longer, so we prepared for the Hollanders, they were afraid to close upon us and commenced firing at a distance This was just what we wanted, we had guns as well as they, and by keeping up the fight until dark, we felt sure of escape The Dutchmen, however, knew this too, and kept closing gradually upon us, and when they saw our prahus baling out water and blood, they knew we were suffering and cheered like devils We were desperate, surrender to Dutchmen we never would, we closed together for mutual support, and determined at last, if all hope of escape ceased, to run our prahus ashore, burn them, and lie hid in the jungle until a future

61 From Amoy in the Fuhkien Channel —ED

62 See *ante*, vol XLVIII, p 167.

day But a brave Datoo with his shattered prahu saved us , he proposed to let the Dutchmen board her, creese [stab with a *kris*] all that did so, and then trust to Allah for his escape.

It was done immediately , we all pulled a short distance away and left the brave Datoo's prahu like a wreck abandoned How the Dutchmen yelled and fired into her ! The slaves and cowards jumped out of the prahu, but our braves kept quiet , at last, as we expected, one gun-boat dashed alongside of their prize and boarded her in a crowd Then was the time to see how the Malay man could fight , the creese was worth twenty swords, and the Dutchmen went down like sheep We fired to cover our countrymen, who, as soon as their work was done, jumped overboard and swam to us , but the brave Datoo, with many more died as brave Malays should do, running a-muck against a host of enemies

The gun-boats were quite scared by this punishment, and we lost no time in getting away as rapidly as possible, but the accursed schooner, by keeping more in the offing, held the wind and preserved her position, signalling all the while for the gun boats to follow her We did not want to fight any more , it was evidently an unlucky day On the opposite side of the channel to that we were on, the coral reefs and shoals would prevent the Hollanders following us it was determined at all risks to get there in spite of the schooner With the first of the land-wind in the evening we set sail before it and steered across for Bianca The schooner placed herself in our way like a clever sailor, so as to turn us back, but we were determined to push on, take her fire, and run all risks

It was a sight to see us meeting one another , but we were desperate we had killed plenty of Dutchmen , it was their turn now I was in the second prahu, and well it was so, for when the headmost one got close to the schooner, the Dutchman fired all his guns into her, and knocked her at once into a wrecked condition We gave one cheer, fired our guns and then pushed on for our lives ' Ah ! sir, it was a dark night indeed for us Three prahus in all were sunk and the whole force dispersed '

To add to our misfortunes a strong gale sprang up We were obliged to carry canvass , our prahu leaked from shot-holes , the sea continually broke into her , we dared not run into the coral reefs on such a night, and bore up for the Straits of Malacca The wounded writhed and shrieked in their agony, and we had to pump, we fighting men, and bale like *black fellows* [Caffre or negro slaves] ! By two in the morning we were all worn out I felt indifferent whether I was drowned or not, and many threw down their buckets and sat down to die The wind increased and, at last, as if to put us out of our misery, just such a squall as this came down upon us I saw it was folly contending against our fate, and followed the general example ' God is great ! ' we exclaimed, but the Rajah of Johore came and reproved us ' Work until daylight,' he said, ' and I will ensure your safety We pointed at the black storm which was approaching ' Is that what you fear ? ' he replied, and going below he produced just such a wooden spoon and did what you have seen me do, and I tell you, my captain, as I would if the ' Company Sahib ' stood before me, that the storm was nothing, and that we had a dead calm one hour afterwards and were saved God is great and Mahomet is his prophet !—but there is no charm like the Johore one for killing the wind !

N B—The charm was worked as follows (see p 68) —" Hand here the rice-spoon! shouted Jadee, looking as solemn as a Quaker or a haggi [Hâjî] This rice-spoon, by the way, was the only one in the vessel , it was made of wood and used for stirring the rice whilst cooking over the fire , its value to us probably invested it with a certain degree of sanctity The spoon was brought and I tried to look as solemn as Jadee, who calling to his aid the

sanctimonious Alee ['Alî], placed the spoon upon the deck between him and the wind, and the pair of true believers repeated some verses over it—bound themselves by a vow to sacrifice several game-cocks upon a favourable occasion, and then the precious spoon was stuck through the lanyards of the main-rigging, with the handle to leeward I think I should have died from the effects of suppressed mirth had not the fury of the squall and the quantity of water thrown on board of us given me enough to do to look after the safety of the craft Jadee, however, sat quietly watching and waiting for the effect of his incantation At last down came the rain, not in drops but in bucketfuls, and as usual, the wind fell entirely "[63]

[CAPTAIN SHERARD OSBORN, [*Quedah*, p 69]

XXIV

CRUELTY OF ARAB PIRATES, 1819

The pirates mentioned in the following account were known as Joasmees (Juhasmî, Juasmî) and were early Arab settlers from Nejd on the 'Omân Coast of the western side of the entrance to the Persian Gulf, opposite Ormuz, where they eventually assumed the chief position among a number of Arab tribes They appear to have started plundering vessels of the weaker tribes about 1765 and became pirates as regards native ships In 1797 they first attacked and captured a British war vessel, the Snow *Bassein*, for which they were punished by the Cruiser *Viper* in 1798 After this they treated the British flag with respect until 1804, when they came under the influence of the Wâhhâbîs In the next year they captured the merchant ships *Shannon* and *Trimmer*, and attacked the Cruiser *Mornington*, behaving with great cruelty to all captives Their extraordinarily cruel treatment of European and other prisoners, including Muhammadans, was no doubt due to Wâhhâbî fanaticism The Joasmees continued to be a scourge in the Persian Gulf and neighbourhood for the next five years, and intermittently to give trouble till about 1853

" Bombay, December 18th 1819 We learn by accounts, dated Okamandel[64] 19th November, that some pirates, whether Joasmees or others is not exactly known, have been committing some horrible outrages on that coast About three days prior to the date of the accounts, a vessel going from Cutch Mandavie [Mândvî in Kachh] to Bate, [Beyt] in which were about 80 Byragees,[65] men and women, had arrived in sight of Bate, when she was unfortunately fallen in with and boarded by the pirates The vessel had no merchandise on board, being taken up purposely to carry the pilgrims. The pirates cut off the heads of 40 persons and threw their carcasses into the sea, the remainder, with the exception carried off, they wounded with their spears, some in three or four places The barbarians then

63 According to Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, IV, 690, the Malays have an idea that they can "call the wind," i e, compel it to come, by sending the cook aloft as high as he can go with a bowl of rice He then proceeds to make a great noise and scatters the rice about, repeating the ceremony at intervals until the wind comes Naturally, the opposite effect would be expected from showing an empty spoon to the wind I suppose the root idea is that the wind can be "called" by a process similar to that which "calls" birds

64 Okhâmandal, in Kâthiâwâr, Bombay Presidency

65 *Bairâgî*, a sect of Hindu religious mendicants —ED

took away the sail and, having driven a hole through the bottom of the vessel, quitted her, in the hopes that she would sink and drown the poor wounded creatures left on board These latter, however, after the departure of the pirates, which was about dusk in the evening, contrived to prevent the vessel filling Tying together their few remaining clothes they formed a kind of sail and in that way reached Bate Every assistance was afforded them by the Company's officer at that station in binding up their wounds and supplying them with food , six had notwithstanding died, and it was not expected that more than ten would eventually recover

At the date of our advices there were then six pirate vessels within 2 miles of the shore, one of the Honourable Company's cruisers was also in sight outside of them, but the shallows and shoals on the coast would preclude her being able to come near them, nor was there any force on shore sufficiently disposeable or provided with light artillery to prevent these plunderers from landing at different places on the coast and sacking and pillaging the neigh bouring country There were reports received from the coast of Mekran, which were con firmed by the persons, who had been fortunate enough to escape out of the pirates' hands, that they intended to attack the temple of Dwarka, where they expected to find great plunder "

[*Calcutta Journal*, 12 *January* 1820]

(*To be continued*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

BY LIEUT COLONEL T W. HAIG, C S I , C M G.

(*Continued from p* 75)

V—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE, UNDERTAKEN IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE KING, AND OF THE PRINCE'S WARFARE WITH THE ENEMIES OF THE EVERLASTING STATE [19]

While these affairs were in progress, a number of the *amîrs* of the Dakan, being inclined to rebellion against the king of the earth, collected a large army and marched on Bîdar with the object of stirring up strife, of which circumstance some mention has already been made The king of the world at once wrote a *farmân* detailing the seditiousness and faithlessness of the *amîrs*, and sent it with speed to the prince, whom he summoned to the capital As soon as the prince had read the *farmân* he turned his attention to his army, and, having assembled it, set forth for Bidar

When the prince's army neared Bîdar, the *amîrs* and officers of state went forth to welcome him and attained the honour of kissing his feet Thence the prince hastened at

19 The whole of this chapter is a perversion of historical facts Ahmad visited the capital to support his father the regent, who was attempting to crush the foreign *amîrs*, headed by Yusuf 'Âdil Khân of Bijâpûr Active hostilities began by a massacre of some of the Turkish troops Fighting then began between the troops of Yûsuf 'Adil Khân and those of Ahmad and lasted for twenty days, in the course of which three or four thousand men were slain The *'ulamâ* at length made peace between the factions Yûsuf returned to Bijâpûr and Ahmad to Junnâr but the Dakanî faction retained all power in the capital and Malik Nâib and Fathullâh 'Imâd ul Mulk of Berar were regent and prime minister for the next three years

once to court and humbly saluted the king, presenting to him a suitable *pîshkash* of rich clothes and merchandise, horses and elephants, and receiving in return many marks of royal affection and favour. The king then complained to the prince of the contumacy of his enemies and took counsel with him regarding the suppression of the rebellion. The prince then bade the king take heart, for that he would exterminate the rebels. The king then thanked the prince and prayed to God for his success.

When the rebellious *amîrs* with their troops neared the capital the king went forth with the prince, Majlis-i-A'la, Mansab-i-Mu'allâ, Malik Nâib, and the *amîrs* and officers of state from the capital, and the royal forces were drawn up over against the rebel army. A fierce fight ensued, but since the disloyal *amîrs* were treading the path of rebellion, they were unable to attain their object. The prince displayed the utmost valour in the battle, and sent many, with his own hand, to hell. The rebels fought with great courage, but were at length compelled to give way, and fled. The victorious prince pursued them for several leagues, and put many to the sword, capturing all their property and effects, their horses, and their arms. He then returned and respectfully saluted the king, who embraced him affectionately, bestowed on him the high title of Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Nizâm ul-Mulk Bahri, and placed on his body a royal robe of honour, and on his head a royal crown, and the prince of the age, Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Nizâm ul-Mulk Bahri then obtained leave from the king to depart, and set out for his capital. On his arrival there he busied himself in the management of his kingdom and the administration of justice.

On several occasions after this, Sultân Mahmûd Bahmanî was confronted by difficulties and dangers, and always appealed to the prince for help. Sometimes the prince answered the appeal in person, and after rendering such assistance as was required, returned to his capital, and on other occasions he sent to the king's assistance, with his army, his *amîrs*, such as Zarîf ul-Mulk, the Afghan, and others as will be clea from what has gone before.

VI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF MAJLIS-I-A'LÂ, MANSAB-I-MU'ALLA, MALIK NÂIB WASIYY-I KHÂSS, AND OF THE OCCURRENCE OF STRIFE AND CONTENTION BETWEEN THE VICTORIOUS PRINCE, AND THE AMÎRS OF THE DAKAN.

It has already been mentioned that most of the *amîrs* of the Dakan were constantly at strife and variance with the prince and with Malik Nâib, his tutor and foster-father, to whom was entrusted the regency at the capital of Bîdar, and were speaking against them to the king, but, since the prince was under God's special protection, their plots came to nought, and the prince prospered over the more and more, so that the despair and fear of his enemies increased, until, in A.H. 888 (A.D. 1483),[20] when the king with his army had marched

[20] This date is wrong by three years. Malik Nâib, Ahmad's father, was put to death in 1486. The *amîrs* generally were disgusted with his arrogance and complained against him to the king, who was chafing under the restraint to which he was subjected. The king requested Qâsim Barîd ul Mamâlik, Dastur Dinâr to rid him of Malik Nâib, and the latter, becoming aware of the design against his life, fled from Warangal, where the court then was, to the capital, Bidar, and summoned his son Ahmad from Junnâr to his assistance. The king and the *amîrs* followed Malik Nâib towards Bidar, and Malik Nâib, not being strong enough to meet the royal army in the field, prepared to flee to Junnâr, carrying with him the contents of the royal treasury. Dilpasand Khân, governor of Bîdar, whom Sayyid 'Alî calls Pasand Khân, pretended to be Malik Nâib's partisan, but deceitfully dissuaded him from fleeing and sent a secret message to the king saying that he was detaining Malik Nâib in Bîdar and awaited instructions regarding him. The king replied that if Dilpasand Khân was a loyal subject he would send him Malik Nâib's head. Dilpasand Khân, at a private interview with Malik Nâib, strangled him, cut off his head and sent it to the king (F. ii, 707, 708.)

against the infidels of Telingâna, the prince not being with him, the ill-disposed, finding Malik Nâib deprived of the prince's support and assistance, took advantage to fasten some accusation on that wise minister, and to accuse him to the king of base acts and wicked deeds, and urged the king to issue orders for his execution The king harkened to their counsel and issued orders for the minister's death— orders which led not only to remorse, but to the ruin of his kingdom

When Malik Nâib became aware of the plots of his enemies, he fled from the king's camp, but since fate had decreed his martyrdom, the screen of negligence was placed before his eyes, so that he did not take the way of safety, which lay in the direction of the prince's protection, but, reposing confidence in Pasand Khân, governor of the city of Bîdar, who was one of his own *protegés*, he went to Bîdar, and the wretch, Pasand Khân, whose temerity in committing an atrocious act has earned for him the title of *haram khor* made him a martyr and sent his head to the king

When the news of Malik Nâib's martyrdom reached Ashraf-i-Humâyûn, Sultân Ahmad Bahrî, he mourned for him and wept bitterly, and all his *amîrs* and all his army participated in his grief

After this calamity the prince displayed greater anxiety than ever regarding the plots of his enemies, and paid more attention than formerly to collecting troops, and to preparing for revenge on his enemies

Some say that the prince, after the murder of Malik Nâib, left the king's camp with 1,500 horse, all valiant soldiers, and went to Junnâr and strengthened the fortress of Shivner, which had hitherto not been a fortress of any great strength, and increased his forces until he had a most numerous and powerful army

When the news of the prince's assembling of his forces reached his enemies and opponents, they took counsel together as to the best means of resisting him before he should become too powerful to be resisted, and devoted all their attention to his overthrow They continued to slander him to the king more than ever, now saying that he had been alarmed for his own safety on hearing of Malik Nâib's death, and that he had withdrawn from his allegiance, and was collecting such an army as would enable him to declare himself independent, and that it was necessary to overpower and disarm him before matters became worse As has already been mentioned, Sultân Mahmud Shah Bahmanî had, in the later days of his reign, very little power in the state, and was a king only in name, the *amîrs* managing all public business, the most powerful of them for the time being making himself regent until he was overcome by a combination of the others, and another was set up in his place Thus the king, as he was too weak to manage any important affair, was induced to issue a *farmân* to the prince's enemies, giving them authority to take such action as they might deem best in the interests of the state Accordingly, these lovers of strife agreed among themselves that a force should be sent, under the command of some of the boldest officers of the royal army, against Sultân Ahmad, in order that his power might be broken, and his well-wishers and faithful servants might be dispersed They therefore selected Shaikh Mu'addî, the Arab, entitled Nâdir-uz Zamân, who was distinguished above all the officers of the royal army for his valour and intrepidity, to take command of the army to be sent against Sultan Ahmad Nizâm ul-Mulk Bahri, and he accepted that arduous task, while those who appointed them plumed themselves on the courage and

valour of the fool, believing that a lamp could remain alight in the storm-wind, and that a crafty fox would prevail against the teeth and claws of a raging tiger [21]

When the contemptible and impertinent Shaikh undertook the expedition against the prince, he was given the command of 1,200 fierce Arab lancers, who were his own troops, and, taking the road to prison, encamped at Parner [22] The prince was informed by his spies, of the designs of his enemies, and of the appointment of Nâdir-uz-Zamân with his Arabs as an expeditionary force He assembled his forces, and, opening the doors of his treasuries, distributed both to his foot, and to his horse, liberal largesse, gold, horses, and arms, and soon had such an army as would have astonished the god of war The army having assembled, the prince marched from Junnâr to Nakot, so that a distance of not more than four leagues intervened between his army and that of the enemy

VII —AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST 'ALÎ-TÂLISH DIHI, AND OF THAT ILL-DOER'S REWARD FOR HIS ERRORS

In the midst of these affairs the prince's informers reported that 'Alî Tâlish Dihî,[23] who was the governor of the fort of Châkan [24] and its dependencies, and of whose enmity to the prince some mention has already been made, had taken advantage of the prince's being occupied with his enemies, to assemble his troops, and was impudently marching to the support of Shaikh Mu'addî The prince determined to march first against 'Alî Tâlish and crush him before he could join Shaikh Mu'addi, and it so happened that the arrow of his design hit its mark, and that his well-conceived plan led to the complete defeat of both armies

The prince sent for Masnad i-'Âlî Malik Nasîr ul Mulk Gujarâtî,[25] who was at that time *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and took counsel with him Masnad i-'Âlî highly approved of the prince's plan, and it was decided that Nasîr-ul-Mulk Masnad i-'Âlî should remain where he was, with the main body of the army, and that the prince should take a picked body of men by forced marches against Zain-ud-din 'Âlî Tâlish, should fall upon him, crush his army, and put him to death before he could effect a junction with Shaikh Mu'addi, and should then return to the main body of his army and deal with the Shaikh The Prince, having chosen the force which was to accompany him, impressed upon Masnad-i-'Âlî the necessity

21 It was at the instigation of Qâsim Barid, who had succeeded Malik Nâib as *maire du palais*, that this expedition was sent against Ahmad Qâsim first tried to enlist the aid of Yusuf 'Âdil Khân of Bîjâpûr, who had been the bitter enemy of Malik Nâib, but it was the system rather than its representative that Yusuf opposed and he transferred to Qâsim all the ill will be had formerly borne to Malik Nâib He not only refused to act against Ahmad but sent him a message of condolence on the death of his father, encouraged him to resist Qâsim and withdrew a force of 10,000 horse which he had sent to Indâpur to support Zain ud din 'Ali Tâlish, governor of Châkan, who resisted Ahmad's authority It was on the failure of the negotiations with Yusuf that Qâsim dispatched the expedition under Shaikh Mu'addî, whose title is given by Firishta as Bahâdur uz Zamân (F ii, 182)

22 About 23 miles west by south of Ahmadnagar

23 Called by Firishta, Zain ud dîn 'Alî Tâlish and mentioned on page 6 as 'Ali Bâlish Dihî Tâlish is a district on the south western coast of the Caspian

24 Situated in 18° 45′ N and 73° 32′ E

25 According to Firishta, Ahmad had appointed Zarif ul Mulk the Afghan his *amîr ul umarâ* and Nasîr ul-Mulk Gujarâtî his *amîr i jumla* The appointment of officers with these titles was tantamount to a declaration of independence

of remaining where he was and of refraining from attacking the enemy Masnad-i-'Âlî promised obedience and declared that he would avoid any conflict with the enemy until the prince returned The prince, with his chosen force, then set out at night, by forced marches, for the fortress of Châkan [26]

'Alî Tâlish Dihî was still making his preparations for war and collecting his troops when the prince's force suddenly fell upon him 'Alî Tâlish Dihî came forth to meet them as best he could, and fought bravely against them, but to no avail for he and his troops, after fighting for some time, could withstand the prince's force no longer, and Alî Tâlish Dihî was slain and his troops were put to flight The victorious king put a large number of fugitives to the sword and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors, and was presented, together with the head of 'Alî Tâlish Dihî, to the prince The victorious king, after slaying and plundering his enemies, turned towards Masnad-i-Âlî,[27] who having heard of his master's victory, was emboldened to attack Shaikh Mu'addî and his followers As this action was contrary to the will of the king, the usually victorious troops were defeated and dispersed, and Nasîr ul Mulk was compelled to retire on his former position, and halt there The king then arrived with his victorious troops, and was much annoyed on hearing of Masnad-i-'Âlî's untimely action and of the presumption of the enemy He severely rebuked Nasîr-ul Mulk, and told him that disobedience to the commands of one's master could bear no other fruit than mishap and repentance Masnad-i-'Âlî humbly asked for pardon The king graciously forgave him, and said that with God's help he would crush the rat eating Arabs

Shaikh Mu'addî had been rendered over confident by his temporary success and was devoting himself to pleasure, with no thought of fighting, and the king Ahmad purposely delayed attacking him for a few days, in order that he might grow still more careless, and then marched one night at midnight to attack him He reached the enemy towards morning and found that they were still sleeping the sleep of negligence He therefore fell upon him He took them completely by surprise, and though the Arabs, when they woke, fought bravely, it was of no avail, and Shaikh Mu'addî and nearly all his followers were killed The few survivors fled, and with much difficulty reached Bîdar, while all the camp, the baggage, the horses, and elephants fell into Ahmad's hands

The victorious king, after thus slaying and plundering his enemies, returned triumphantly to his capital, Junnâr, the inhabitants of which humbly congratulated him on his success

When the news of the death of Mu'addî and of 'Alî Tâlish Dihi, and of the defeat of the army which had been sent against the prince, reached the ears of the king of the world (Mahmûd Shah) and of his *amîrs*, great fear fell upon them, and they bitterly repented of their action in sending against so brave and powerful a prince, whose power they had under estimated, a small body of troops They saw that the prince was growing more powerful

[26] Firishta says that Ahmad first sent Zain ud din 'Ali a message proposing a reconciliation to which Zain ud dîn 'Ali agreed but afterwards changed his mind on hearing of the advance of Shaikh Mu'addî Ahmad, on learning that Zain ud din 'Ali was awaiting an opportunity of joining the Shaikh, left his army and marched rapidly to Châkan with a small picked force, scaled the walls by night and put Zain ud dîn 'Alî and the garrison, consisting of 700 foreign archers, to the sword

[27] Firishta says that Naşîr ul Mulk was successful against a part of Shaikh Mu'addi's force but when he encountered the main body, led by the Shaikh in person, he sustained a crushing defeat and was obliged to retreat and join Zarîf ul Mulk

and his followers more numerous every day, while their own army was enfeebled and disheartened. It was decided that the best plan would be to send against the prince a large army of experienced veterans under the command of a cautious but active officer, and that this force should be sent against him before he grew too powerful to be meddled with. Accordingly, most of the *amîrs* and officers who were at the royal court, with eighteen *amîrs* who chose to serve against the prince, were appointed to the army which was to act against the prince. Some say that the first of Sultân Mahmûd's *amîrs* to take the field against the prince, was Majlis-i-Rafî 'Yûsuf 'Âdil Khân,[28] and that a great battle was fought between him and the prince, but in all these wars the prince was victorious. Sultan Mahmûd then appointed the eighteen ministers who were always in attendance on him to the army acting against the prince, and Alî Tâlish Dihî came from the fort of Châkan to the assistance of the *amîrs*. The royal army encamped near Wargâon, and the prince's army was in Wargâon. Sultan Mahmûd's *amîrs* then sent on several of the principal officers of the army with the advanced guard against the prince, and the prince sent Rûmî Khân and Châlak Khân to repulse them. These officers overcame the advanced guard of the royal army, slew many, and captured three elephants, which were presented to the prince. The next day the prince marched from Wargâon and encamped at Kapar, where his spies reported to him that the royal army was drinking morning and evening, and in their pride took no account of the prince's army. The prince accordingly marched at midnight with his army to attack the *amîrs*, and with 'Alî Tâlish Dihî fell upon them before morning broke. The *amîrs* were captured and stripped to the waist and were then ridden on buffaloes through the prince's army. After that they were let go. The prince highly honoured 'Alî Tâlish Dihî, and again conferred on him the command of the fortress of Châkan. After a while the prince asked for that fool's daughter in marriage, and 'Alî Tâlish attempted to put him off with excuses. The prince then led an army against Châkan, captured it, put 'Alî Tâlish Dihî and his principal officers to death but laid no hands on his daughter, who was in the fort, for 'Alî Tâlish Dihî when the prince asked her in marriage, had uttered words which changed his inclination to dislike. The prince then levelled the fortress of Châkan to the ground. But God alone knows the truth of the matter.[29]

VIII. AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE'S ENEMIES AGAINST HIM.

The *amîrs* who elected to fight against the prince (Ahmad), left the capital of Bîdar with a large army and marched to the foot of the Merî Ghât. When spies brought the information that they had with them a very large army, the prince, although his views in all contingencies were such that they always proved in the end to be in conformity with what had been decreed by God, summoned Masnad-i-'Âlî Malik Nasîr-ul-Mulk Gujarâtî and the officers of his army, and took counsel with them. Some, noted for their bravery,

28 This is a mistake. Yusuf 'Adil Khân did not take the field against Ahmad on this occasion. 'Azamat-ul-Mulk the minister commanded the first force sent against him from Bîdar after the defeat of Shaikh Mu'addi, but the account here given by Sayyid 'Alî seems to be a confused medley of the records of two or more expeditions.

29 This account, given as an alternative to what has gone before, is incorrect. Zain-ud-dîn 'Alî did not change sides as described, and he had already been slain. Ahmad certainly did not level the fort of Châkan with the ground, for portions of a structure anterior to the date of the capture of the fort by Ahmad are still standing.

advised the prince to attack the enemy, while others known for their cowardice, advised another course, but the prince followed the advice of neither. To be drawn unnecessarily into action with an enemy so much more numerous than his own was, he argued, imprudent, while to fly before them would mean disgrace. He therefore determined on a stratagem which would bring disunion between them and throw them into such confusion that they might safely be attacked. The prince then said that his design was to make a forced march on Bîdar, with a picked body, to bring the *haram* of Malik Nâib and his own servants forth from the city, and to carry off the wives and families of the *amîrs*, in order that he might be freed from anxiety regarding the former and might have an opportunity of falling on the latter when they were thrown into confusion by the news of the raid.

The prince therefore marched from Junnâr with his army, and, avoiding the enemy, marched on Bîdar. The enemy, when they heard of his movement, thought that he was flying from them, and gave themselves up to enjoyment, untroubled by any anxiety regarding a battle. The prince, however, pressed on, and in a very few days arrived before Bîdar, and, entering the city by night, before any of his enemies were aware of his movements, gained possession of the children of Malik Nâib and his own servants, put them into *pâlkis* and *singhâsans*, and sent them off to Junnâr under the escort of some trusted troops and eunuchs. He then carried off from Bîdar the families of the *amîrs* who had been sent against him, with the servants and eunuchs who attended them, and sent with them another detachment of his troops, to whom he gave strict injunctions to guard the captives and their honour most carefully, and to attend to all their comforts. The prince followed them with the remainder of his troops, and when all had proceeded one stage from the city the prince had tents pitched for the wives of the *amîrs* and allayed their anxiety. The next day the *kotwâls* and guards of the city of Bidar informed the king of the prince's raid, and of his carrying off the *haram* of Malik Nâib and the wives of the *amîrs*. He accused the *amîrs*, who were at court, of negligence, and sent eighteen of the principal *amîrs* to pursue the prince and recover the wives of the other *amîrs*, nay more, to capture the prince and bring him to court.[30]

Some of the histories of the prince relate that when the *amîrs* who had been sent against him were defeated, Sultân Maḥmûd took the field against the prince in person, and marched on Junnâr, with a large army, and that when the prince heard that he had taken the field, he considered that it would not be politic to fight against the king, who was his elder brother, and his father's heir, and that he left the fortress of Shivner in the hands of one of his trusted officers, and himself marched on Bîdar by way of Daulatabad. When he

[30] Sayyid 'Ali's principle apparently is to collect all the conflicting accounts he can find of a campaign and to offer them to his readers either as different accounts of the same campaign, among which they are at liberty to take their choice, or as accounts of different campaigns. What really happened after the defeat of Shaikh Mu'addi's force was as follows. Maḥmûd Shâh, or rather his *maire du palais*, was much annoyed by the news and sent against the rebel a large force under the minister Azamat ul Mulk, with eighteen other *amîrs*. Ahmad was too weak to meet this force in the field and, eluding it, made a forced march on Bidar. Having corrupted the guard at one of the gates he entered the city and carried off his own household and the wives and families of the *amîrs* in the manner described by Sayyid 'Ali. The *amîrs* dared not attack him now, but sent him a message reproaching him with having warred against women, whereupon he sent their wives and families back to them, and retired to Parenda.

Mahmûd Shâh bitterly reproached the *amîrs* with having permitted the rebel to raid the capital and they, in reply, laid all the blame on 'Azamat ul Mulk's incompetence. 'Azamat ul Mulk was recalled to the capital and Jahangir Khân from Telingâna was appointed to the command of the army and sent to join it at Bîr.

reached Bîdar he collected his own *haram*, which had been left in the capital until then, Malik Nâib's *haram*, and the *harams* of those *amîrs* who were in his service, and returned by another way.

When the king reached the neighbourhood of Junnâr and learnt of the prince's flight he set his heart on capturing the fortress of Shivner, and laid siege to it The *kotwâl* of the fort prepared to defend it, and removed from his mind any thought that he was bound by ties of duty to the king The king sent a message to the *kotwâl* to say that all forts and districts were in his hands and that the young prince himself was no more than one of his servants He said that the *kotwâl* was committing an error in refusing to submit to him The *kotwal* replied that the prince had entrusted the fort to him, and that if he were false to the prince and surrendered the fort to the king, the latter could thenceforth have no confidence in him

In the meantime the news of the prince's raid on Bidar reached the king's army, and the king was perturbed by the thought that the prince might have seized the capital and placed him in great straits He set out for Bîdar by the road by which the prince was returning, but the prince, turning aside, avoided him The king then issued a *farmân* summoning the prince to court, and attempted to satisfy him by means of a safe conduct, but the prince sought refuge in plausible excuses and avoided attendance on the king After this the king molested the prince no more till the day of his death

It is clear that this story is more probable than the other, for it is more credible that it was in the king's absence, rather than when he was in the capital, that the prince ventured to go to Bidar and carry off the *haram* [31]

(*To be continued*)

ANDAMANESE IN PENANG, 1819

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE

Prefatory Note

THE two following accounts of the same event, namely a visit to Penang of two Andamanese captured by a Chinese junk in 1819, are taken respectively from the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* of the 3rd April 1819 and from the May 1867 number of a now extinct journal called *Indian Society*, published in Calcutta

Both accounts purport to relate the circumstances of the capture and the visit, embellished by remarks from Hamilton's article on the Andamans in his *East India Gazetteer*, published in 1815, his information in its turn being based on Colebrooke's paper on the Andaman Islands, No 27 of vol IV, *Asiatic Researches*, ed 1799 and on Symes' *Embassy to Ava*, published in 1800 The later version of the story has also further details of the Andamanese taken from Mouat's *Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders*, published in 1863

The first account was written by John Anderson, Secretary to Government, Prince of Wales Island, and the second by his son, Captain T C Anderson, Bengal Staff Corps

The footnotes to the accounts will show where they are in error

[31] In spite of Sayyid 'Alî's estimate of its probability, this story is incorrect, and Mahmud Shâh was in the capital when Ahmad made his daring raid

I

On Thursday morning were landed on the beach two Negroes[1] from the Andaman Islands, captured by the crew of a China Junk Their appearance excited much interest and curiosity as a race of people generally considered as Cannibals[2] The following account of them has been obligingly communicated to us by a Gentleman who has very humanely taken them under his care[3]

"A Chinese Junk manned partly by Chinese and partly by Burmahs proceeded to the Andaman Islands to collect Becho de Mar [*bêche de mer*], and laying about 2 Miles from the shore, they observed about 8 or 10 of the Savages approaching the Junk, wading through the water Upon coming within a short distance of the vessel they discharged several showers of arrows, which severely wounded four of the Chinese The Burmahs gave immediate pursuit in their boat, and after much difficulty took two of the Savages prisoners

"During the chase they were frequently observed to dive and to make their appearance at a considerable distance to elude their pursuers Several of the arrows were picked up by the Chinese, which are now in my possession, they are made of Rattans with a piece of hard wood for a point, and an iron nail or fish bone fastened to the extremity in such a manner as to make it difficult to extract, if it enters the body[4]

"These Negroes are extremely diminutive in stature, though apparently well formed and their limbs and arms are uncommonly small, one of them is 4 feet 6 inches, the other 4 feet 7 inches high, and each weighing 76 lbs Avoirdupois They have large paunches and though so small, are in good condition One is an elderly man of ferocious aspect, the other a boy of about 17, of a good expression of countenance They appear dull and heavy, extremely averse to speaking, when conversing, which they only do when left alone and imagine they are unobserved, they make a noise resembling much the cackling of Turkies[5] They are of a jet black colour and their skin has an extraordinary shining appearance, and their bodies are tattooed all over, of a most voracious appetite, and crack the bones of fowls with their teeth with the greatest facility Their manner of ascending a Cocoanut Tree is remarkable, running up like a monkey, and descending with astonishing velocity"

As some account of the inhabitants of the Andamans may not be unacceptable to our readers, we have great pleasure in submitting the following extract from the *East India Gazetteer*, which, it will be observed, corresponds materially with the description given of the two Negroes abovementioned[6]

"The population of the great Andaman and all its dependencies does not exceed 2,000 or 2,500 souls these are dispersed in small societies along the coast, or on the lesser islands within the harbour, never penetrating deeper into the interior than the skirts of the forest

1 The Andamanese are not Negroes but Negritos

2 They are not and never have been cannibals See Temple, *Census of India*, 1901, Vol III *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, pp 48 and 44, where it is explained how the error arose and also why the Andamanese first met with by the English were hostile to all strangers

3 That is, Mr John Anderson himself

4 See E H Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, pp 139 141.

5 This is a gross misrepresentation Andamanese on growing old are apt to become dull, but are anything but unintelligent while young and in the vigour of life Their languages are characteristic of savages, but show a long history of intelligent development

6 The rest of the description is taken from Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, vol I (ed 1815), *s v.* Andamans.

Their sole occupation seems to be that of climbing rocks or roving along the margin of the sea in quest of a precarious meal of fish, which, during the tempestuous season, they often seek in vain [7]

"It is an object of much curiosity to discover the origin of a race of people so widely differing, not only from all the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent, but also from those of the Nicobar Islands, however, the inquiries of travellers have produced no satisfactory conclusion [8] In stature the Andamaners seldom exceed 5 feet, their limbs are disproportionately slender, their bellies protuberant, with high shoulders and large heads, and they appear to be a degenerate race of negroes,[9] with woolly hair, flat noses and thick lips their eyes are small and red, their skin of a deep sooty black, while their countenances exhibit the extreme of wretchedness, a horrid mixture of famine and ferocity They go quite naked, and are insensible to any shame from exposure [10]

"The few implements they use are of the rudest texture Their principal weapon is a bow, from 4 to 5 feet long, the string made of the fibres of a tree or a slip of bamboo, with arrows of reed, headed with fish bone or wood hardened in the fire Besides this, they carry a spear of heavy wood, sharp pointed, and a shield made of bark They shoot and spear fish with great dexterity, and are said also to use a small hand net made of the filaments of bark [11] Having kindled a fire, they throw the fish on the coals and devour it half broiled [12]

"Their habitations display little more ingenuity than the dens of wild beasts Four sticks fixed in the ground are bound at top and fastened transversely to others to which branches of trees are suspended an opening just large enough to admit of entrance is left on one side, and their bed is composed of leaves Being much incommoded with insects, their first occupation of a morning is to plaster their bodies all over with mud, which hardening in the sun, forms an impenetrable armour Their woolly heads they paint with ochre and water, and when thus completely dressed, a more hideous appearance is not to be found in the human form Their salutation is performed by lifting up one leg, and smacking with the hand the lower part of the thigh [13]

"Their canoes are hollowed out of the trunks of trees by fire and instruments of stone, having no iron in use among them but such as they accidentally procure from Europeans or from vessels wrecked on their coast [14] The men are cunning and revengeful and have

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7 This is a mistake They are found all over the islands, obtaining ample food all the year round from fruit, fish, turtle and pigs

8 It is now known that they are aboriginal Negritos with probable ethnological connections still existing in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, at any rate. For the reason of their long isolation as a race, see *Census of India*, 1901, vol III *Andaman and Nicobar Is*, p 51

9 They are not negroes at all, nor are they a degenerate race

10 For a correct physical description of the Andamanese, see *Census of India, op cit*, p 56, Man, *Aboriginal Inhabts of the Andaman Islands*, pp 4—11

11 For Andamanese bows, arrows, spears and manufactures, see Man, *op cit*, pp 136—187 It is entirely an error to suppose that their implements are of the "rudest texture"

12 The Andamanese cook all their food, except fruit, on wood fires

13 For Andaman dwellings, plastering the body with ochre and forms of salutation, see Man, *op cit.*, pp 37—48, 184, 79—81

14 For canoes, see Man, *op cit*, pp 149 150

a great hatred to strangers they have never made any attempt to cultivate the land, but subsist on what they can pick up or kill [15]

"The language of the Andamaners has not been discovered to possess the slightest affinity to any that is spoken in India, or among the other islands.[16]

"They appear to express an adoration to the sun, the genii of the woods, waters, and mountains In storms they apprehend the influence of a malignant being, and deprecate his wrath by chanting wild chorusses Of a future it is not known they have any idea, which possibly arises from our imperfect means of discovering their opinion " [17]

II

A Chinese Junk manned partly by Chinese and partly by Burmans, proceeded to the Andaman Islands to collect Bêch de mer, sea-slugs (a great treat in China) and somewhat resembling a black snail, which the Chinese dry and eat, as well as edible birds' nests which abound there The crew of the junk which was lying about two miles from the shore observed about eight or ten of the savages approaching the vessel and wading through the water Upon coming within a short distance of the vessel, they discharged several showers of arrows, which severely wounded four of the Chinese I have seen their arrows and can well fancy the wounds caused by them would be of a severe nature Dr Mouat in his work alludes to them The Burmans gave immediate pursuit in their boat, and after much difficulty captured two of the savages These were brought to Penang by the Chinese

During the chase they were frequently observed to dive and to make their appearance at a considerable distance to elude their pursuers Several of the arrows were picked up and found to be made of rattans with a piece of hard wood for a point and a nail or fish one fastened to the extremity in such a manner as to render the arrow difficult to extract, if it once entered the body

These savages were extremely diminutive in stature, though apparently well formed, and their limbs and arms were uncommonly small One of the savages was 4 feet 6 inches, the other 4 feet 7 inches in height, and each weighed about 76 lbs Avoirdupois They had large paunches, and though they were so small, were in good condition One was an elderly man of ferocious aspect, who afterwards died of cholera on board ship on the way to Calcutta, the other was a boy of about seventeen years of age and of a good expression of countenance He subsequently died of delirium tremens as he had contracted the bad

[15] The mental limitations of the Andamanese are thus described in the *Census of India, op cit*, p 59 —"In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax, and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve He has never had any sort of agriculture nor, until the English taught him the use of dogs, did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill defined He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown to him He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training "

[16] This is quite true as regards the known modern languages of India and the East, except perhaps as regards some of the terms in "Negrito" languages of the Far East

[17] This statement is partly incorrect For an account of the religion, superstitions, mythology and initiatory ceremonies of the Andamanese, see *Census of India, op cit* pp 62 64

habit of drinking.[18] Both of them at first appeared dull and heavy and extremely averse to speaking. When conversing, however, which they only did when left alone and imagined they were unobserved, they made a noise resembling the cackling of turkeys. They were invariably made to sleep in an outhouse lest they should make an attempt on the children's lives, as having been supposed to belong to a cannibal race, they were looked upon with some dread.[19]

On one occasion the old man made his appearance without any hair on his head, and on an attempt being made to find out how he had contrived to do so, it was found that he had scraped off the hair with a piece of broken plate.[20] He had a bad habit of attacking the fowls with his bow and arrow, and on one occasion attempted the life of the domestic goat. The younger lad, who was christened Tom, was more docile, and took an interest in the family. He acquired a knowledge of Hindoostanee and Malay. These two natives appear to have been smaller than those captured at Port Blair during Colonel Haughton's time, one of whom was 5 feet 4 inches in height.

My father in a work published by, and under the authority of the Penang Government (and not to be obtained), entitled "Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula," says in a paper on a tribe called "Semangs": "There is little doubt that the degenerate inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, are descended from the same parent stock as the Semangs, and it is extraordinary that they have preserved the same uniformity of manners and habits through such a series of ages." And again he says of a Semang whom he saw: "This man was at the time of his visit to Penang, when I saw him, about 30 years of age, four feet nine inches in height. His hair was woolly and tufted, his colour a glossy jet black, his lips were thick, his nose flat, and belly very protuberant, resembling exactly two natives of the Andaman Islands, who were brought to Prince of Wales Island in the year 1819."[21]

The two specimens alluded to were of a jet black colour and their skin had an extraordinary shining appearance. They had a most voracious appetite, and cracked the bones of fowls with their teeth with the greatest facility. Their manner of ascending a cocoanut tree was remarkable, running up like monkeys and descending with astonishing velocity.

The population of the great Andaman is very small and is dispersed in small societies along the coast. They never penetrate deep into the interior and their sole occupation seems to be that of climbing rocks or roving along the margin of the sea in quest of a precarious meal of fish, which, during the tempestuous seasons, they often seek in vain.

18 Andamanese, like other savages, will drink to excess on opportunity arising. Taking unaccustomed food or drink to excess is common to all wild animals. The writer of these notes, at one time the possessor of an extensive aviary, in which food appropriate to many kinds of birds was placed daily, has frequently seen birds gorge themselves to death on unaccustomed food meant for other species, while deserting that to which they were accustomed from birth.

19 See note 2 above. The fear was entirely unfounded.

20 For the shaving methods of the Andamanese, see Man, *op cit*, pp 9-10, 114 115. The present writer has undergone the process as an experiment, the razor used being chips from a glass bottle. It is a rough but safe method of shaving.

21 "My father" was Mr John Anderson of the first account, and this paragraph shows acute observation. For the agreement and physical differences between Samangs and Andamanese, see *Census of India, op cit*, p 67; the present writer has been unable to discover any real connection between the languages.

It is an object of much curiosity to discover the origin of a race of people so widely differing, not only from all the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent, but also from those of the Nicobar Islands However, up to the present time, no satisfactory conclusion has been arrived at In stature the Andamanese seldom exceed 5 feet, their limbs are dispropor tionately slender, their bellies protuberant, with high shoulders and large heads, and they appear to be a degenerate race of negroes, with woolly hair, flat noses and thick lips their eyes are small and red, their skin of a sooty black, while their countenances exhibit symptoms of famine and ferocity They go quite naked, and are insensible to any shame from exposure

The few implements they use are of the rudest description Their principal weapon being a bow from 4 to 5 feet long, the string being made of the fibres of trees Their arrows are of wood, with a nail or fish bone for the tip, and they are very expert in using them Some of them are armed with wooden spears They shoot and spear fish with great dexterity Having kindled a fire they throw the fish on the coals and devour it half broiled [22]

Their habitations display etc

[The remainder of the account is identical with the preceding]

BOOK-NOTICE

THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH —A Monthly Journal Devoted to All Kinds of Researches Edited by T RAJAGOPALA RAO, B A Vepery, Madras Nos 1 to 12

We, of the now old *Indian Antiquary*, always welcome any new effort on the part of native scholars in this Country to look into their past and learn what they can about it It is clear that they are in a better position to do so than are Europeans, however learned and enthusiastic the latter may be It is therefore with much pleasure that we watch the growth of so many new Societies and Journals all over India, from the Panjab and Bihar to Madras and Mysore, and elsewhere Burma too has now a flourishing Burma Research Society They all unearth something of value to History and Ethnology

The *Journal* under notice is eclectic in its articles, many being of the 'magazine' order and some almost purely literary On the other hand, it admits some that are true efforts of Research—original articles on original documents For instance, it is good to see a report on an "Unpublished Inscription of Kumâra Tailapa" and a translation of "The Vyâkaraṇa Mahâbhâshya" There is also, we notice, a novel and interesting suggestion as to the true derivation of "Karrâsta" and "Maisur" and a notice of "The Chronology of the later Gângas" There is further a suggestive article on "Prakrita and the Dravidian Languages," all of which and the like are true Research

Two other articles have attracted the special attention of the present writer In a note on "The Interrelation of Kannada and Telugu" are given a number of words meant to show a very ancient relation of these tongues to the languages of Northern Europe by borrowing or otherwise The article is not very convincing in itself, but it does open up a more than interesting speculation Was there a pre historic and very ancient immigration of the variety of mankind now called Dravidian from the West into India through Persia in pre Persian days? Elsewhere, for entirely different reasons than those of the author of this article, the present writer has suggested that there was Anyhow, the subject is worth pursuing historically, philologically and ethnologically Let the author seek relationship in the languages of the earliest known inhabitants of the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Coast Eastwards to India—Elamite, Akkadian, Sumerian and the like, through Brahûi (Baluchistan) to India There is plenty of evidence of 'Dravidian' terms being known to the oldest Sanskrit grammarians with which to carry on the investigation

The other article is an "Historical Basis for the Kanyaka Purana of the Komatis" *Puranas* of this kind are always worth sifting for chance light they may throw on genuine history They are seldom altogether legendary

R C TEMPLE

[22] All this is practically the same as the first account, repeating the errors, for which see notes above

present, (adj) **1.** not absent . ab-ûba (da) ka-waikan Only my younger brother is present *ôgun d'âkd-kâm ka-waikan* *See* Ex at **individual 2** on some past occasion edāre When Punga was dying I was present *pûnga tûg dapinga bêdig d'edāre*

preserve, (v t) food by burial for consumption during the rains âkà-lûgap (ke) *See* **reserve**

press, (v t) squeeze pûnu (ke) *See* **crush** and **squeeze**

press upon, (v t) ab nînai (ke), ab-tōk (ke), âkà-ngouch (ke) *See* **crush.**

pressing, (p a) urgent âr-tig-gûjunga (da)

pretend, (v i) make believe . iji-yâ-mali (ke), âr-îtaichi (ke) *See* **malinger**

pretty, (adj) **1.** of inanimate objects îno (da), bêreto (da), ig-bêringa (da) **2.** of animate objects . ab-îno (da), îtâ bêringa (da), mûgu-bêringa (da)

prevent, (v t) **1.** fiedba (ke), ôyu-târ-t'êkik (ke) *See* **hinder** The Chief prevented us *maiola môyut-târ-t'êkikre* **2.** prevent by seizing hold of another ôt-pûnu (ke)

prick, (v t) **1.** . (ab)dût (ke) Prefix dependent on part of the body referred to **2.** prick the flesh in order to remove pus or any foreign matter ōko-tûbuli (ke)

prickly, (adj) . chûkulnga (da)

prime, (adj) first-rate gôi (da) *See* Ex. at **self**

print, foot- (s) **1.** human ûn-pâg (da) **2.** animal âkà kôij (da)

prior to, (postp) before entōba, entōka Did he strike you prior to my arrival? *an ôl den ônnga l'entōba ng'ad ab-parekre?*

prisoner, (s.) ôt-châtre, ôt chât-yâte (da). The adoption of this term was evidently due to their observing that the convicts in the Penal Settlement were provided with all their requirements *See* **adopted** and **capture**

proceed, (v i) **1** set out, start tôt-mâkari (ke) **2** after a halt târ-chōrowa (ke) **3.** stealthily, as after game âr-î-laijin (ke) **4** proceed abreast, of two or more pîpa (ke) **5.** direct to any place ara-lôm (ke).

procure, (v t) *See* **get, obtain**

profile, (s) *See* **face**

profit, (s) âr-pōlok (da).

prohibit, (v t) ab-kâna (ke)

prolific, (adj) **1** producing offspring ûn-bā l'ârdûru (da) **2** of a tree ar-bâtnga (da)

promise, (v i) îtya (ke)

prong, (s) of arrow or harpoon âkà-châti (da)

pronunciation, (s) âkà-lôma (da) Owing to his faulty pronunciation I don't understand him *âkd lôma jābag l'edâre d'en daike yāba (da)*

prop, (v t) âr-tâgi (ke)

propel, (v t) a canoe by poling near shore, (a) at the stern ar-lôbi (ke), (b) amidships ôdam-lôbi (ke), (î-)lôbi (ke), pârità lôbi (ke) (c) at the bows ôt-lôbi (ke)

proper, (adj) right, fit tōlata (da). *See* Ex at **right**

property, (s) (ig-)râmoko (da) *See* **cover, wrap** When leaving your place bring all your property with you *ngîa êr îjinga bêdig ng'ig-râmoko l'ârdûru tôyuke* (Any property not in use is usually kept wrapt up in bundles)

protect, (v t) . ôt-râj (ke), ab-gōra (ke), ōko-jeng'e (ke), ôt yûburi (ke) (v i) protect one's self ōto-râj (ke) We are protecting ourselves *meda m'ōtot-râjke*

protector, (s) guardian ōko-jeng'enga (da), ôt-yûburinga (da)

proud, (adj) haughty . âkan (or âyan) lêtainga (da)

prove, (v t) test, try . yôgo (ke) *See* Ex at **test**

provide, (v t) supply mân-ak-tâg (ke), â-tâg (ke) The Chief provided us with a canoe in order that we might go fishing *maiola met rôLo mânak-tâgre aña môtot lôbike*

provisions, (s) yâd (da) (in construc yât)

provoke, (v t) excite to anger en-tigrêl (ke)

prow, (s) ōko-mûgu (da) , ôt mûgu (da)

pshaw ! (exclam) cho !

Pterocarpus dalbergioides, (s) châ langa (da) The sounding-boards used when dancing to mark time are made from the buttress-like slab roots of this tree *See* App xiii

Ptychosperma kuhlii, (s) âpara (da) The pulpy portion of the spathe is eaten and the leaves are used for thatching and bedding

publish, (v t) *See* **make known**, and Ex at **must**

puddle, (s) el-âkà-kōdo (da), kûbe (da) *See* **pool**

puff, (v i) as a steamer or tobacco smoker tûpu (ke)

pull, (v t) **1.** draw a cord or bowstring to test its strength tînap (ke), tê-nip (ke), tîni (ke), têni (ke) *See* **draw 2.** haul a rope dōkori (ke), ig-dōkra (ke) **3.** draw out, extract *See* **extract 4** tug in opposite directions îjôj (ke) *See* **tug, drag, haul** and **paddle,** (v t)

pulp, (s) of fruit (*e g* Pandanus) mûgu-dâla (da)

pulsate, (v t) . nōt (ke)

pulse, (s) nōtnga (da) Takes p p ong, ab, etc *See* App ii

punctual, (adj) ar-gôlinga-ba (da)

punctually, (adv) ar-gôlinga-ba (ya)

pungent, (adj) hot as ginger or chili âkà yâro (da), ig-iñuma (da)

punish, (v t) ab-êche (ke) *See* **damage**

punkah, (s) *See* **fan**

pupil, (s) **1.** learner ông-bâdi yâte (da) **2.** pupil of the eye î dal-l'ôt pûtunga (da) *See* **black**

puppy, (s) bîbi-bā (da)

pure, (adj) *See* **clear, clean**

purgatory, (s) jereg-l'âr-mûgu (da) This is a bitterly cold place of punishment and reformation of souls guilty of heinous offences in this life *See* **paradise**

purpose of, for the (postp) in order to eb *See* Ex at **for** and **order to, in**

purposely, (adv) intentionally ar-lûgap (ya) Did you strike Woi purposely ? *an ngô l'arlûgap wôi l'ab parekre ?*

pursue, (v t) ig-âj (ke)

pus, (s) mûn (da) takes prefix ab, ôt, etc according to part of person referred to *See* App ii

push, (v t) forward ôt-ûdauti (ke). **2.** push down ig-ûdauti (ke), ig-wêdai (ke) **3.** push from behind . âr gôdauti (ke), ôt-ûdauti (ke) **4.** backwards âkà-ûdauti (ke) **5.** push off a seat ôt (or ar)-wêdai (ke) **6** push aside ab-ôchai (ke) **7.** push aside branches in jungle with hands or feet âkà-mâl (ke)

put, (v t) **1.** (**a**) put down, place, a person ab-tegi (ke) Put him (a child) down here *kâmin ab-tegi (ke)* (**b**) p an animal or thing tegi (ke) **2.** p. aside jālagi (ke) **3.** p inside . kok-târ-len tegi (ke) **4.** p outside

wâlak-len-tegi (ke) **5.** p on clothes or ornaments eb-lōtî (ke) **6.** p anything on another yôboli (ke) **7.** p off, take off, ornaments, etc (ôt-) lûpuji (ke) **8.** p out one's tongue êtel-ōyu-wêjeri (ke) *See* **get up** and **emerge** **9.** p fuel on fire ōko-jôi (ke) **10** p in order *See* **arrange** **11** p straight kadli (ke)

putrefy, (v i) chōiro (ke), â-jāba (ke) *See* Ex at **abandon**

putrid, (adj) chōiroie, â-jābare

pygmy, (s) ai-dêdeba (da)

quake, (v i) *See* **tremble**

quality, (s) property, characteristic yôma (da) *e g* ot-bêringa-yoma (da), (goodness), târ-tōknga-yôma (da), (cruelty), ig-ûya-yôma (da), (heat), ab lâpanga-yôma (da), (height)

quantity, (s) **1.** large . ôt-lât (da), kōt rôkoba (da), mōrota-bārawa (da) Give me a larger quantity *tûn ôt-lât den â* **2.** small yabā (da)

quarrel, (v i) **1.** dispute ad gûm (ke) They are quarrelling among themselves *ed ôyut bud bedig ad-gûmke* **2** regarding ownership iji chali (ke) *See* **mistake** We are quarrelling over the ownership of that canoe *kâ roko l'eb ingit châlike* (s) fight, affray *See* **fight**

quarrelsome, (adj) ad gûminga-tâpa (da)

quarter, (v t) **1.** divide into parts *See* **cut up, disjoint** **2.** give quarter *See* **spare** **3.** give no quarter târ-tōk (ke) (adv) at close quarters . lagya, lagiba

quartz, (s) tōlma (da)

queen conch, (s) *See* **conch** and App xii

quench, (v i) **1.** allay, appease . ôyar (ke) He is quenching his thirst *ôl âkâ-mōlyôma len ôyarke* **2.** extinguish *See* **extinguish.**

question, (v t) interrogate î(ig or âkà)-chîura (ke) *See* **ask**

question, particle denoting an Is Woi still absent? : *an wôi ñgâkà abyāba (da)?*

quick, (adj) rapid ōko-rîñima (da)

quickly, (adv) **(a)** of canoe, current, bird, etc. yêre. **(b)** of human beings âr-yêie, yîrad-tek, rêo *See* **bring, come**

quickly! be quick! (imper) ng'âr-yêre!; kuro!

quiet, be (v i) be silent mîla (ke), ōko-mûlwi (ke) be quiet! *mîla (ke)!* (adj) silent ōko-mûlwinga (da), mîlanga (da)

quietly, (adv) softly dôdo (ke), âkan-dôdonga, âkan-âmainga, âr-ti-tâg-ya

quill, (s) ig-âcha (da)

quit, (v t) *See* **abandon, leave.** (v i) desist from *See* **cease**

quite, (adv) completely, entirely ûbaya *See* **see** (v i), rêatek *See* **entirely.** It is quite hot now *kâ-gôi ûya ûbaya.* That's enough! *kîan-wai!*, quite enough! *kîan-wai dâke!* lit that's enough, don't . (more)!

race, (s) **1.** division of human species . . dâlag (-l'iglā) (da) lit "people-different" Of what race is that old man? *kâl'ab-jang gi tenchâ dâlag (-l'iglā) (da)?* All these men are of different races *ûch'ârdûru bûla wai dâlag l'iglā (da).* **2** competitive trial of speed ar-tîrla (da) (v i) ara-tîrla (ke).

raft, bamboo (s) pō chōnga (da).

rag, (s) ıâchatnga (da), kaȷılı (da)

rage, (s) passıon îȷ-âna (da) (v ı) îȷ-âna (ke), ıȷı rêl (ke) **2** fly ınto a rage îȷ-âna ômo (ke)

raın, (s) yûm (da) Up to the present but lıttle raın has fallen *ñgâkà yûm bā la pâre* (v ı) yûm-la-pâ (ke) **2** raın heavıly *See* **pour 3** raınbow pîdga (da), mōro elma-pîdga (da) **4** raın-cloud yûm-l'î-dîya (da) **5** shower *See* **shower 6** raıny season gûmul (da) God has ordered us (all) not to eat the jungle yam durıng the raıny season *pûluga m'ardûru len kâmık yâbre aña gûmul len yât-bang makat-wêtke yāba (da)* (adȷ) raın-proof (ar-)kōla (da) A raın-proof hut *châng-kōla (da)*

raise, (v t) *See* **lıft 2** one's eyebrows ıg ngîrau (ke). (v ı) **1** raıse one's self ōto-laıȷaı (ke), êkan-ôt-laıȷaı (ke) **2** raıse ıtself. âkan-laıȷaı (ke)

rake a fire, (v.t) ıg-ôȷolı (ke)

ramble, (v.ı) êr-lûma (ke)

random, at (adv). ad-châk-tek As ıt was dark, and beıng frıghtened, I aımed a spear at random *yêchar len d'adlâtnga bêdıg dôl ad châk-tek ab-wâre*

rap, (v ı) *See* **knock**

rapid, rapıdly *See* **fast** and **quickly**

rare, (adȷ) uncommon, scarce ar-tang-ba (da)

rascal, (s) ab-ȷābag (da)

rash, (s.) eruptıon â-rût (da), â-rûtu (da)

rasp, (s) file tâlag (da)

rat, (s) rôgo-tâtma (da)

rattan, (s) *Calamus sp* *See* **cane**

ravenous, (adȷ) âkà-ñûbatnga (da).

ravıne, (s). el-ōko-parag (da) *See* **valley**

raw, (adȷ) **1** uncooked chım'ıtı (da), ıōcha-ba (da) *i e*, cooked-not **2** unrıpe *See* **unrıpe**

rays, sun's- (s) bôdo-l'âr-châl (da)

ray-fish *See* **skate**

ray, stıng- (s) ñîp (da) (**a**) serrated bony spıne of ñîp-l'âr-châga (da) (**b**) taıl of ñîp-l'âr-bûl (da) (**c**) ray (spıne) of a fin vât-l'ôt-chûkul (da) *See* **thorn**

reach, (v t or v ı) **1** arrıve at kâgal (ke) **2** by water ōkan yôbolı (ke) *See* Ex at **start 3** by land only dālag (ke) *See* Ex at **walk 4** reach by stretchıng out one's arm or foot tık paı-no (ke) (adv) out of reach, (**a**) of one's arm or foot âka (or ông)-wôd lınga (da) (**b**) of bamboo when polıng near shore ôt-wôdlınga (da) *See* **out**

read, (v t) ıg vâp (ke) (*lit* say or speak somethıng that ıs *seen*)

readıness for, ın (postp) ōko-têlım Cook some food ın readıness for Wôloga *wôloga l'ōko-têlım yât ȷôı (ke)* *See* **for**

ready, (adȷ) for use or actıon ad ûyunga (da) make (v t) **1** of a canoe ar chōrowâ (ke) **2** of a bow . ngōtla (ke) *See* **prepare**

ready-cooked, (adȷ) vât-ıōcha (da) *See* Ex at **cooked**

really, **1** (adv) . ûba, ûba-ya **2.** (ınterȷ) Really ? . . an-ûba ?, an-waı ?

rear, (v t) educate, brıng up **1** one's own chıld ab-gōı (ke) **2** another's chıld ōko-ȷenge (ke), ôt-chât (ke) *See* **adopt** and **protect**, **3** fatten for slaughter chîlyu (ke) *See* **self**

rear of, in the (postp) âr-ête len *See* Ex at **behind**

reason of, by (adv) edare *See* Ex at **account of, on**, and **because**

receive, (v t) take as offered, sent or gained em (ke) We received the few presents which you sent *o-mân bā ngol ititân yâte med'enire* *See* **accept, seize** and **take**

recently, (adv) arla l ikpōr-tek, ârla l'ôt rêde ba-len

receptacle, (s) *See* **basket, bamboo, reticule** and App xiii

reckon, (v t) count ar lâp (ke)

recognize, (v t) id ig nōli (ke) Though I had not seen Woi for many years I recognized him at once by his gait *edara tâlik jîbaba do woi l'igbâdigre yāba (da) dô kâ gôi l arladya tek id ig-nolire*

recollect, (v t) gat (ke), gâd (ke)

recompense, (v t) êr gōlai (ke)

recompense, (s) reward ôt pōlok (da)

reconcile, (v t) ot yâdia (ke)

recount, (v t) yabnga l âr lōr (ke)

recover, (v t) 1. any lost object badali (ke) 2 property which has been stolen or seized ar dōkair (ke) *lit* drag forcibly (v i) 1. from grief kûk l'âr lû (ke) 2. from sickness teg (or tig) bôi (ke), teg (or tig) êbal (ke) *See* **awake** and **spring** 3 from a wound yêle (ke)

red, (adj) cherama (da)

reduce, (v t) diminish in size or quantity âr kinab (ke), ar kâtai (ke).

reed, (s) rdi (da), used in making the *râtâ, tirled*, and *tolbod* arrows *See* **arrow**

reef, (s) 1. . jowio (da), bōroga (da), bōroga l'âr ōtnga (da) 2. sunken reef . tebi-lûro (da) 3. reef heron kōro-kâti (da)

reel, (v i) *See* **stagger**

refer to, (v t) *See* **mention.**

reflect, (v i) ponder iji-mûla (ke), gôb-jôi (ke) *See* Ex at **must**

reflection, (s) as in a mirror ôt-yôlo (da) (*lit* soul) I see your reflection in the pool *wai do ngôt-yôlo kûbe len igbâdi (ke)*

refrain, (v i) forbear eb-ôt kûk l'âi lô (ke) As he is sick I refrained from beating him *ab yed l'edâre wai d'ad ab pairekinga l'eb-ôt-kûk-l'ârlôre* *See* **beat (v t)** and **him**

refresh, (v i) one's self when hunting wêlepa (ke)

refuse, (v t) 1 reject î-t'îla (ke) 2 refuse to comply with ar-inga (ke) (v i) 1. not to comply, decline . iji kila (ke) 2 refuse to accompany another ik iji kîla (ke)

refuse, (s) bêra (da), rûcha (da)

regard, (v t) consider, be of opinion lûa (ke) *See* **abuse** and **think**

region, (s) locality êrema-l'êâte (da), êr (da) (in construc el) *See* **Andaman Islands,** p 23, and **place**

rehearse, (v t) *See* **practise**

reject, (v t) *See* **refuse,** (v t)

rejoice, (v i) ôt-wêla (ke), ôt-kûk l'âr-wâlakîmi (ke) *See* Ex at **on**

relate, (v t) *See* **tell**

relative, (s) *See* **kinsman,** and App viii

release, (v t) liberate, set free eb tot mâni (ke) The released Jarawas stole all my pig arrows *jarawa eb tot mâni yâte dia êla l'ârdûru tâpre* *See* **let go**

relent, (v i) iji pâ (ke)

relieve one of a burden, (v t) ōto gôlai (ke)

relish, (s) flavour âkà yôma (da) *See* **mouth, palate, quality**

remain, (v i) tarry, stay 1 poli (ke), pâli (ke) In order to nurse her sick mother my wife remained at that village a whole month *ab-êtinga ad jābag yâte nōranga l'edâre dai ik yâte kâ bâraij len ôgar dôga-pôlire* *See* **dwell** 2. ô (ke) While Punga was hunting I remained here *pûnga delenga bêdig kam wai d'ôre* 3 continue,

as in one place âr ti-tegi (ke) During the rainy season we (all) jungle-dwellers remain in our own homes *med' êremtâga l'ârdûru gûmul ya êkan bûd len arat-titegike* *See* **dwell** **4.** remain, or stay away ōto lûdai (ke) **5.** remain over, of anything unconsumed, or unfinished kîchal (ke), with prefix âkà, ông, etc *See* App ii There is little remaining to do! (exclam) kanya! *See* **wait a little**

remainder, (s) **1** remnant, rest, surplus kîchal (da) **(a)** of food âkà-kîchal (da) *See* **leavings** **(b)** of work ông-kîchal (da) My father excused me the remainder of the work *maiola ông-kîchal d'âr-tidûbure* **2** **(a)** the remainder, the others (of persons) arat dilu (da) **(b)** of animals, etc ôtot dilu (da) **(c)** of inanimate objects akat-lôg-lik *See* Ex at **beside** and **other**

remark, (v t) **1** mention, express by speech ig-yâp (ke). **2** notice, observe, *q v*

remedy, (s) *See* **charm, medicine**

remember, (v t) gât (ke), gâd (ke). *See* **suspect** I remember what he said when he was dying *ôl tûg dapinga len târchî yâte dô gâtke*

remind, (v t) en gât (ke) (*lit* cause to remember) Remind me in the morning (*lit* to morrow morning) *lilta len d'en-gâtke*

remnant. *See* **remainder**

remove, (v t) 1 take away îk (ke) 2 take off (a) as a pot from the fire yûk (ke) **(b)** as foot from mat ô chai (ke) *See* Ex at **off** **(c)** as clothing or personal ornaments lûpuji (ke) **3** extract, draw out lōti (ke) *See* Ex at **extract** **4** remove another's property without permission ig-chat (ke) **5** remove anything with great care î-chûbar (ke) (v i) migrate, change one's residence (î-)jāla (ke)

rendezvous, (s) el-ôt-yôdinga (da), êr-bêjeringa (da) (v t or v i) bêjeri (ke)

rent, (s) tear jâg (da)

repair, (v t) **1** a canoe ig jât (ke) 2 repair a bow maia (ke) **3** repair thatching ôt-yôbla (ke) [bêringa (ke) (make good) could be used in all three cases]

repeat, (v t) **1** reiterate âkà-tegi chōloma (ke) **2** repeat the words of another âkà tâi-chûru (ke), âi-ñgôm (ke) 3 repeat one's own words tâlik-yâp (ke) **4.** repeat any word or message ig-pagi (ke) Repeat that word *ôl yâbnga l'ig pagike* **5** repeat a belch or other sound from the mouth âkà-pagla (ke) **6.** repeat anything done with the hands or feet (as making a net or bow) ông pagla (ke) **7** repeat a blow, beating, etc ai-pagla (ke) **8** repeat an old song râmid ig lâp (ke)

repeatedly, (adv) more than once, over and over ông tâli, âkà tâli, etc

repent, (v i) chûmro (ke)

replace, (v t) put back in place ar lôg-len tegi (ke).

reply, (v t) make reply to âkà tegi-gôl (ke) *See* **answer.** (v i) say in answer en yâp (ke) When I asked Punga he replied that he was out of sorts and could not join us in pig hunting to-day *dô pûnga l'ig chûranga bêdig o d'en yâbre wai d'abyednga tâgke ka wai ut' len ng'itiknga châk-jābag (da)*

report, (v t) **1** . . . ig-naima (ke), târtît mân (ke), (*lit* news-give) **2.** inform against another ôt bâm (ke)

repose, (v i) bālagi (ke)

reprove, (v t) ig râl (ke)

request, (v t) âkà-pele (ke)

require, (v t) need ârai (ke), ôyar (ke) Woi requires much more food than Punga *wôi pûnga tek yât ot lat ârai (ke)*

requisite, (adj), needful, indispensable ârainga (da) For making *kânqatâ bûj* the resin of the *rîm* (Celtis or Gironniera) is

requisite *kângatâ bil) î teginga l'eb îîm tôug âraınga (da)*

rescue, (v t) âr kōta em (ke)

resemble, (v t) . ig paipda (ke)

resembling, (pr p) ig-paipdanga (da) *See* **like**

reserve, (v t) 1 retain â-tegi (ke), ōto paichalen tegi (ke) I have reserved some pork for you *wai do reg dama ng'eb â tegire* **2.** i anything for future use, esp food, *e g*, seeds of the *Artocarpus* and certain other trees, which are buried for consumption during the rains ar lûgap (ke) We always (*lit* our custom is to) reserve jack fruit seeds for consumption during the rainy season *marduru ke mrai kav'ta l'idal gûmul l'eb ârlugapke* *See* **seed**

reserved, (p a) *See* **shy**

reside, (v i) *See* **dwell**

resident, (s) **1** permanent budu yâte (da) **2** temporary pôli yâte (da) He is a resident of Port Mouat *ôl târa châng l'ta budu yate (da)*

resin, (s) **1.** obtained from a species of *Sterculia* (main)toug (da) used for torches **2** obtained from a species of *Celtis* (rim)toug (da) used in making sealing wax *See* App xi and xm and Ex at **requisite**

resist, (v t) oppose ab kidawa (ke)

respect to, pay (v t) by advancing to greet another i kaka (ke) *See* **parting** and **salute**

rest, take (v t) *See* **cease, refresh, repose** and **stop**

rest, the, (s) **(a)** of three or more persons arat dilu (da) The rest of you search for honey *ngarat dilu aja upke* **(b)** of animals, birds, etc otot dilu (da) The rest (of the pig) that have been sick are now in as good condition (*lit* as fat) as before *ôtot dilu ad jibag yate arlulik otolâ naikan yâta (da)* **(c)** of inanimate objects . akat loglik (*See* **other**) **(d)** etcetera, and so on, or so forth â weh *See* App v

restless, (adj) fidgety . iji ôjolinga (da)

restore, (v t) return, give back ar-dōkra (ke) *See* Ex at **never**

restrain, (v t) hold back târ-t'êkik (ke)

retain, (v t) *See* **keep**

retaliate, (v t) . ông tî len (ke)

retch, (v i) ig-ōna pâ (ke)

reticule, (s), netted bag châpanga (da) *See* App xm

retire, (v i) **1** retreat târ-lô (ke) **2** paddle backwards, back water i târ-tâpa (ke)

return, (v t) **1** *See* **restore** **2** requite, as blow for blow . *See* **retaliate** (v i) **1.** come back iji kadli (ke) **2** return home wîj (ke) **3.** return empty-handed from the chase arlûa la on (ke) **4** return with something, after hunting or after searching for honey, fruit, etc chôlo (ke) Until you return from the hunt (or search) with something (even you all) I will wait here: *toba tek ng'ârdûru chôlonga bêdig ng'abat do kârin tâmi (ke)* *See* **even** (adv) **5** return late eba-rît (ke), î-târ-jûdu (ke) **6** return frequently ôyun tali (ke) **7.** return expeditiously from any mission jalwa lingi (ke), iji-êkalpi (ke), î tokimi (ke) **8** return from hunting . . . ut' l'ôt ôn (ke), ût' tek-êkalpi (ke)

revolve, (v i) as a top iji kêti (ke)

reward, (v t) êr mân (ke) The Chief rewarded me for harpooning a fine turtle *yâdi peko jêralinga l'edâre maiola den êr mânre*

reward, (s) ôt pōlok (da)

rheumatism, (s) mōl (da). With necessary prefix (ab, ar, etc) to indicate the part affected

Rhizophera conjugata, (s) . . bada (da) Children's bows, adze handles, and sometimes the foreshafts of arrows are made of this wood

Rhizophera mucronata, (s) . jûmu (da) The fruit is eaten

rib, (s) ab-pâri tâ (da) *See* App ii

rich, (adj) possessed of every requisite . . . ar-bêjir (da)

ride, (v i) âkan yôboli (ke)

ridiculous, (adj) âkan yeng'atnga (da)

right, (adj) 1 dexter bîda (da) 2. right handed ab bîda (da) 3. correct, accurate ûba-wai (da), ûba-bêringa (da) 4 proper, fit tō-lata (da) It is right to obey one's parents *maiol chanôl âkà teg igâtnga wai tōlata (da)* (v t) right a canoe which has capsized âka-châlai (ke) All right! *wai!*, *ōno!* That's right! *kâ bêringa!*

rigid, (adj) 1 as a bar chêba (da) 2 as a stiff joint or corpse . ôt-)latawa (da)

rim of a pot or bucket, (s) âka-pai (da)

rind, (s) skin of fruit . . ôt êd (da) (in construc ôt-êj)

ring, (s) âkà kōr (da)

ringlet, (s) curl, tuft or lock of hair ôt kîtnga (da)

ring-worm, (s) . dâkar (da) This word also denotes a wooden bucket

rinse, (v t) 1. . chât (ke) 2 one's mouth . âkan-ûdu (ke)

rip, (v t) cut open a carcase ōko dûboli (ke)

ripe, (adj) . t'alre, t'al (da), t'ala (da) 2. nearly ripe . ròicha (da) (v i) become ripe, ripen (î) t'al (ke), t'ala (ke), ròicha (ke)

ripple, (s) wavelet . . en'yar (da)

rise, (v i) 1. get up, as from sleep . . ôyû bôi (ke) *See* Ex at **beforehand** 2. rise to the surface, as a diver, turtle, etc. . . ôdo kîmi (ke) 3. rise, as the sun or moon â î-doati (ke), kâg (ke) 4. rise, as the tide bû (ke) *See* **ascend**.

river, (or tidal creek), (s) 1. . . . jîg (da) 2. main river or main creek . jîg chân-chau (da) 3. rivulet . jîg bā (da)

road, (s) 1. . tinga (da) 2. main road tinga chân-chau (da)

roam, (v i) go astray, wander êr-lûma (ke)

roar, (v i) 1 gōrowa (ke) 2 of the surf (aka-)yenge (ke)

roast, (v t) tari (ke) *See* **cook**

rob, (v t) gōra tek tâp (ke)

rock, (v t) lull to sleep *See* **lull** and **nurse** (v i) 1 sway, reel ara lêka (ke) 2 of a boat (or log) in a rough sea ara gidi (ke)

rock, (s) 1 large bōroga tâ (da) 2. small taili (da) 3 sunken rock tōtol (da) *See* **coast** and **reef**

rocky bottom, (s) 1. tōtòl ya (da) 2. rocky beach or foreshore . . bōroga (da)

roe, fish, (s) spawn (yat l'ìa) bêr (da)

rogue, (s) ab jābag (da)

roll, (v t) 1. between one's palms or fingers mōt (ke) 2. roll anything as a mat to form a bundle . . (ôt)kōt (ke) 3. roll fibres together on the thigh, as in making twine . . . kit (ke) (v i) as a ball or child on the ground wêde (ke) 2. as a canoe in a rough sea ara-gîdi (ke)

roof, (s) 1. of hut . châng (da) *See* **hut** 2. roof of the mouth âkà laia (da) *See* **palate**

room, (s) . . . . êr bigadinga (da)

roomy, (adj) 1 of a hut . êr dôga (da) 2. of a boat or canoe . koktâr-dôga (da)

root, (s) 1. the portion above ground ar chōrog (da) 2 the portion under ground . âr-châg (da)

root up, (v t) 1. by digging or hoeing . bang (ke) 2. tear out, as weeds . . loichra (ke).

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851

BY S CHARLES HILL

(*Continued from p* 84)

XXV

A MALAY *PRAHU* FLIES THE BLACK FLAG, 1820

I have said that I have found records of only two occasions on which the Black flag was used in Eastern waters The first was the raid of the pirate Seager or England in 1720,[66] the second was the fight given below between the brig *Pallas* with twenty Malay *prahus,* the leading one of which carried such a flag I strongly suspect that there must have been a European leader in the Malay fleet, though the Captain of the *Pallas* apparently did not identify such a man This supposition is strengthened by the fact that whereas the fight with the *Pallas* took place on the 2nd August 1820, the following paragraph appears in the *Asiatic Journal* for April 1820 —

"*Dutch Pirate* A Dutch pirate has made his appearance in the Eastern Seas A man named Thunderwold, formerly a resident at one of the outposts in Java, whose property had been confiscated for some offence against the Dutch Government, has armed two brigs, one mounting 22 guns, and with 6 praus, is committing great depredations in those seas It is stated that he has attacked and sunk 2 Dutch cruisers and is otherwise annoying their trade materially A Dutch 74 and a frigate are gone in quest of this marauder, who, it is reported, is now cruising about the straits of Sincapore We do not, however, learn that he has molested any vessel under British colours"

A noticeable point in regard to the fight with the *Pallas* is the absurd smallness of the cruisers, manned largely by lascars, which were sent by the Indian Government to suppress piracy in the Malay Archipelago The same is true of the Dutch cruisers, but this fact does not wholly account for the long endurance of piracy in these seas The habit was engrained in the very nature of the islanders and only constant watchfulness and swift punishment could avail to suppress it The introduction of steam vessels made these possible, and it is almost a truism to say that it was Steam which destroyed Piracy Little incidents, occurring right up to the present time, show that the spirit and will still exist

Defeat of Malay Pirates

"We have great pleasure in bringing to the notice of the Public the following account of an affair which does honour to the spirit with which it was maintained, the defeat of 20 Malay pirate prows off Coba on the island of Banca [Koba, on the East Coast], by the little brig *Pallas* of this port [Calcutta] of 150 tons

Her crew consisted of 24 persons only when she left this port, including the Commander, Chief Mate, Gunner and Seacunnies[67]

Captain Roberts modestly avoids taking notice of the part he bore in the action, but says, 'Too much praise cannot be bestowed on Mr Smith, the Chief Mate, and his brave little crew for their conduct on this occasion, the whole of whom fortunately escaped unhurt' We are not aware that the crew had been at all increased, but are informed that five of

66 See Episode No XX, *ante*, p 37

67 See *ante*, note on p 78

the specified number, together with the longboat, were on shore at Coba during the whole of the action "

Extract from the Log of the Brig Pallas August 2, 1820

" At 2 a m sent on shore the longboat with one Seacunnie and four hands At 5 30 Captain Roberts repaired on shore in the jolly-boat At 7 a m saw from off deck 20 large Prows standing towards the brig, fired a gun and made a signal for the boats At 7-30 from hearing tom-toms beating and loud shouting on board the Prows together with their standing on directly for the brig, knew them to be Pirates Loosed and set sail At 7-45 came on board the jolly-boat with Captain Roberts, the Prows being then within gunshot. Endeavoured to slip the cable but found that we had not time to make a buoy fast, the Prows being almost alongside Cut the cable at the 90 fathoms mark for the safety of the vessel as well as the crew on board, and made all possible sail with a light breeze from the S E, when the headmost Prow hoisted a black flag at her mast head—and one upon her larboard quarter, a white flag with a black dagger and skull Fired the starboard broadside, loaded with round and canister into the headmost boats, who instantly returned the fire, which was kept up on both sides till 9-30, when a moderate breeze sprung up from the S W Set the starboard studding sails and, the breeze freshening, by 10 was out of gunshot

At 10-15 breeze decreasing and at 10-30 calm, hauled in the studding sails and up courses, the Prows coming up very fast Shifted 2 guns to the aftermost side ports and at 10-45 the Prows being again within gunshot opened their fire, the Brig not having steerage way They kept under our stern and, from the constant fire they kept up, cut our sails and standing and running rigging very much Shifted 2 guns aft to the stern mooring ports and fired upon the nearest Prows, who then pulled up on our quarter, when we kept up a constant fire with the stern guns, two aftermost guns and musketry, the Prows being then within half pistol shot

At 11 the whole of the Prows having come up, surrounded us completely, when our fire commenced on both sides, which was returned by the whole of them and lasted till 1-30 p m, when the boat having a black flag hoisted, struck her colours and pulled from us A breeze springing up at the same time from the W S W, made all possible sail, when the whole of the boats, after discharging their guns at us, lowered their sails, ceased firing, and pulled inshore

In hauling our wind to weather Pallas Isle,[68] gave them our starboard broadside and sunk the boat that had formerly the black flag flying Perceived that the remaining 19 Prows had pulled and anchored close inshore and blockaded the mouth of Coba River deemed it expedient for the safety of the vessel to proceed to the first port upon the coast, where any of the H N M [Dutch] cruizers might be lying, and knowing that gun-boat No 17, Captain Kolfe, was then lying at Linga Leat,[69] bore up and made all possible sail for the above port

Fired 26 broadsides during the action and found expended two hundred pounds of powder, two hundred and sixty round shot and forty cannister ditto and thirty-four bags of musket balls, each bag containing twenty-six, and two hundred and forty-two ball cartridges "

[*Calcutta Journal*, 18 *November* 1820]

68 Evidently intended for the name of one of the many islets in the neighbourhood —ED.

69 That is, off the *linggi* or point of Lîat Island, between Banka and Billiton

XXVI

LAST FIGHT OF A PERSIAN GULF PIRATE, 1826

When the Portuguese came to India at the end of the fifteenth century, they found the external trade of the countries bordering on the shores of the Indian Ocean almost entirely in the hands of the Arabs, who, as far as we know, were generally a peaceable class of seafaring folk, but not of a character to submit tamely to injustice at the hands of foreigners, and who strongly resented any intrusion upon what they had hitherto considered a close trade The overbearing behaviour of the Portuguese soon resulted in the Arabs arming their ships and the next step to piracy was an easy one As the Portuguese decayed, the Arabs became more formidable, nor did the growing power of the Marâthas in any way check them, but they were no match for Europeans like the British, nor, even when assisted by the Turkish Government, could they make any headway against the European pirates who visited the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf at the end of the seventeenth century From that date they ceased to be formidable

At the end of the eighteenth century the Arabs came under Wahhâbî influence Their fighting spirit revived, and the Arabs of the Persian Gulf—notably the Joasmees[70]—became the scourge of the Indian merchants, until they were suppressed by the British about the year 1810 The unrest caused by the Wâhhâbîs continued for some thirty years longer, finding its vent in internecine piratical warfare

One of the most notorious of these Arab pirates was Râhmah bin Jâbir of the tribe known to history as the Uttoobees ('Uttûbi) of Koweit at the head of the Persian Gulf He was one of the four sons of Jâbir bin 'Uttûb who joined in an attack on the island of Bahrein in 1784, but being dissatisfied with their share of the spoil, withdrew to Khor Hasan on the Arabian Coast close by and, under the leadership of Râhmah, the ablest though not the oldest of the four brothers, betook themselves to piracy Râhmah always tried to cultivate good relations with the British and also with the Wâhhâbîs, but in 1816 he quarrelled with the latter and retired to Bushire and later to the island of Dammâm near Khatif on the opposite coast, being always at war with the Uttoobees of Bahrein This state of things lasted until the year 1826, when he found himself bereft of all friends and not only old but blind He determined, however, at any rate to die not ingloriously, and sailing to Dammâm, from which in the interval the Uttoobees had driven him, he forced them to fight him Meeting his challenge in the spirit in which it was given, a single vessel was sent out for a fight to the finish

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" About the end of 1826, finding himself much pressed by his enemies, who had invaded Demaun [Dammâm] Rahmah [bin Jâbir] proceeded over to Bushire, with the view, if possible, to interest the British authority in his favour, and also to procure an addition to the crew of his Buggalow,[71] which had suffered very materially In his interview with the Resident, this singular old man (although nearly seventy years of age, totally blind and covered with wounds) displayed the same haughty and indomitable spirit which had always characterised him, and he expressed equal ferocity and scorn against his Uttoobee enemies Failing in his design of inducing the Resident to interfere in his behalf, he set sail from Bushire with a reinforcement of 25 or 30 Beloochees [Balûchîs] and proceeded over to Demaun,

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[70] See *ante*, p 85

[71] The Indian term *bayld*, *bagalâ*, a corruption through Arab *bakalâ* or Port *bajel*, *baxel*, etc , of the European term *vascellum*, means a large native teak built vessel —ED

where he ordered his vessels to fire a salute—a mark of contempt which so irritated the Bahrein Chiefs, that Ahmad bin Suleman [Ahmad bin Sulaimân] a nephew of the ruling Shaikh, volunteered to attack him in his own Buggalow. His offer being accepted, he laid himself alongside of Rahmah's vessel, and a most furious action took place, the struggle being for life or death. The people of the Uttoobee Buggalow, however, suffered so severely from the heavy and well directed fire of the enemy, that she was under the necessity of sheering off, in order to recruit her exhausted crew from the other Bahrein vessels in the vicinity. Having procured a reinforcement, and refusing the assistance of the rest of the fleet, Shaikh Ahmad again advanced to the attack weakened as his crew was in the former combat.

Rahmah soon found that he was in no condition to carry on the engagement and that in a short time he must be taken by boarding unless he surrendered, an alternative which was out of the question, considering the atrocious and sanguinary warfare he had so long carried on against Bahrein. Having therefore given orders for his vessel to grapple with the enemy, he took his youngest son (a fine boy about eight years old) in his arms and seizing a lighted match, directed his attendants to lead him down to the Magazine. Although acquainted with the determined character of their Chief and, of course aware of the inevitable destruction which awaited them, his commands were instantly obeyed, and in a few seconds the sea was covered with the scattered timbers of the exploded vessel and the miserable remains of Rahmah bin Jaubir and his devoted followers. The explosion set fire to the enemy's Buggalow, which soon after blew up but not before her commander and crew had been rescued from their impending fate by the other boats of the fleet.

Thus ended Rahmah bin Jaubir, for so many years the scourge and terror of this part of the world, and whose death was felt as a blessing in every part of the [Persian] Gulf. Equally ferocious and determined in all situations, the closing scene of his existence displayed the same stern and indomitable spirit which had characterised him all his life."

[*Selections from the Bombay Records*, No. 24, pp. 527-28.]

XXVII

THE TREACHERY OF AHMAD BIN DÂD KARÎM, 1846.

The following extract from the Bombay Records illustrates one of the perils to which Indian trade was exposed during the early nineteenth century, though I do not think many similar instances of treachery can be found among captains to whom Indian Merchants entrusted their vessels.

"In the month of September 1846 a buggalow, belonging to Nansee Thackersee [Nânjî Thâkurjî], a Bombay merchant, set sail from Muskat for the Presidency [Bombay]. She was commanded by one Ahmed bin Dad Kureem [Ahmad bin Dad Karim] a Beloochee, native of Muttra [Mâtrah], subject to the Imaum[72] of Muskat. Having arrived in the vicinity of the Island of Busheab,[73] Ahmed bin Dad Kureem formed the project of plundering and possessing himself of all the treasure in the vessel. He seems in the first instance to have endeavoured to carry out his purpose by stealth and quietly, for, in the dead of night, whilst the supercargo, in whose charge the money was, was asleep, he repaired to the

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[72] Imâm, a title given to the Princes of 'Omân. See Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, s. v. Imaum.—ED.

[73] Busheab, Abu Shu'aib, Shêkh Shu'aîb, Jaziratu's Shêkh, an island near Al Kais (Kenn) on the Persian Coast of the Gulf, about 150 miles from the entrance.—ED.

treasure chest and was in the act of making off with its contents, when one Moorad [Murâd], a sailor on board remonstrated with him and caused him to desist The Nakhoda's[74] plans being thus frustrated he resolved to rid himself of his opponents and to perform by force what he was unable to do by stealth The following night accordingly, at an advanced hour whilst his unsuspecting victims were in a profound sleep he, with a number of his followers, fell upon and savagely butchered both Moorad and the supercargo he likewise put an end to the existence of an unfortunate slave, who happened to be standing by at the time Some of the crew affrighted, leaped into the sea[75] many took part in the bloody deed and the rest, however well disposed in their hearts to resist, were too much overawed by the fierce brutality and fiendish threats of the Nakhoda and his accomplices to dream of opposing them

Ahmad bin Dad Kureem vowed instantaneous death to any man of the party who would not take the oath of Zumtullak [*zan talâq*] (the most solemn form of oath among Arabs—'By the divorce of the wife') -to keep inviolate secrecy They then one and all, nineteen in number, embarked in the longboat having previously set fire to the buggalow and collected the treasure in date jars Six of the men, notwithstanding that they had taken the oath required of them fell victims to the Nakhoda's suspicions, and were cruelly slaughtered two others, fearful of their lives, let themselves down into the sea close to Shinas[76] and swam ashore whence they proceeded to Lingah[76] and back to Muttra [Mâtrah] their native city Scarcely had they reached the latter place before they were seized and conveyed to Muskat, as accomplices of Ahmed bin Dad Kureem

For a length of time they denied all knowledge of the matter, and assured both his Excellence Syud Sowaynee [Sayyid Suaini] and the British Agent that, as soon as the vessel caught fire, they threw themselves into the sea to save their lives, that they knew nothing further Guilt, however, attached itself too strongly to these individuals to permit of their story being credited Recourse was had to intimidation, and preparations were even made for inflicting torture upon them, when, upon being promised full pardon and liberty, they turned informers and related all that had occurred

In March 1847, after endless search and trouble, Ahmed bin Dad Kureem was likewise apprehended and conveyed to Muskat, where, on being examined and told that there was evidence forthcoming to convict him of his dastardly act, he at once confessed his guilt and threw himself upon the mercy of his accusers The matter of his trial was referred to the Bombay Government, who desired he might be tried before the Native Court in Muskat and suffer such punishment as the judicial authorities in that town might think fit to award

His Excellence Syud Sowaynee, strange to say, did not so much as consult the Court of Justice regarding the punishment to be inflicted, nor did he cause any form of trial whatsoever to be undergone by the prisoner but simply and plainly pronounced sentence of death upon him His execution took place on the 5th day of October 1848 in the presence of the whole concourse of the Muskat population"

[*Selections from the Bombay Records*, No 24, p. 225]

(*To be continued*)

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74 Pers *nâkhuda*, skipper, master of a native vessel —ED

75 Apparently some of these got ashore and gave the first information of the crime

76 Shinâs and Lingah are coastal towns on the Persian Gulf between the islands of Kenn and Ormuz —ED

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

BY LT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G.

(*Continued from p.* 91.)

IX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE'S ENEMIES AGAINST HIM, AND OF THEIR CAPTURE BY RÛMÎ KHÂN.

The *amîrs*, already mentioned, left the city with a large army to take vengeance on the prince, and pursued him, but when the *amîrs* who had first been sent against him, heard that he had visited Bîdar, and carried off their wives and families, fear and trembling fell upon them and they were divided and scattered, so that the prince's object was gained. On the receipt of this news, a numerous and well appointed army was dispersed, and its officers repaired to court complaining bitterly, and in the strongest language of the negligence of the *amîrs* who had been at court when the raid was made. When the prince's spies informed him of the approach of these *amîrs*, and the news of the dispersal of the army, which had been encamped at the Meri Ghât, became known in his army, he left the wives and families of the *amîrs* where they were and marched on his capital by way of Parenda. The king's troops, who had followed him from Bidar, emboldened by his marching away from them, followed in his tracks.[32]

When the prince halted at Parenda,[33] he sent for Jalal Rûmî Khân and told him that his forces were much weakened, for a detachment had gone with the *haram*, and many, exhausted by his forced march on Bidar, had fallen out by the way. He then ordered Rûmî Khân to hold Parenda and await the arrival of the stragglers, while he marched on one stage, in order that the royal army might believe that he was fleeing from them, and might pursue him, and not on any account to emerge from Parenda until the pursuers had passed it, in order that he (the prince) might then make a stand while Rûmî Khân issued from the fortress in the enemy's rear and thus surrounded him. Jalâl Rûmî Khân promised to obey these orders and remained in the fort while the prince marched on one stage, and when the *amîrs* heard that the prince had passed Parenda, they were puffed up with pride, and pressed on with all haste in pursuit of the prince, until they came to the stream which is known as Alat Nadî,[34] and flows past the town of Parenda. Here they halted and circulated the wine cup and had music, paying no more attention to Jalâl Rûmî Khân, who was in Parenda, than if he had not existed. So careless were they that they took no heed of anything until they fell into a drunken sleep.

When Rûmî Khân heard of the state of the enemy's army, he wisely thought that he could best serve the prince by disobeying his orders, seeing that the enemy's negligence promised him a certain victory and the opportunity was one not to be neglected. He therefore assembled his army and with a strong force, fell upon them when many of them were in a drunken sleep and many more had barely slept off their debauch. Some were sent to eternity from a drunken sleep and some opened their eyes only to be sent by the same road. Not a single man of the enemy had any time to prepare for the fight, and large numbers were sent to hell by Rûmî Khân's troops. The *amîrs* and the principal

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[32] This appears to be an account of the operations of the royal troops after Jahângîr Khân had taken command.

[33] Situated in 18° 16′ N. and 75° 27′ E. The fort of Parenda was built by the great minister Mahmûd Gâvân.

[34] Parenda stands between two small tributaries of the Sîna, which is a tributary of the Bhima.

officers of their army who had stirred up strife against the prince, were caught in the clutches of fate and it was the good fortune of the prince that such a victory was gained by Jalâl Rûmî Khân as will be the preface of all the noble gests and deeds of kings till the end of time

Rûmî Khân, when the slaying was finished, took large quantities of plunder, and took those eighteen persons who had been the chief *amîrs* of the king's army, mounted on buffaloes, to the prince's camp [35]

When the news of the victory reached the prince, he first rendered thanks to God, and then, with the sound of trumpets and drum, gave the signal for rejoicing throughout his army At this moment Rûmî Khân arrived at the prince's camp with the captive *amîrs* Rûmî Khân made his obeisance to the prince and was loaded with favours and encouraged to expect great advancement He received a royal robe of honour, and the king's *amîrs* also participated in the favours bestowed on him, for they received robes of honour and were given leave to depart for Bîdar By such laudable actions the prince captivated the hearts of these men, nay most of the *amîrs* of the king's army, and made all those who had been his enemies subservient to him, so that in a short time the greater number of the army which had opposed him, both Dakanis and Foreigners, submitted themselves to him and were enrolled among his servants

The prince, after this famous victory, which was the dayspring of his fortune and the origin of royal reign and kingly power, returned in triumph to his capital and showered favours upon, and executed justice among, the people of Junnâr and the districts, until nobody was seen in his dominions with a torn collar, if we except the dawn with its collar torn by the torch, and no blood was seen on any, if we except the gloaming tinged by the ruddy light of the lamp

X —AN ACCOUNT OF AHMAD SHÂH'S ENTHRONEMENT ON THE THRONE OF SOVEREIGNTY, i e HIS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

It has already been mentioned that in the reign of Sultân Mahmûd Shâh Bahmanî the king's authority was much shaken, and most of the *amîrs*, *maliks*, and officers, turning aside from the path of obedience and submission took the road to the desert of contumacy and rebellion Among these was Majlis i-Rafî' Malik Yûsuf 'Adil Khân, who by the king's authority held the country of Bîjâpûr and all its dependencies in *jâgîr* He raised the stan-

35 This account differs widely from Firishta's, who gives to Ahmad himself the credit of the victory. As Jahângîr Khân's force advanced, Ahmad fled from Parenda to Paithan, whence he unsuccessfully sought aid from Fathullâh 'Imâd ul Mulk of Berar As Jahângîr Khân approached Paithan, Ahmad retired and occupied the hilly country of Jeûr, where he was joined by Naṣîr ul Mulk Gujarâti from Qâdirâbâd Jahângîr Khân marched to Nikâpûr and cut off Ahmad's retreat to Junnar The two armies lay within six leagues of each other for nearly a month and as the rainy season had begun Ahmad's troops suffered severely But the *amîrs* of the royal army, believing that Ahmad could not escape, neglected all military precautions and gave themselves up to feasting and drinking Ahmad marched by night to Nîkâpûr, arrived there early on the morning of June 19, 1490, and fell on the royal army while most of them were still in a drunken sleep Nearly the whole of the army was slain, including the *amîrs* Jahângîr Khân, Sayyid Ishâq, Sayyid Lutfullâh, Niẓâm Khân, and Fathullâh Khân The other *amîrs* were captured and Ahmad, after stripping them down to the knees and parading them round his camp on buffaloes, sent them back to Bîdar The battle was known as "the battle of the garden," from a garden which Ahmad laid out on its site This battle established Ahmad's independence.

dard of opposition and made the claim "I and there is none beside me" In the same way Majlis-i-A'lâ Malik Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk,[36] who, by the king's command, held the whole of the province of Telingana, raised the banner of independence and pride, and regarded none beside himself, Malik Fathullah, 'Imâd-ul-Mulk in the country of Berar raised the standard of usurpation and pride sky-high, and gave currency to the habit of rebellion In the same way all the rest of the *amîrs* and *maliks*, who were in their own provinces, went astray, and Majlis-i-Mukarram Malik Qâsim, Barîd-i-Mamâlik, who held the districts of Qandahâr[37] and Ausa[38] and their dependencies, raised the banner of authority and independence in the capital, Bîdar, and took into his own hands the whole administration of the country, leaving to Sultân Mahmud nothing but the name of a king In the meanwhile the *amîrs* were constantly leading their armies from all parts to Bidar, in the attempt to overthrow Malik Qâsim, Barîd-i-Mamâlik In some of these expeditions matters were compounded without bloodshed or fighting, but sometimes the quarrels of these erring men could not be settled without an appeal to the sword In several of these expeditions Ashraf-i-Humâyûn Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahri was present in person, allaying strife, and punishing the quarrelsome and contumacious with the sword, as has already been described, until at last, on the date[39] which has already been given, the king of the countries of Dakan, Sultân Mahmûd Bahmanî, bade farewell to this transitory world and took his departure for the eternal abode

Since Malik Nâib suffered martyrdom at the instigation of the contumacious but still frustrated men, and the stirrers up of strife poisoned the mind of the king of the world Mahmûd Shâh Bahmanî, against His Highness Ashraf-i Humâyun, Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî, so that armies were several times sent against his highness with a view to crushing him, as has been related, the *amîrs* and officers of the kingdom, who were in the service of His Highness Ashraf-i Humâyûn, Sultân Ahmad Bahrî, represented that the disloyal *amîrs* of the king had obtained the supreme power, and that very little authority was left in the hands of the king, while the whole of the attention of these disloyal *amîrs* was devoted to attempts to crush the prince, and therefore the salvation of the prince's rule and of his dominions lay in his proclaiming himself independent and in his ascending the throne of sovereignty and donning the crown of royalty, in order that the administration might be efficiently continued and that the dominion might not depart from the great family (of Bahman)

[36] This is not correct Sultân Quli Qutb ul Mulk was of all the great provincial governors the most faithful to the house of Bahman, and though he often refused to recognize the orders issued by Qâsim Barîd, he would not formally declare his independence until Mahmud Shah died in 1518 and his young son Ahmad III was placed on the throne in Bidar by Qâsim Ahmad Nizam ul Mulk was the first to propose to the other provincial governors that they should declare their independence of Bidar, and all, except Qutb ul Mulk, agreed

[37] The name of this place is always thus spelt by Muhammadan historians The correct spelling is Kandhâr It is on the Manâda river, about 65 miles north of Bidar

[38] Situated in 18° 15′ N and 77° 30′ E

[39] The date already given is Zi l Hijjâh 24, A H 924 (December 27, A D 1518). See *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty* by Major J S King, p 147 Firishta (i, 726) gives the date as Zi l Hijjah 4, 924 (Dec 7, 1518) Sayyid 'Ali conveniently ignores the existence of the nominal successors of Mahmud, Ahmad III, 'Alâ ud din, Wali ullah, and Kalim ullâh, and makes it appear that Ahmad ascended the throne as a Bahmanî king though he carefully avoids describing him as Bahmani and always gives him the distinctive cognomen of his dynasty, Bahrî

Therefore his highness the Sulaiman of the age, Ashraf-i Humâyun, Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî, who was, in the opinion of his loyal officers, the means of continuing the royal line and the candle of the family of the *Khilâfat*, at a time when the aspect of the sun fore told the continuance of the kingdom and of its glory in his family, that is, A H 891 (A D 1486)[40] took his seat on the royal throne, and imparted glory to the crown of kingship by placing it upon his head

When his majesty ascended the throne he was twenty years of age [41]

The *amîrs* swore fealty to the king and tendered their congratulations to him They scattered gold abroad and received honours and royal favours in measure corresponding to their degrees After that the king paid attention to the wants of his army and his subjects, and abolished all tyranny and oppression and raised the standard of justice and equity He made even greater efforts than before to increase his army, in order that he might conquer the hereditary dominions of his father and grandfather, which God destined to be his

XI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE WAR BETWEEN 'ADIL KHÂN AND THE KING OF THE WORLD, ASHRAF-I-HUMÂYÛN, AHMAD BAHRÎ

When Sultan Ahmad Shâh Bahrî ascended the throne of sovereignty, and the fame of his kingdom and justice was through all the world, Majlis-i Rafi', Yûsuf 'Âdil 'Khân, who was distinguished from all other *amîrs* of the Dakan by the greatness of his power and the extent of his *jagîrs* and his province, and was intoxicated by the numbers of his army and by pride of place, opened the door of strife in his own face In short, the desire of power and conquest entered 'Adil Khân's head and he thought that royal robes and the honours of the *Khilâfat* were for every seeker after them, whether he had been externally predestinated to them or not, not knowing that the royal umbrella is a *humâ*,[42] which spreads not the wing of good fortune over any but the elect, and that lordship over men is an *'anqâ*,[43] which settles not but on the Qâf of the worth of those who have been accepted, and that a kingdom is not administered and maintained solely by means of the abundance of treasure and the number of one's adherents and assistants

Malik Yûsuf 'Âdil Khân considered that Ashraf-i Humâyûn Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî was in one quarter of the Dakan, and that much land intervened between his province and Sultân Ahmad's, which land could without much trouble be added to his province It behoved him, therefore, to forestall Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, and to capture and occupy that country before he entered it 'Âdil Khân, therefore, set out from Bîjâpûr, which was

40 This date is wrong by four years The provincial governors had been their own masters since the death of Muhammad III, but Ahmad had not technically become a rebel until 1486, in which year his father was put to death, for he had been obedient to his father, who was regent From the time of his father's death he was in open rebellion, but it was not until 1490 that he, Yusuf 'Adil Khân of Bijâpur, and Fathullâh 'Imâd ul Mulk of Berâr declared themselves, at Ahmad's instance, independent

41 Ahmad's age is here absurdly understated Firishta does not give it, but in 1478 he had been considered sufficiently dangerous to be banished from court and cannot then have been less than twenty-five years of age His father was then at least sixty five years of age and it is probable that Ahmad was thirty or even more, so that he was now probably about forty, and in 1490, when he actually declared his independence, forty-four or forty five

42 A fabulous bird of happy omen, supposed to fly constantly in the air without touching the ground and to indicate that the head on which its shadow falls will wear a crown

43 A fabulous bird said to dwell in Qâf or Mount Caucasus The legend is similar to that of the phœnix

his capital, with a very large army and encamped before the fort of Rânûbarî. As that fort was not very strong, 'Âdil Khân formed the intention of capturing it and handing over the command to one of his officers, in order that he might then make it his base of operations against Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's country, and capture that country with ease.

When the king's spies reported to him Yûsuf 'Âdil Khân's expedition, he issued orders for the assembling of his army, and prefects and muster-masters were sent in haste to all parts of the kingdom to bid the *amîrs* and chief officers of the army to assemble at court with their troops. In a short time a very large army was thus collected, with which the king marched against the enemy. When the royal army arrived at Ghâtî Vabalad, near which was the army of Majlis-i-Rafi' Yûsuf 'Adil Khân, the king commanded that the pass at the head of the *ghât* through which the invaders must pass, should be blocked, in order that their retreat might be cut off and that they might be confounded in the whirlpool of perplexity.

Although this plan for crushing the enemy was very well conceived, Masnad-i-'Âlî Malik Nasîr-ul-Mulk and the rest of the *amirs* humbly represented that to close entirely the enemy's way of retreat would but compel him to invade still further the king's dominions and to support himself there by plundering the country. The best plan, they said, would be for the royal army to move aside and leave one line of retreat open. The king accepted this advice and ordered the *amîrs* to choose a camping ground for the army. Then the king issued a *farmân* to the *kôlîs* dwelling in those parts, authorizing them to plunder and slay the enemy. The *kôlîs* had been hoping and praying for such a permission. The enemy's camp was surrounded by jungle and brushwood, so dense that an ant could not penetrate it without shedding its skin like a snake. The *kôlîs* crept through this jungle on dark nights and poured showers of arrows into the enemy's camp and carried off horses and goods without any serious opposition, and when the day broke, took refuge again in the jungle and in their places of retreat, and would then again lie in ambush and attack the enemy with clouds of arrows, and thus in a short time reduced the army of 'Âdil Shâh[44] to great straits. The enemy's spirit was entirely broken, and at last, without fighting and without having acquired any honour, they determined to retreat, and set forth on their retreat by that road which passed close to the camp of the royal army. Since the king's army had closed the enemy's line of retreat and every pass was occupied by a detachment of royal troops, it was only with the greatest difficulty that 'Âdil Khân extricated himself alive. The royal army fell upon his troops and defeated them with great slaughter and those of the enemy who dismounted and fled on foot escaped, while those who would not dismount and throw away their arms were slain. The royal army took much spoil from the vanquished, and the king returned in triumph to his capital.[45]

44 Here Sayyid 'Ali incautiously admits that Yûsuf was as much a king as his hero was.

45 It is not easy to identify this raid of Yûsuf 'Âdil Shâh's. The author of the *Basâtîn us Salatin* says that Khwâja Jahân of Bîjâpur completed the fortress of Parenda in 1487, but there is no mention of any interruption of the work by Ahmad. According to Firishta, Ahmad's first enterprise after his declaration of independence in 1490 was the reduction of Danda Râjpûrî (Chaul), the siege of which place he had raised on hearing of the death of his father in 1486. The siege now occupied him for ten months or a year, at the end of which time the fortress surrendered and left Ahmad free to march on Daulatâbâd (F ii, 186.) The account can hardly refer to Ahmad's expedition to Bîjâpur in A. D. 1503-04 which was undertaken for the purpose of compelling Yûsuf 'Âdil Shâh to revoke his ordinance establishing the Shiah religion (F. ii, 19), and it is not improbable that the incident has been invented by Sayyid 'Ali for the glorification of Ahmad.

XII —An account of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's expedition against Daulatâbâd

As Ahmad Nizâm Shâh was always anxious to capture fortresses, he now turned his attention to Deogîr, which is generally known as Daulatâbâd This is a very strong fort, situated on a high hill, so strong that it has never been taken So wonderful is the construction of the fort and so great are the stones used in its bastions and ramparts, that it is the generally received opinion, nay, it is certain, that it is not the work of men, but of some more powerful agency, for it is generally agreed that the work is beyond the power of men [46]

Sultân Mahmûd Bahmanî had entrusted the *kotwâlî* and governorship of the fort of Daulatâbâd, with the city and the surrounding district, to Malik Sharq and Malik Wajîh, [47] two brothers who were among Sultân Mahmûd's trusted officers Since the time when Sultân Ahmad Shâh Bahrî had ascended the throne Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn, rendered confident by the impregnability of Daulatâbâd, had set foot in the desert of rebellion and strife As the king was always anxious to conquer his hereditary dominions, he made preparations for the conquest of that lofty fortress As the capture of this fortress by force of arms appeared to be very difficult, Ahmad Nizâm Shâh determined first to treat courteously and diplomatically with its governors and to endeavour to win their hearts He therefore opened communications with them and gave in marriage to Malik Wajîh-ud-dîn one of the daughters of Malik Nâib, who was in his palace,[48] thus establishing friendship with him on a firm foundation But since Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn's star was declining and the days of his prosperity drawing towards evening, he withdrew himself from the friendship which had been established, and his disposition deteriorated so that he committed blameworthy acts, and the brotherly love which had existed between him and his brother, Malik Wajîh-ud dîn, was changed to enmity For Malik Sharaf-ud dîn had considered the matter and had come to the conclusion that the result of this alliance with Ahmad Nizâm Shâh could lead to nothing but the loss of the command of the fort Malik Sharaf-ud dîn's wrath increased daily and he was ever resolving plans for the undoing of his brother, until at last he compassed his death

After the murder of Malik Wajîh ud dîn, his widow, the daughter of Malik Nâib, went to Junnâr and appealed to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh for justice against her husband's murderer The king comforted the victim of tyranny and resolved to revenge her on the tyrant, and to capture the fort of Daulatâbâd and the country belonging to it, and he set out with a large army for Daulatâbâd When he reached Daulatâbâd he encamped before it, and his army surrounded the fortress and prevented all ingress and egress The next day the king mounted his horse and reconnoitred the fortress He perceived that its reduction by force of arms would be very difficult and that a protracted siege would be necessary He came to the conclusion that it would be better to gain possession of it by stratagem, and he therefore summoned Masnad-i- Âli Malik Nasîr-ul Mulk and all his other *amîrs* and officers, and took counsel with them When Nasîr-ul-Mulk and the rest of the *amîrs* had heard what the king had to say, they said that his object could best be attained by laying waste and plundering the Daulatâbâd district every year at harvest time, and thus depriving the fort of

46 The fort was built by Muhammad Tughluq between 1337 and 1343

47 *Sic*, for Malik Sharaf ud dîn and Malik Wajîh ud dîn In subsequent passages I have corrected the names

48 This, of course, was Ahmad's own sister Her name was Bibî Zainab and she bore to Wajîh-ud din a son named Motî Sharaf ud din, who was governor of the province, while his brother was commandant of the fort of Daulatâbâd, cherished the ambition of declaring his independence and much resented his brother's close alliance with Ahmad, because it strengthened both Ahmad and Wajih ud din and diminished his chances of being in a position to assume independence He therefore put both Wajih ud din and his infant son Motî to death

supplies, by which process the defenders would be compelled to surrender The king then issued orders that the plundering should begin at once and the army plundered the city and the surrounding country and destroyed the dwellings of the people The king then returned to his capital

XIII —AN ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF AHMADNAGAR

Since the erection of buildings is one of the most essential affairs in the world and one of the most necessary for the comfort of mankind, great kings in all countries have left behind them wonderful monuments by building cities and laying out gardens planted with fruitful trees The king of the age and the earth (Ahmad Nizâm Shâh), who was ever solicitous for the welfare of the world and its inhabitants, determined to found a city As it had been decided that the king should lead an army every year to Daulatâbâd to plunder and lay waste that province, and it would have been necessary for him on each occasion to traverse the considerable distance which intervened between Daulatâbâd and his capital, which in those days was Junnâr, he determined to found a city between Junnâr and Daulatâbâd in order that he might dwell there until the fall of Daulatâbâd and his army would not have so far to march He therefore pitched on the site of Ahmadnagar, exactly half way between Junnâr and Daulatâbâd, in a tract which in climate and in greenness and freshness of its hills and plains, may be compared with Paradise, and is indeed second only to the Paradise on high

Some historians have given the following account of the founding of the fair city of Ahmadnagar Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, who was very fond of hunting and of wandering in the country, was one day hunting with some of his companions and nobles in the plain on which Ahmadnagar now stands A fox was viewed, and the king ordered the hounds to be loosed on it The fox tried to save himself by craft, but when this failed, and he was hard pressed by the hounds, he turned on them and faced them, ready to make a fight for his life The king was much astonished and determined to build his new capital on the spot, deeming that the land which could instil such courage into a feeble animal like the fox, was a fit place for a king's abode [49] He communicated his design to the *amîrs* and companions who were with him, and they applauded it He then consulted his ministers and astrologers who declared that the spot was a fit one for the capital

When it was finally decided to build the capital in that spot, the king halted there and, having ordered the astrologers to select an auspicious day for the beginning of the work, summoned surveyors, architects, and builders from Junnâr to lay out and build the city An auspicious day was selected, and the surveyors, architects and builders obeyed the king's commands, and laid out and began to build the city with its palaces, houses, squares and shops, and laid out around it fair gardens In a short time, a very fine city was brought to completion under the king's personal supervision

When the question of the naming of the new city came up for consideration, the king remembered that the city of Ahmadâbâd in Gujarât, which was built by the late Sultan A' mad of that country, had been so called from the king who built it, his minister, and the *Qâzi* of the sacred law, who all bore the name of Ahmad In this case also, by a fortunate coincidence, the king's name was Ahmad, the name of his minister, Masnad-i- 'Âlî, Malik Nasîr ul-Mulk Gujarâtî, was Ahmad, and the *Qâzi* of the royal army also bore the name of Ahmad For this reason the new capital was named Ahmadnagar

(*To be continued*)

49 A similar story is told of the foundation of Bidar, Nirmal, and other towns In fact there are very few towns in the Dakan, the foundation of which is recorded, of which the story is not told

THE WIDE SOUND OF *E* AND *O* IN MARWÂRÎ AND GUJARÂTÎ

BY PANDIT VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA SHASTRI, SANTINIKETANA

THE controversy between Dr Tessitori and Mr Divatia regarding the above subject leads me to write the following lines which may throw a little light on some of the points discussed by them

It is a well-known fact that the Sanskrit diphthongs *ai* and *au* (ऐ, औ) are composed of two vowels, *a*+*i* and *a*+*u* respectively, and though each of these two groups of vowels has two syllables separately, they form only one syllable in the resultant diphthongs; For a diphthong is a long vowel, and therefore its component vowels must combine themselves in such a way that they may not exceed the regulation quantity of one long vowel It therefore follows that the component vowels must suffer loss in their original quantity and such loss may be unequal in amount in the mutual adjustment, that is to say, the one portion may occupy longer duration than the other

This is what the Prâtiśâkhyas affirm when they say that the first element of a diphthong (*i e* *a*, अ) is short and the second (*i e* *i* or *u*, इ, उ,) is far longer than the first [1]

It has, however, not been strictly followed in the vernaculars, for, as we shall see later on, sometimes the first and sometimes the second element of a diphthong has been lengthened and this has given rise to different words from the original

Neither the *ai* (ऐ) (with a single exception, see *Hem*, VIII, 1 161, *Trivikrama*, II, 2 74 = *Shadbhâshâ*, B S S p 150), nor *au* (औ) of Sanskrit is to be found in Prakrita, the former becoming generally (i) *a-i*, अ-इ-, and the latter *a u*, अ-उ-, both in two syllables, and sometimes (ii) *e*, ए, and *o*, ओ, respectively

The Prakritic *a-i* and *a-u* in two syllables gradually began to contract themselves into one syllable again, according to the principle of quiescence or disappearance of medial or final vowels—a process the operation of which is seen widely, not only in our vernaculars, but also in the Vedic and classical Sanskrit, about which I have already discussed in detail elsewhere [2] By the word *quiescence*, for which I have used the Sanskrit term *grasta* (ग्रस्त), following Prof Jogeshchandra Ray in the article referred to, I mean a vowel sound which first becomes inarticulate and then gradually disappears or is deprived of its proper or original quantity For instance, from the stem or crude form *râjan* in the singular number fourth case-ending *e* we have first *râ-ja-ne* in three syllables, and then, according to the principle above mentioned and the rules thereof, the second syllable, *i e*, *a* in *ja* first becomes quiescent, and finally disappears, giving rise to the form *râj-ne* in two syllables, which again in accordance with *Sandhi* rules coalesces into *râjñe* Let us take another example The H *chauthâ* (चौठा) is derived from Skt *chaturthaka* through the stages as follows — (i) *cha tur-tha-ka* > (ii) Pr *cha-u ṭtha-a* > (iii) *cha u-tthâ* > (iv) *chau-tthâ* > (v) *chau thâ* Here in the third stage, a trisyllabic word *cha u tthâ* can never change into the fourth stage *chau-tthâ* until the second syllable (*i e* the *u* of the trisyllabic *cha u-tthâ*) lessens its own quantity or *mâtrâ* and combines with the preceding syllable, *i e* the *a* in *cha* This decrease in quantity is governed by a principle which I have explained in the paper alluded to For the sake of convenience I shall denote such thinned vowels by putting them above the line. Thus the dissyllabic *chau-tthâ* is to be written *cha*^{u}*-tthâ* and so on

[1] According to *Rk Pr*, Benares, XIII, 41, the *mâtrâ* of the first element (*a*) is $\frac{1}{2}$ and that of the second (*i* or *u*) is $1\frac{1}{2}$. See *Tai Pr* Mysore, II 26—29 (Ubbata says $\frac{1}{3}+1\frac{1}{2}=2$)

[2] *Vangîya Sâhitya Parishat Patrikâ*, Vol XXV, pp 26 ff

According to this principle of lessening the quantity of a vowel, new sets of diphthongs have found their way into our vernaculars But in these, the sounds were changed owing to the shifting of the accent or stress, sometimes on the first and sometimes on the second element, and also because of the peculiarity of pronunciation of the first element, *i e* *a*, in different vernaculars

As regards the wide sound of *è* and *ò* in Marwârî and Gujarâtî, I think, it is due to the accent, or stress, on the first part of a^i and a^u And so it goes without saying that here I am at one with Mr Divatia, who has clearly said (*Indian Antiquary*, Feb 1918, p 41) ' that when in the vocalic group of अ इ or अ उ, अ is accented the इ, उ getting subordinate, the ultimate result is the wide sound अॅ ऑ " But I am at one with Dr Tessitori in his disagreement with Mr Divatia when the latter says that "अइ and अ उ pass through an intermediate step—अय and अ व (eventually अय् and अव्) before assuming the wide sounds अॅ and ऑ " As regards the narrow sound of *é* and *ó*, it owes its existence to the accent on the second part of *a-i* (dissyllable) and *a-u* (dissyllable) and not of a^i (monosyllable) and a^u (monosyllable) Here the accented *i* and *u* become *e* and *o* respectively, and they are narrow, because there are no other elements whatever to widen them , and then the preceding *a* is assimilated with the following *e* and *o* according to the Prakritic rules for assimilation I should note here what Mr Divatia has stated (*ibid*) in this connection "When in these groups (अ इ and अ उ) the इ–उ are accented, their prominence leads to the uniting of अ and इ and अ and उ into the narrow ए and ओ "

Examples are needed to illustrate what I have to say, but before producing them I must briefly discuss the question of accent above mentioned . At the very outset it should be borne in mind that accentuation of words has undergone a great many changes from the Vedic time downward The accent which was the cause of original corruption of a word does not necessarily continue to be in its place so long as the word remains either in the same or other form , for it may have a different accent resulting, in some cases, in its assuming a further new form I do not wish here to enter into details, but simply to say as a general proposition that accentuation in Prakrita has played a great part in forming the words of different vernaculars Evidence has been given by Sir R G Bhandarkar in his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, of the accent on the penultimate or final syllable, from which a number of new words have found their place in our vernaculars But he did not cite any Prakritic words in support of his view though such words are not wanting Mark the following words *vâulla* also *vâula* (Skt *vyâkula*) , *daivva* (Skt *daiva*) , *paravvasa* (Skt *paravaśa*) Here the accent is evidently on the penultimate syllable It can, however, also be shown that sometimes in Prakrita the first syllable of a word is accented Let me here draw attention to the following words which will support this contention *nivvedayitavva* (Skt *nivedayitavya*), *Samarâichchakahâ*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, p 134 , *sapparihâsa* (Skt *saparihâsa*), *Shadbhâshâ*, p 47 , *jovvana* or *juvvana* (Skt *yauvana*), *Kumârapâla*, III, 18 , *sochchia* (Skt √*such*+*tvâ* or *ya*), *Prâkritarûpâvatâra*, XII, 78 , etc These words invariably carry the accent on the first syllable which accounts for the doubling of those consonants which have to bear the brunt of the stress The same thing happens in different vernaculars Mark the following Bengali expressions (i) *sakkale jâne*, '*all* know ', (ii) *lakkhano nâ*, '*never*' , (iii) *kichchhu dibo nâ*, '*nothing* I will give ' , (iv) *badda garam*, '*too* hot ' , (v) *chotto gâchh*, ' a *very small* tree ', etc So in Hindi *Kausikka* and *Gautamma* for *Kauśika* and *Gautama* respectively (*Hammîra râso*, Nagrîpracârinî, p 9)[3] The subject of accentua-

3 Sometimes doubling is made to suit a metre Instances are abundant in Prithvîrajarâso

tion in Prakrita and the vernaculars is a very important one which, if not properly attended to, will leave unexplained several points of word formation in our vernaculars

With this preliminary remark I proceed to examine a few words to find out the influence of accents in determining the process of corruption —

(i) Skt *khadira* > (ii) Pr *khaira* > (iii) *kha*^{i}*ra* > (iv) H P M *khaira,* खर (usually so written, but strictly, *khair*, the final vowel *a* being dropped and thus the word becoming practically monosyllabic)

Here in the second stage, (ii) *khaira* evidently contains three syllables (*kha-i-rah*) Now in the third stage, the word *kha*^{i}*ra*, which is dissyllabic (*kha*^{i}*-ra*), could by no means be formed unless the second of the three syllables in the second stage was reduced in quantity and thus easily blended with its preceding syllable or vowel (*i e* *a* in *kha*), making the word a dissyllabic one , and this reduction in the quantity of the second syllable in the second stage, (*kha i-ra*) becomes logically impossible unless the quantity of the first syllable is somewhat strengthened and lengthened by some stress or accent on it

Similarly

(i) Skt *chatushka* > (ii) Pr *chaukka* > (iii) *cha*^{u}*kka* > (iv) H P M *cha*^{u}*ka* > *chauka,* चैाक (= *chauk*, चौक्)

Here the existence of the third stage which is a dissyllabic one depends entirely on the reduction in the quantity of the second syllable in the second stage which is effected by the accent on the first syllable

In a similar way we may explain the cases where there are *aya* or *ava* in a Sanskrit or Prakrita word Thus

1 (i) Skt *nayana* > (ii) Pr *nayana* or *nayana* (with *ya-śruti*) > (iii) *nay na* > (iv) *nay-na* > (v) H P *na*^{i}*na* > (vi) *na*^{i}*n* or *nain* (नैन, नैन्)

2 (i) Skt *kavala* > (ii) *kav*^{a}*la* > (iii) *kavla* > (iv) *ka*^{u}*la* > (v) *ka*^{u}*l* or *kaul* (कौल, कैाल्)

In the above instances the *ya*, *y*^{a}, or *y*, and *va*, *v*^{a}, or *v* have gradually become *i* and *u* respectively, because they are not accented It is evident from Vedic texts that *ya* and *va* undergo *samprasârana* only when they are not accented , on the other hand when they are accented they do not do so For example, from √ *yaj*, 'to sacrifice ', we have *is-tá* on the one side and *iyáj-a* on the other , from √ *vad*, 'to speak ', *udi-tá, udyá-te,* when the root is unaccented, and *váda-ti* when it is accented This fact has been noticed by Dr Tessitori, too, when he says (*ante*, Sept 1918, p 231) " so long as the *v* in *kasa vatî* retains the stress or emphasis it can never undergo *samprasârana* " The principle working here is not difficult to understand Accent or stress strengthens a syllable, which then cannot be subject to a change

Let us now illustrate what has been said before regarding the wide and narrow sounds of *è*, *ò* and *é*, *ó* in Marwârî and Gujarâtî

(i) Skt *vaira* (dissyllable) > (ii) Pr *va*^{i}*ra* (trisyllable) < (iii) G *vaira* (dissyllable) > (iv) *va*^{i}*r* = *vair* = (with a pronunciation different from that of the Skt diphthong *ai*) vèr, वेर्

Here in the third stage, *vaira,* which is derived from the second (*vaira*, trisyllable), as shown above, there are two syllables, *va*^{i} and *ra* , the accent falls here on the first part of the first syllable, *vai*, *i e* on the *va* or *a* of *va* and not on the whole syllable *vai* The accent having

fallen thereon strengthens and lengthens it to some extent, while the following *i* though reduced to something less than its normal proportion affects the preceding vowel sound thus making the whole sound of the vocalic group (*ai*) somewhat oblique. It may be compared with the *æ* sound in English, that is, the sound of *a* in 'hat' lying half way between *ê* (or *ē* long) and *â* (or *ā* long). The M. H. P. words like *khair*, खैर (Skt. *khadira*>Pr. *khaira*) should be explained in this way though the sound of *ai* in them differs, as has ably been mentioned by Mr. Divatia (*ante*, Jan. 1918, p. 26).

I have already hinted that the narrow sound of *e*, *o* has come from dissyllabic *a i* and *a u*, the process being through the accent falling on the second syllable, *i.e.* on the *i* and *u* of *a-i* and *a u*, they are turned into *e* and *o* respectively, or in other words, according to the native grammarians, firstly there is the *guna* transformation of *i* and *u* into *e* and *o*, and secondly the preceding *a* of the original *a i* and *a-u* and the subsequent *a-e* and *a-o* is euphonically coalesced according to the general rules for *Sandhi* either in Sanskrit or Pâli-Prakrita. As it will take up too much space I purposely refrain here from explaining these rules in detail, citing, however, only two examples from the Sanskrit grammar, which are well known to all, *viz. upa*+*ejate*=*upejate*, *upa*+*oshati*=*uposhati* (*Pânini*, VI, 1. 94).

I believe, every *e* and *o*, as result of *Sandhi* of *ă*+ *ĭ* and *ă*+*ŭ* in Sanskrit and Prakrita and vernaculars as well, have appeared in this way and in this way only. *E* and *o* though still regarded as *Sandhyakshara* or diphthong in Sanskrit grammars through tradition, had long ago, even at the time of some of the *Prâtiśâkhyas* lost that character and become single vowels, which could only be due to the process suggested above.

Sanskrit *ai* and *au* have generally assumed two forms each in Prakrita, *a-i* and *e*, and *a-u* and *o* respectively. As regards the first forms, *a-i* and *a u*, it should be observed that they are dissyllables, while originally in Sanskrit they were monosyllables. Sanskrit monosyllables *ai*, *au* split themselves in Prakrita into dissyllables *a-i* and *a-u* respectively. And then, in course of time, these dissyllabic *a-i* and *a-u* gradually became monosyllabic *e* and *o* through the process explained above. Now the whole process stated stands thus —

(1) Skt. *kailâsa*>Pr. *kailâsa* (=*ka-i-lâ-sa-*)>**kaelâsa* (=*ka e-lâ-sa*)>Pr. *kelâsa*.

Again

(2) Skt. *kailâsa*>Pr. *kailâsa* (=*ka i-lâ-sa*)>(vernaculars such as B.) *kaⁱlāsa* or *kaⁱlâs*, usually written *kailâsa*.

It goes without saying that this process holds good as regards *o*, too.

Here in the first series Pr. *ka i-lâ-sa* continued to be pronounced for some time in four syllables with its accent unaltered. Then the accent shifted on to the second syllable, *i.e.* on *i*, changing it into *e*, the whole form becoming **ka e lâ-sa*. Following the law of economy in pronunciation the preceding *a* merged in the following *e* which had double strength of a long and accented vowel, and this resulted in the trisyllabic form, Pr. *kelâsa*.

A few words of explanation are required about the change of *i* into *e*, and of *u* into *o* when they are accented. Examples of such cases are numerous, as will be borne out by the following. G. *gora* (*gorª*), 'family priest', < Skt. *guru*, M. *mehuna* (*mehunª*) < Pr. *mihuna* <Skt. *mithuna*, S. *peu* < Pr. *piuo* < Skt. *pitrika*, etc., etc. That the *guna* in Vedic Sanskrit is due to accent is proved beyond any shade of doubt. For instance, é-ti (from √*i* ('to go') and *i-hí*', *bódha ti* (from √*budh* 'to wake' and *bud-dhá*, etc. Sometimes *i* and

u undergo *guna* before a conjunct letter, as Pr *penda* < Skt *pinda,* Pr *tonda* < Skt *tunda* (*Hem* VIII, 1 85, 116) This fact goes to show that the *guna* in such cases has been caused by the conjunct letter affecting the preceding *i*, *u* in the same way as an accent or stress does

Though it may seem from what has been said above that a narrow *e* can never come from Pr *a i*, of which the last member *i* does not change into *e*, we find in some cases the wide *è* gradually changing into a narrow *e* I quote here the following words of Dr Tessitori —"There is in modern Marwari Gujarati a marked tendency to pronounce *e* and *ò* less wide when they are final than in other cases In some cases the vowel is *actually heard as narrow*" (Italics are mine) Instances have been given by him (*Ante*, 1918, Sept, p 232) The cause of it is a natural one For the sound of *è* (= *æ* as *a* in English 'hat') lies, as has been stated above, half way between *é* and *â* One starting from *é* cannot reach *â* without passing through *è* (=*æ*) Thus the gradation is

(i) *é* > (ii) *è* > (iii) *â*

I cannot, however, say whether *â* is actually found in the place of *è* in any word of Marwarî Gujarâtî, but there is possibility of its being so

The sound *è* (*æ*) is seen in Bengali in such words as *eka* (*ek*ᵃ), 'one', pronounced *æk*ᵃ, *dekha,* 'see', pronounced *dækha*, etc It is seen also in Sinhalese, in which it is further divided into two, long and short, as *mæda* 'a ram' (generally transliterated as *meda*, *e*=*a* in 'hat'), B *mædhâ* (generally written *medhâ*) < Skt *mendaka*, *næna* (=*nena*), B *gæna* (though generally written as the following Skt) < Skt *jñâna*, *pækum*, 'mud', B *pækâ* (written *pĕkâ* or in some quarters *pãkâ*) < Skt *panka* or *pankaka* This sound, with some diversities, exists in several other vernaculars the treatment of which is not necessary here

Now it will be seen in the above Bengali words that the sound in question has been expressed, though not adequately, sometimes by *e*, and sometimes by *â* of the elements of which it is made (The sound *æ* is a combination of that of *e* and *â*) But sometimes again, it is represented in Bengali by *yâ*, as the same word *dekha* is now written by those who intend to represent the sound phonetically, as *dyâkha* (or *dyâkho*) Instances of this kind of writing abound in old Bengali MSS In Sinhalese, too, this sound is expressed by *a* which is open in that tongue together with the symbol of *y* joined to a consonant It is, thus, that when the English word 'manager' is transliterated into Bengali we come across two sorts of spelling, *viz* (i) *menejâr*ᵃ, or (ii) *myânejâr*ᵃ, while in Hindi it is written *mainejar*ᵃ (मैनेजर) Sometimes *â* is also seen for the same sound in Bengali though not properly, as, 'Harrison Road' is written either (i) *Hârisan Road,* or (ii) *Herisan Road,* or (iii) *Hyârisan Road* Similarly we see the English word 'catalogue' written in Gujarâtî as *ketâlâg*ᵃ (કેટલૉગ), and so 'assistant' as *âsistamt*ᵃ (આસિસ્ટટ), 'malaria' as *meleriyâ* (મેલેરિયા), etc, etc

As regards *ó* from *ò* in modern Marwari-Gujarâtî it is to be explained in the following way Sometimes the second member of the group *a-u* being accented as stressed turns itself into *ó* and that *ó* predominating overcomes the preceding *a* which now disappears, as has already been stated But sometimes, specially in compound words, there may not actually be a vocalic group of *a-u* or *a*ᵘ in spite of its apparent possibility, and consequently the above explanation cannot be applied there In such cases, in the beginning of the final word of a compound we have an *u* or *û* which being accented changes into a narrow *ó*, there being nothing to widen it

Thus, the word राठोड is pronounced in Marwâri-Gujarâtî *râthòra* (=*râthòr*^{a}) with wide *o*, but sometimes *râthóra* (=*râthòr*^{a}) with narrow *ó*, as Dr Tessitori says Here the original Skt is *râshtrakûta* whence through Pr gradually came *rattha-ûta* > *râtha ûta* > *râtha*^{u}*ra* (*ta* becoming *ra*) Here in this last stage the final *a* of the first word and the initial *û* of the last one have become together *a*^{u} (=*ò*), the whole compound word being in three syllables (*ra tha*^{u}*-ra*) as already explained, and we have at last *râthòr*^{a} or *râthòr* But the derivation of the word *râthór* may be traced through a different process, *viz* *râtha-ûra* > *râth*^{a}*-ûr*^{a} > *rath ûr*^{a} > *râthor*^{a}, the accented *û* of *ûr* becoming *ó* [4]

The same process may be the origin of the narrow *é* in such words as *aveva* (or *avev*^{a}) etc, as, Skt *avayava* > *avay*^{a}*va* > *ava*^{i}*va* > *av iva* > *av êva*=*avéva* (or *avev*^{a}) But *néra* (or *nér*^{a}) is to be explained thus (i) Skt *nagara* > Pr *nayara* > *na*^{i}*ra* > *na-ira* > *na era* > *néra* (*nér*^{a}), or (ii) *na*^{i}*ra* > *nèra*, and then gradually *néra* (*nér*^{a}) as in the case of the transformation of *râthòr*^{a} into *râthor*^{a}, though it is not unlikely that in this last example, *i e* *râthór*^{a} the cause of the change lies in the loss of that element in *ò* which renders the simple sound an oblique one, *i e* the *u* of *o*^{u}

MISCELLANEA

PAIŚÂCHÎ IN THE PRÂKRITA-KALPATARU

The late regretted S P V Ranganathaswami Aryavaragun was quite correct in his remarks in the important article on Paiśâchi Prâkrit in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1919, so far as they refer to my account in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume of Râmatarkavâgîsa's classification of Paiśâchika I was there quoting Professor Konow's statements, which, in their turn, were based on Lassen's *Institutiones* Since then, I have myself been able to study the India Office MS of the *Prâkrita kalpataru* Lassen's "*chaska*" certainly does not exist, and the correct word, as the Pandit has said, is evidently *chatushka* I may add that I have since edited the whole Paisâchî chapter of the *Prâkrita kalpataru*, and that it will appear in due course in the Asutosh Mukerjee Commemoration Volume

I am, however, right in saying that Hemachandra does mention three varieties of Paiśâchî That is to say, he describes Paiśâchî and two varieties of Chûlikâ paisâchika (see iv, 325, 327)

I regret that in my article in the Bhandarkar Volume, I was compelled to trust to Lassen's incorrect account of the *Kalpataru* passage, which, at the time, was the only authority within my reach That will now be corrected in my forthcoming edition, but the mistakes of Lassen in no way invalidate the main argument of the portion of the article in which they are quoted It is undoubted, as there maintained, that the standard Paiśâchi of Râmatarkavâgisa, of Markandeya, and of Lakshmîdhara was closely connected with the Kaikeya country

GEORGE A GRIERSON

A NEW GUPTA INSCRIPTION

This inscription was discovered by me a few months ago in the course of my listing tour at Tumain, a village in the Esagarh District of Gwalior State, situated about forty miles to the west of Eran Unfortunately the right portion (possibly more than one half) of the inscription is missing and consequently the first part of all the lines is lost The inscription will be published in detail along with facsimile in the *Epigraphia Indica* But as this must take some time, I hasten to give here a summary of the contents of the inscription with brief remarks on its historical bearing for the information of scholars

The contents of the inscription can be briefly summarised as follows —In the existing portion of line 1 is preserved the latter part of a verse which apparently refers to Samudragupta

4 That the process *râtha ûr*^{a} > *râtha óra* > *râthór*^{a} is also quite possible has already been said

The next verse in line 1 eulogises Chandragupta II as one who conquered the earth as far as the ocean Line 2 is dedicated to Kumâragupta I here described as Chandragupta's son, who protected the whole earth as a chaste and devoted wife Line 3 praises **Ghatotkachagupta** who is compared to the moon and who is spoken of as having won by (the prowess of) his arms the good fame attained by his ancestors Line 4 specifies in words the **date** of the inscription, namely, **the year 116 of the era of the [Gupta] sovereigns** and mentions Kumâragupta as ruling over the earth at the time The remaining two lines record the construction of a temple sacred to a god (whose name is lost), by a band of brothers residents of **Tumbavana** which is identical with modern Tumain where the inscription was found

The chief historical interest of this inscription is this, that it enables us to recognise with certainty a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty whose identity was hitherto a matter of surmise only The person in question is **Ghatotkachagupta,** a name which was so far known from two documents (1) a seal [1] found at Basarh bearing the inscription *Śri Ghatotkachaguptasya* and (2) a coin [2] in the St Petersburg collection which, according to Mr Allan, bears on the obverse a marginal legend ending in *guptah* and beneath the king's arm the name *Ghato* with a crescent above and on the reverse a legend which seems to read *Kramadityah* Dr Bloch was inclined to identify Ghatotkachagupta of the Basarh seal with *Mahârâja* Ghatotkacha, the father and predecessor of Chandragupta I, and this view was approved of by the late Dr V A Smith [3] But Mr Allan [4] in his *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the British Museum* rightly points out the difficulties in the way of this identification and surmises that Ghatotkachagupta was probably a member of the Imperial Gupta family and that he probably held some office at the court of the *Yuvarâja* Govindagupta who was governor at Vaisâli (Basarh) during the reign of his father Chandragupta II The Ghato of the coin in the St Petersburg collection is believed by Mr Allan to be still another Ghatotkachagupta on the ground that the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the fifth century and that it therefore cannot be referred either to Ghatotkacha, father of Chandragupta I, or to Ghatotkachagupta of the Basarh seal But this conclusion which is arrived at from such general evidence can be only approximate and not exact It certainly requires to be modified in the light of the new information supplied by our inscription

Hitherto the identification of Ghatotkachagupta remained uncertain because he was known only from his seal and coin which did not mention his genealogical relations and because he was not referred to in any of the genealogical lists of the Guptas known so far This want is now supplied by the genealogical list given in our inscription which places Ghatotkachagupta immediately after Kumâragupta I Unfortunately the word expressing the exact relationship between Kumâragupta I and Ghatotkachagupta, which probably occurred in the inscription, is lost with the missing portion of the stone It would appear, however, that Ghatotkachagupta was a son of Kumâragupta I and during the reign of his father held the office [5] of the governor of the province of Eran (Airikina) which included Tumbavana (the place where the inscription was recorded) This latter was evidently the reason why his name is recorded in the inscription although it refers itself to the reign of Kumâragupta I Our inscription further gives a definite date for Ghatotkachagupta, namely, G E 116 (=A D 435) This date is so convenient as to make it almost certain that the Ghatotkachagupta of the Basarh seal, of the coin of St Petersburg collection and of our inscription were all identical

M B GARDE

BOOK-NOTICE

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1919 Bangalore, Government Press

Mr R Narasimhachar, Director of Archæological Research, Mysore, has produced a creditable and well illustrated report of energetic departmental work during the year 1919

The somewhat bewildering iconography of South India is again represented in the plates, and it is well that it should be so, for the more European students learn of this, the better will they be able to understand Indian architectural design and ornament They should also be specially grateful for the illustrations of the *mastikals* (memo-

1 Director-General of Archæology's *Annual Report* for 1903 04, pp 102 and 107

2 Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, etc in the British Museum*, p 149 and plate XXIV, 3, and Introduction, p liv

3 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1905, p 153, *Early History of India* (edition of 1914), p 280, note 1

4 Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, pp xvi-xvii and liv

5 That Ghatotkachagupta enjoyed a share in the Government is also proved by his having his own seal and coin

rials) shown on plate V, as these are the counterparts of the family mural tablets and bas reliefs to be found all over Europe in churches and other sacred buildings The two fine specimens of the *dipa stambhas* or lamp pillars on plate III are extremely interesting and one is glad to note three good plates of inscriptions of the Gangas and the Hoysalas

There are however two points in the *Report* that are of special interest to myself The inscriptions reported of two of the Nayaks of Ikkeri dated A D 1660 and 1662 (Venkatappa II and Bhadrappa), because of the visits to that now lost capital in the days of Virabhadra and Venkatappa respectively by the European travellers Peter Mundy and Della Valle In such cases we have the records of these ephemeral local dynasties as left by themselves, and the stories of their Courts as they appeared to contemporary European visitors For instance, Peter Mundy in 1637 thus quaintly describes Vîrabhadra, "I dare say there is hardly such another grosse proportionable man to bee found in all his owne dominions off aboutt 30 yeares of age" (Travels, ed Temple, Hakluyt Society, vol III, p 82)

The other point is a note on p 12 regarding an inscription which is worth quoting in full "At Râmpura near Kadaba is an inscription, EC XII, Gubbi 27, dated 1696, which is of great interest from a sanitary point of view It states that it was decided at a meeting of the villagers that no corpse should be buried within an arrow shot of a well that had been newly built, and that in case any burial took place the buriers and the buried should be outcastes in this world and the next We have some evidence here of the ideas of sanitation which the villagers had about two centuries and a quarter ago '

It is indeed interesting to note that villagers in South India in the late 17th Century A D recognized the danger of percolation into wells from insanitary surroundings, considering the universal old world theory in India that water of any kind of itself purifies But epigraphs such as this are always worth recording wherever found, since one of the things that strikes observers of old and even ancient India and Asia generally is the modernity of the ways and thought of the people Take the extraordinary modern ness" of mind that is in the *Arthaśâstra* of Chânakya with its "on and off' drink licences, take the "Domesday Book" of Kulottunga Chola in the very year of that of William the Conqueror (A D 1086), take the self governing municipalities and local areas of ancient India Even if these last be looked at in the light of relics of the Oriental policy of Alexander the Great, the idea is old enough in all conscience Take the futile effort on the part of a Babylonian King to stop official corruption, the equally fruitless attempt of a Tibetan ruler to equalise the social position and property of every one in the State, the long War of Liberation in Annam, the close parallel between the rise of the Popes of Rome and the Dalai Lamas, though it is not perhaps generally known that the former long preceded the latter The fact is that the social methods of civilized man have a family likeness at the various periods and places of his existence, and it is therefore of value always to note them wherever they are found faithfully recorded without any ulterior motive

R C TEMPLE

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS

17 Alligators' Gall and Hunting (Poligai) Dogs

[*February* 1682] *Letter from Brameny Podula Lyngapah* [*the Brâhman agent, Podela Lingappa*] *from Conjevaram* [*Kanchipuram*] *to William Gyfford, Governor of Fort St George* I enjoy good health wishing to hear the like from your Worship His Lordship Brameny Accana [the Brâhman Minister, Akkanna] hath great necessity for one Viece [viss, *visai*] weight of Alligators Gaul [a native laxative medicine] and that I should by all means procure it and send it to him and there fore I beg the favour of your Worship to order your Mussula and Cattimarran [*masûla* and catamaran, *kâttmaram*, boat] men to use the uttmost to gett a Viece weight of the said Gaul, I earnestly desire your Worship to procure it Some great Persons who are my friends at Court have desired me to procure for them some hunting Dogs, and I was enformed your Worship had some there abouts If it be soo I desire your Worship to make choice of those which are handsome coura gious and fleet to catch wild hoggs, and to send two couple of them, and in so doing it will be as if your Worship had given me a Lack of Pagodas so I entreate your Worship to send them to me and to keepe a continuance of your Love towards me (*Records of Fort St George, Letters to Fort St George*, 1682, Vol II, p 15)

R C T

Bânijagrâma—Same as **Bâniyagâma**

Bâniyagâma—Vaisâlî (or Besâd) in the district of Muzaffurpur (Tirhut), in fact, Bâniyagâma was a portion of the ancient town of Vaisâlî (Dr Hoernle's *Uvâsagadasâo*). *See* **Kuṇdagâma**

Bañji—Same as **Karura**, the capital of Chera or Kerala, the Southern Konkan or the Malabar Coast (Caldwell's *Drav Comp Gram*, 3rd ed, p 96)

Bañjulâ—The river Manjerâ, a tributary of the Godâvarî Both these rivers rise from the Sahya-pâda mountain or Western Ghats (*Matsya P*, ch 113) Bañjula is mentioned as Mañjulâ in the *Mahabhârata*, Bhîshma P ch 9

Bankshu—Same as **Chakshu** (Bhâgavata P, v 17)

Bârâ—Same as **Baruṇâ** (*Ava Kalp*, 99)

Baradâ—1 The river Wardha in the Central Provinces (*Mâlavikâgnimitra*, Act V *Agni P* ch 109, *Mbh* Vana, ch 85, *Padma P*, Âdi, ch 39) 2 A tributary of the Tungabhadrâ, on which the town of Vanavâsî, the abode of the two Daityas Madhu and Kaitabha, is situated *See* **Vanavâsî** and **Vedavatî**

Barâha-kshetra—1 Baramûla in Kâśmîra on the right bank of the Jhelum, where Vishnu is said to have incarnated as Varâha (boar) There is a temple of Âdi-Varaha (*see* **Sûkara-kshetra**) 2 Another place of the same name exists at Nâthpur on the Kuśî in the district of Purnea below the Triveni, *see* **Mahâ-Kauśika** (*JASB*, XVII, 638) It is the Kokâmukha of the *Varâha Purâna* sacred to Varaha, one of the incarnations of Vishnu (*Varâha P*, ch 140) *See* **Kokâmukha**

Barâha-Parvata--A hill near Barâmûla in Kaśmîra [*Vishnu Samhitâ*, ch 85, **Institutes** of Vishnu, *SBE*, vol VII, p 256, note]

Baraṇa—1 Bulandshahr near Delhi in the Punjab (Growse, *JASB*, 1883) This town is said to have been founded by Janmejaya, son of Parîkshit and great-grandson of Arjuna (*Bulandshahr* by Growse, in the *Calcutta Review*, 1883, p 342) At Ahar, 21 miles north-east of Bulandshahr, he performed the snake-sacrifice (*JASB*, 1883, p 274) A Jaina inscription also shows that it was called Uchchanagara (Dr Buhler, *Ep Ind*, vol 1, p 375) 2 Same as **Aornos** (*Ind Ant*, I, 22)

Baraṇâ—Same as **Baruṇâ** (*Kûrma P*, I, ch 31)

Barṇâśa—Same as **Parṇâśâ**

Bârânasî—Benares situated at the junction of the rivers Barnâ and Asi, from which the name of the town has been derived (*Vâmana P*, ch III) It was formerly situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gumti (*Mbh*, Anuśâsana, ch 30) It was the capital of Kâśî (*Râmâyana*, Uttara, ch 48) At the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Kâśî formed a part of the kingdom of Kosala (*see* **Kâśî**) According to James Prinsep, Benares or Kasî was founded by Kâśa or Kâśîrâja, a descendant of the Pururavas, king of Pratishthâna (*see* **Pratishṭhâna**) Kâśîrâja's grandson was Dhanvantari, Dhanvantari's grandson was Divodâsa, in whose

reign Buddhism superseded Śiva-worship at Benares, though it appears that the Buddhist religion was again superseded by Saivaism after a short period In 1027, Benares became part of Gauda, then governed by Mahîpâla, and Buddhism was again introduced in his reign or in the reign of his successors Sthirapâla and Vasantapâla Benares was wrested from the Pâla kings by Chandra Deva (1072—1096) and annexed to the kingdom of Kanauj Towards the close of the twelfth century, Benares was conquered by Muhammad Ghuri who defeated Jaya Chand of Kanauj (James Prinsep's *Benares Illustrated, Introduction*, p 8, *Vâyu P*, Uttara, ch 30) In the seventh century, it was visited by the celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang He has thus described the city and its presiding god Visvesvara, one of the twelve Great Lingas of Mahâdeva "In the capital there are twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood The foliage of trees combines to shade (the sites), whilst pure streams of water encircle them The statue of Deva Mahesvara, made of *teou-shih* (brass), is somewhat less than 100 feet high Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living" The *Padma P* (Uttara, ch 67) mentions the names of Visvesvara, Vindumâdhava, Manikarnikâ, and Jñânavâpî in Kâśî (Benares) The present Viśvesvara, which is a mere *Linga*, dates its existence since the original image of the god, described by Hiuen Tsiang, was destroyed by the iconoclast Aurangzebe and thrown into the Jñânavâpî, a well situated behind the present temple There can be no doubt that Benares was again converted into a Buddhist city by the Pâla Râjâs of Bengal, and Śiva-worship was not restored till its annexation in the eleventh century by the kings of Kanauj, who were staunch believers in the Pauranic creed The shrines of Âdi-Visvesvara, Venimâdhava, and the Bakarya-kunda were built on the sites of Buddhist temples with materials taken from those temples The temple of Âdi-Keśava is one of the oldest temples in Benares it is mentioned in the *Prabodha Chandrodaya Nâtaka* (Act IV) written by Krishna Miśra in the eleventh century A D The names of Mahâdeva Tilabhândeśvara and Daśâśvamedhesvara are also mentioned in the *Śiva Purâna* (Pt 1, ch 39) The Manikarnikâ is the most sacred of all cremation ghats in India, and it is associated with the closing scenes of the life of Râjâ Hariśchandra of Ayodhyâ, who became a slave to a Chandâla for paying off his promised debt (Kshemesvara's *Chanda-kauśika*, *Mârkandeya P*, ch viii) The old fort of Benares which was used by the Pâla Râjâs of Bengal and the Rathore kings of Kanauj, was situated above the Râj-ghât at the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges (Bholanath Chunder's *Travels of a Hindoo*, vol I) Benares is one of the Pîthas where Satî's left hand is said to have fallen, and is now represented by the goddess Annapûrṇâ, but the *Tantrachudâmani* mentions the name of the goddess as Viśâlakshî There were two Brahmanical Universities in ancient India, one at Benares and the other at Takshaśilâ (Taxila) in the Punjab For the observatory at Benares and the names of the instruments with sketches, see Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, Vol I, p 67 Benares is said to be the birth-place of Kaśyapa Buddha, but Fa Hian says that he was born at Too-wei, which has been identified by General Cunningham with Tadwa or Tandwa (Legge's *Fa Hian*, ch xxi, *Arch*

S Rep, XI), nine miles to the west of Srâvastî Kasyapa died at Gurupâda hill (*see* **Gurupâda-giri**) But according to the Atthakathâ of Buddhaghosha, Kasyapa (Kassapa) was born at Benares and died at Mrigadâva or modern Sarnâth (*JASB*, 1838, p 796) In the *Yuvañjaya-Jâtaka* (*Jâtakas* IV, 75), the ancient names of Benares are said to have been Surandhana, Sudarsana, Brahmavarddhana, Pushpavatî, and Ramya

Bârâṇasî-Kaṭaka—Katak in Orissa, at the confluence of the Mahânadî and the Kâtjuri, founded in A D 989 by Nripa Kesarî, who reigned between A D 941 and 953 He removed his seat of government to the new capital According to tradition, his capital had been Chaudwar which he abandoned, and constructed the fort at Katak called Badabâti The remains of the fort with the ditch around it still exist For a description of the fort (Barabâtî), see Lieut Kittoe's "Journal of a Trip to Cuttack" in *JASB*, 1838, p 203 The former capitals of the Kesarî kings were Bhuvanesvara and Jâjpur (Hunter's *Orissa* and Dr R L Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol II, p 164) Fleet's identification of Vinîtapura and Yayâtinagara of the inscriptions with Katak appears to be very doubtful The strong embankment of the Kâtjuri is said to have been constructed by Markat Kesarî in A D 1006 The town contains a beautiful image of Krishna known by the name of Sâkshi-Gopâla (*Chaitanya-charitâmrita*, II, 5)

Bâraṇâvata—Barnawa, nineteen miles to the north-west of Mirat where an attempt was made by Duryodhana to burn the Pândavas (Fuhrer's *MAI*, and *Mbh*, Âdi, ch 148) It was one of the five villages demanded by Krishna from Duryodhana on behalf of Yudhishthira (*Mbh*, Udyoga, ch 82)

Barddhamâna 1 From the *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara* (chs 24, 25), Barddhamâna appears to have been situated between Allahabad and Benares, and north of the Vindhya hills It is mentioned in the *Mârkandeya Purâna* and *Vetâla-pañchaviṁśati* 2 Barddhamâna was called Asthikagrâma because a *Yaksha* named Śâlapâni had collected there an enormous heap of bones of those killed by him Mahâvîra, the last Jaina Tîrthankara, passed the first rainy season at Barddhamâna after attaining Kevaliship (Jacobi's *Kalpasûtra*, *SBE*, vol. XXII, p 261) From a copper-plate inscription found at Banskhera, 25 miles from Shah-Jahanpur, it appears that Barddhamâna is referred to as Barddhamâna-koti (see also *Mârkandeya P*, ch 58), where Harshavarddhana had his camp in A D 638 Barddhamâna-koti is the present Bardhankoti in Dinajpur Hence Barddhamâna is the same as Bardhankoti Barddhamâna is mentioned as a separate country from Banga (*Devî P*, ch 46) 3 Barddhamâna (Vadhamâna) is mentioned in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p 480, as being situated near Danta 4 The Lalitpur inscription in *JASB*, 1883, p 67, speaks of another town of Barddhamâna in Malwa 5 Another Bardhamâna or Bardhamânapur was situated in Kathiâwâd it is the present Vadvâna, where Merutunga, the celebrated Jaina scholar, composed his *Prabandha-chintâmani* in A D 1423 he was also the author of *Mahâpurushacharita*, *Shaddarśanavichâra*, &c (Merutunga's *Therâvalî* by Dr Bhau Daji, *Prabandha-chintâmani*, Tawney's Trans, p 134, and his *Preface*, p vii)

Barendra—Barenda (*Devî* P, ch 39), in the district of Maldah in Bengal, comprising the Thânâs of Gomastapur, Nawabganj, Gajol and Malda it formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Pundra It was bounded by the Ganges, the Mahânandâ, Kâmrup, and the Karatoyâ Its principal town was Mahâsthâna, seven miles north of Bogra, which was also called Barendra (*JASB*, 1875, p 183) *See* **Puṇdra-vardhana**

Barnu—Bannu in the Punjab it is the Falanu of Hiuen Tsiang and Pohna of Fa Hian It is mentioned by Pânini (Cunningham's *Anc Geo*, p 84, *Ind Ant*, I, p 22)

Barshâna—Barshan, near Bharatpur, on the border of the Chhâta Parganâ in the district of Mathurâ, where Râdhikâ was removed by her parents Brishabhânu and Kirat from Râval, her birth-place Râdhikâ's love for Krishna as incarnation of Nârâyana has been fully described in the Purânas *See* **Âshtigrâma** Barshan is perhaps a corruption of *Brishabhânupura* Barshân, however, was also called Barasânu, a hill on the slope of which Brishabhânupura was situated

Barsha Parvata—The six Barsha Parvatas are Nêla, Nishadha, Sveta, Hemakûta, Himavân, and Śringavān (*Varâha P*, ch 75)

Bârtraghnî—Same as **Britaghnî** and **Betravali** 2

Barunâ—The river Barnâ in Benares (*Mahâbhârata*, Bhîshma, ch 9)

Baruṇa-tîrtha—Same as **Salîlarâja-tîrtha** (*Mbh*, Vana 82)

Barusha—The Po-lu-sha of Hiuen Tsiang It has been identified with Shahbazgarhi in the Yusufzai country, forty miles north-east of Peshawar A rock edict of Aśoka exists at this place

Bâsantaka-kshetra—Same as **Bindubâsinî** (*Brihaddharma P*, I, 6, 14)

Basâti—The country of the Basatis or Besatæ, a Tibeto-Burman tribe, living about the modern Gangtok near the eastern border of Tibet (*Mbh*, Sabhâ, ch 51, Mr W H Schoff's *Periplus*, p 279) McCrindle, on the authority of Hemachandra's *Abhidhâna*, places it between the Indus and the Jhelam (*Invasion of India*, p 156 note) It comprised the district of Rawal Pindi

Bâsika—Same as **Baśya** (*Matsya P*, ch 113)

Baśishtha-âśrama—1 The hermitage of Rishi Vaśishtha was situated at Mount Abu (*see* **Arbuda**) At a place one mile to the north of the Ayodhyâ station of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway 3 On the Sandhyâchala mountain near Kâmarupa in Assam (*Kâlikâ Purâna*, ch 51)

Baśaishthî—1 The river Gumti (*Hemakosha*) 2 A river in the Ratnagiri district, Bombay Presidency (*Bomb Gaz*, X, pp 6—8, *Mbh* Vana, ch 84).

Bastrâpatha-kshetra—*See* **Girinagara**

Basudhârâ-tîrtha—The place where the **Alakânandâ** (*q v*) has got its source, about our miles north of Badrinath, near the village Manâl

Basyâ—Bassein in the province of Bombay Basyâ is mentioned in one of the Kanheri inscriptions It was included in Barâlâtâ (Barâr), one of the seven divisions of Paraśurâma-kshetra The principal place of pilgrimage in it is the Bimala or Nirmala Tîrtha mentioned in the *Skanda Purâna* The Bimaleśvara Mahâdeva was destroyed by the Portuguese (Da Cunha's *Hist of Chaul and Bassein*) It was the kingdom of the Śilâhâras from whom it passed into the hands of the Yâdavas in the thirteenth century (*JRAS*, vol II, p 380)

Bâṭadhâna—A country mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ, ch 32) as situated in Northern India it was conquered by Nakula, one of the Pândavas It has been supposed to have been the same as Vethadvîpa of the Buddhist period (*see* **Vethadvîpa**) see *JASB*, 1902, p 161 But this identification does not appear to be correct, as in the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhishma P, ch 9, Sabhâ P, ch 130), in the *Mârkandeya Purâna*, ch 57 and in other Purânas, Bâtadhâna has been named between Bâlhîka and Âbhira, and placed on the west of Indraprastha or Delhi, so it appears to be a country in the Punjab Hence it may be identified with Bhatnair Batadhâna has, however, been identified with the country on the east side of the Sutlej, southwards from Ferozepur (Pargiter's *Mârkandeya P*, p 312, note).

Batapadrapura - Baroda, the capital of the Gaikwar, where Kumârapâla fled from Cambay (Bhagavanlal Indraji's *Early History of Gujarat*, p 183).

Bâtapi—*See* **Bâtâpipura**

Bâtâpipura—Badami near the Malprabha river, a branch of the Krishnâ, in the Kaladgi district, now called the Bijapur district, in the province of Bombay, three miles from the Badami station of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway It was the capital of Pulakeśî I, king of Mahârâshtra (Mo-ho-la-cha of Hiuen Tsiang) in the middle of the sixth century A D, he was the grandson of Jaya Simha, the founder of the Châlukva dynasty He performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice It was Pulakeśî II, the grandson of Pulakeśî I, who defeated Harshavardhana or Śilâditya II of Kanauj There are three caves of Brahmanical excavation, one of which bears the date A D 579, and one Jaina cave temple, A D 650, at Badami One of the caves contains a figure composed of a bull and an elephant in such a way that when the body of one is hid, the other is seen (Burgess's *Belgam and Kaladgi Districts*, p 16) Bâtâpi is said to have been destroyed by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (*Ep Ind*, vol III, p 277) The name of Bâtâpipura was evidently derived from Bâtâpi, the brother of Ilvala (of the city of Manimati see *Ind Ant*, XXV, p 163, note) Bâtâpi was killed by Rishi Agastya on his way to the south (*Mbh*, Vana, ch 96) *See* **Ilvalapura**

Baṭeśa—Same as **Baṭeśvaranâtha** (*Agni P*, ch 109)

Baṭeśvaranâtha—Same as **Śilâsangama** The temple of Bateśvaranâtha is situated four miles to the north of Kahalgâon (Colgong) on the Pâtharghâtâ Hills called also Kasdi Hill The *Uttara-Purâna* describes the rock excavations and temple of Bateśvarnâtha

at this place (Francklin's *Palibothra*) The rock excavations and ruins at Pâtharghâtâ are the remains of the Buddhist monastery named Bikramasilâ Sangharama (see *Bikramasilâ Vihâra*)

Batsya—A country to the west of Allahabad It was the kingdom of Râjâ Udayana, its capital was Kausâmbî (*see* **Kausambi**) At the time of the *Râmâyana* (I, 52), its northern boundary was the Ganges

Batsyapattana—Kausâmbî, the capital of Batsya-desa, the kingdom of Batsya Râjâ Parantapa and Udayana (*Kathâsarit-sâgara*) *See* **Kausâmbî**

Bedagarbhapurî—Buxar, in the district of Shahabad in the province of Bengal (*Brahmânda P*, Pûrva Kh, chs 1—5 called *Vedagarbha-mâhât*, and *Suanda P*, Sûta-samhitâ, IV, Yajña Kh, 24) The word Buxar, however, seems to be the contraction of Vyâghrasara, a tank attached to the temple of Gaurî-sankara situated in the middle of the town Same as **Visvâmitra-âsrama, Siddhâsrama, Vyâghrasara and Vyâghrapura**

Beda-parvata—A hill in Tirukkalukkunram in the Madras Presidency, on which is situated the sacred place called Pakshî-tîrtha *See* **Pakshî-tîrtha** (*Devî P*, ch 39, *Ind Ant*, X, 198)

Bedâranya—A forest in Tanjore, five miles north of Point Calimere it was the hermitage of Rishi Agastya (*Devi-Bhâgavata*, VII, 38, Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*, p 16)

Bedasmriti—It is the same as **Bedasruti** (*Mbh*, Bhishma, ch 9)

Bedâsruti—1 The river Baita in Oudh between the rivers Tonse and Gumti (*Râmâyana*, Ayodhyâ, ch 49) 2 The river Besulâ in Malwa The name of Bedasruti does not appear in many of the *Purânas*, only the river Bedasmriti being mentioned

Bedavatî—1 The river Hagari, a tributary of the Tungabhadrâ in the district of Bellary and Mysore [*Skanda P*, Sahyâdri kh, *Ind Ant*, vol XXX (Fleet)] But see *Varâha P*, ch 85 The river Baradâ or Bardâ, southern tributary of the Krishnâ, the Baradâ of the *Agni Purâna*, CIX, 22 (Pargiter's *Mârkandeya P*, p 303) *See* **Baradâ**

Bedisa-giri—Same as **Bessanagara** (*Oldenberg's Dîpavamsa*) and **Bidisâ** or Bhilsa, 26 miles north-east of Bhopal in the Gwalior State

Begâ—Same as **Begavatî** (*Padma P*, Srishti, ch 11)

Begavatî—1 The river Baiga or Bygi in the district of Madura (*Siva P*, Bk II, ch 10, *Padma P*, Uttara, ch 84, Mackenzie Collection, pp 142, 211) The town of Madura is situated on the bank of this river 2 Kâñchipura or Conjeveram stands on the northern bank of a river called Begavatî.

Behat—The river Jhelum in the Punjab

Beltura—Berul, Yerulâ, Elura, or Ellara in the Nizam's Dominion (*Ind Ant*, XXII, p 193, *Brihat-samhitâ*, XIV, 14)

Benâ—The river Wain-Gangâ in the Central Provinces (*Padma P*, Âdi kh, ch 3) Same as **Benva** It is a tributary of the Godâvarî [*Mbh*, Vana, ch 85, *Padma P*, Svarga (Âdi), ch 19]

Benâkataka—Warangal, the capital of Telingana or Andhra (*Literary Remains of Dr Bhau Daji*, p 107)

Bengi—The capital of Andhra, situated north-west of the Elur lake, between the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ in the Kistna district It is now called Begî or Pedda-Begî (Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p 99) Vishnuvardhana, brother of Pulakesî II, founded here a branch of the Chalukya dynasty in the seventh century A D (see **Andhra**) Its name is mentioned in the *Vikramânkadevacharita*, VI p 26 (see Buhler's note in the *Introduction* to this work at p 35) From the capital, the country was also called Bengi-desa which according to Sir W Elliot, comprised the districts between the Krishnâ and the Godavarî (*JRAS* vol IV) It is now called the Northern Circars (Dr Wilson's *Indian Caste* vol II, p 88) Its original boundaries were, on the west the Eastern Ghats, on the north the Godâvarî and on the south the Krishnâ (*Bomb Gaz*, vol I, Pt II, p 280)

Beni—1 A branch of the Krishnâ (*Padma P*, Uttara, ch. 74), same as **Benvâ** 2 The Krishnâ itself

Beni-gangâ—The river Wain Gangâ see **Benvâ** (*Brihat-Siva P*, Uttara, ch 20)

Benkata-giri The Tirumalai mountain near Tripati or Tirupati in the north Arcot district, about seventy two miles to the north-west of Madras, where Râmânuja, the founder of the Srî sect of the Vaishnavas, established the worship of Vishnu called Venkatasvâmi or Bâlâji Bisvanâtha in the place of Siva in the twelfth century of the Christian era same as **Tripadi** *See* **Srîrangam** The *Padma Purâna* (Uttara kh, ch 90) mentions the name of Râmânuja and the Venkata hill *See* **Tripadi.** Benkatâdri is also called Seshâdri (*Ep Ind*, vol III, p 240, *Skanda P*, Vishnu kh, chs 16, 35) For the list of kings of Venkatagiri, see *JASB*, (1838) p 516

Benugrâma Same as **Sugandhâvartî**

Benuvana vihâra—The monastery was built by king Bimbisâra in the bamboo-grove situated on the north-western side of Râjgir and presented to Buddha where he resided when he visited the town after attaining Buddhahood It has been stated in the *Mahavagga* (1, 22, 17) that Venuvana, which was the pleasure garden of king Seniya (Srenika) Bimbisâra was not too far from the town of Râjagriha nor too near it (see **Girivrajapura**) It was situated outside the town at a short distance from the northern gate at the foot of the Baibhâra hill (Beal's *Fo-Kwa-Ki*, ch xxx, *Ava Kalp*, ch 39)

Benvâ—1 The Bena, a branch of the Krishna, which rises in the Western Ghats Same as **Benî** 2 The Krishnâ 3 The river Wain-Gangâ, a tributary of the Godâvarî, which rises in the Vindhyâpâda range (*Mârkandeya P*, ch 57) Same as **Benâ** It is called Beni Gangâ (*Brihat-Siva P*, Uttara, ch 20)

Benya—Same as **Benâ** the river Wain-Gangâ

Bessanagara—Besnagar, close to Sanchi in the kingdom of Bhopal, at the junction of the Besali or Bes river with the Betva, about three miles from Bhilsa It is also

called Chetiya, Chetiyanagara, or Chetyagiri (Chaityagiri) in the *Mahâvamśa* It was the ancient capital of Daśârna Asoka married Devî, the daughter of the chieftain of this place, on his way to Ujjayinî, of which place, while a prince, he was nominated governor By Devî, he had twin sons, Ujjeniya and Mahinda and a daughter Saṅghâmitta The two last named were sent by their father to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon with a branch of the Bodhi-tree of Buddha-Gayâ Asoka was the grandson of Chandragupta of Pâtaliputra, and reigned from 273 to 232 B C A column was discovered at Besnagar, which from the inscription appears to have been set up by Heliodorous of Taxila who was a devotee of Vishnu, as *Garuda dhvaja*, in the reign of Antialkidas, a Bactrian king who reigned about 150 B C See **Chetiyagiri**

Bethadîpa—It has not been correctly identified, but it seems to be the modern Bethia to the east of Gorakhpur and south of Nepal The Brahmins of Bethadipa obtained an eighth part of the relics of Buddha's body after his death (Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, ch vi) *See* **Kusinagara** It seems that the extensive ruins consisting of three rows of earthen barrows or huge conical mounds of earth, about a mile to the north-east of Lauriya Navandgad (Lauriya Nandangad) and 15 miles to the north west of Bethia in the district of Champaran, are the remains of the *stupa* which had been built over the relics of Buddha by the Brahmins of Bethadîpa At a short distance from these ruins stands the lion pillar of Asoka containing his edicts Dîpa in Bethadîpa is evidently a corruption of *Dhâpa*, which again is a corruption of Dâgaba or *Dhâtugarbha* or Stûpa containing Buddha's relics [cf **Mahâsthâna**, the ancient name of which (Sîtâ-dhâpa or Sîtâ-dhâtu garbha) was changed into Sîtâ-dîpa] The change of *Dîpa* into *Dia* is an easy step Hence it is very probable that from Betha-dia comes Bethiâ

Betravatî—1 The river Betva in the kingdom of Bhopal, an affluent of the Jamunâ (*Megha dûta*, Pt I, 25), on which stands Bhilsa or the ancient Vidiśâ 2 The river Vatrak, a branch of the Sâbarmatî in Gujarat (*Padma P*, Uttara, ch 53, on which Kaira (ancient Khetaka) is situated [*JASB* (1838) p 908] Same as **Britraghni** and **Bârtraghnî**

Bhaddiya—It is also called Bhadiya and Bhadiyanagara in the Pâli books It may be identified with Bhadaria, eight miles to the south of Bhagalpore [see my "Notes on Ancient Anga" in *JASB*, X, (1914), p 337] Mahâvîra, the last of the Jaina Tirthankaras' visited this place and spent here two Pajjusanas (rainy-season retirement) It was the birth-place of Visakhâ, the famous female disciple of Buddha (see **Srâvastî**) She was the daughter of Dhanañjaya and grand-daughter of Mendaka, both of whom were treasurers to the king of Anga Buddha visited Bhaddiya (*Mahâvagga*, V, 8, 3), when Visâkhâ was seven years old and resided in the Jâtiyâvana for three months and converted Bhaddaji, son of a rich merchant [*Mahâvagga*, V, 8, *Mahâ-Panâda-Jâtaka* (No 264) in the *Jâtakas* (Cam Ed), vol II, p 229] Visâkhâ's father removed to a place called Sâketa, 21 miles to the south of Srâvastî, where she was married to Pûrnavarddhana or Punyavarddhana, son of Migâra, the treasurer of Prasenajit, king of Srâvastî She caused Migâra, who was a follower of Nigrantha-Nâthaputtra, to adopt the Buddhist faith, and hence she was called Migâramâtâ (*Mahâvagga*, VIII, 51, Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed, p 226) It appears that at the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Anga had been annexed to the Magadha kingdom by Bimbisâra, as Bhaddiya is said to have been situated in that kingdom (*Mahâvagga*, VI, 34, Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p 166)

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851.

BY S CHARLES HILL

(*Continued from p* 101)

XXVIII

WHOLESALE DESTRUCTION OF BORNEO PIRATES, 1849

The piratical inhabitants of Borneo were of two classes, the Dayaks, whose object was chiefly to secure human heads as trophies, and the Malays, whose object was plunder and also to take as many prisoners as they could to sell as slaves In 1839–41 the celebrated Rajah Brooke established himself at Sarâwak in Borneo, and set about suppressing piracy not only amongst his own subjects, but also amongst his neighbours After some mistaken opposition, he received the support of the British Government, and the following letter to the *Illustrated London News* narrates the destruction of a large fleet of piratical *prahus* on their return from one of their raids The affair was characteristically described in Parliament as a massacre of practically unarmed men, against whom there was no proof of piracy—much as if one were to call it murder to shoot a tiger when, after having gorged itself on its prey, it was seen slinking back to its lair

To the Editor of the Illustrated London News

I send you the following account of an expedition against the pirates of the north-western coast of Borneo

"Arrangements were made that H M S *Maeander*,—guns, *Albatross*, 12 guns, and *Royalist*, 10 guns, together with the H E I C war-steamers *Nemesis* [Captain T Wallace] and *Semiramis*, should rendezvous at Sarawak, and furnish boats and an European force of 300 men

"The *Maeander* and *Semiramis* however did not arrive, and the effective force of the *Royalist* and *Nemesis* were so reduced by illness, that we could only muster 7 boats, manned by 108 men, including officers

"All arrangements being completed, it was considered better to proceed, even with this reduced force, than (by waiting longer) to run the risk of being overtaken by the rainy season Accordingly we started on the 24th July to attack the strongholds of the pirates on the River Rejang,[77] who had been very daring of late I may mention here that, shortly before we left Sarawak, the pirates of the River Serebus[78] sent an insulting message to the Rajah, Sir James Brooke, asking 'if he were an old woman and afraid, that he did not attack them as he had threatened' It will be seen in the sequel that this message is not likely to be repeated The *Nemesis* towed the *Royalist* up the Batang Lupar, a noble stream, and moored her at the mouth of the Linga, which falls into the Batang Lupar,[79] to protect a friendly tribe resident there, during the absence of the warriors, who accompanied us on the expedition

"We left Batang Lupar on the 26th July 1849 and towed the European boats to Banting Marron, a low sandy point separating the Rivers Serebus and Kaluka, [all in Datu Bay] and which had been appointed by the Rajah as the place of rendezvous for the entire force, European and native, previous to starting for the River Rejang.

77 On the west of Borneo —ED.

78 Saribas River, to the south of Rejang River, flows into Datu Bay —ED

79 The Batang Lupar and Linga, two streams, also flow into Datu Bay —ED

"On the 27th an old Malay chieftain brought us intelligence that a piratical fleet of 107 prahus, with at least 3,500 men, had left the Serebus the day before our arrival, passing round Tanjong Siri [80] to attack and plunder such villages on the Rejang as were not powerful enough to resist them The piratical tribes [Dayaks] reside for the most part very far inland, near the sources of the numerous rivers of this coast, in which situations the streams are very contracted and rapid and the banks elevated and heavily timbered They take advantage of these circumstances and render the advance of an enemy almost impossible by felling huge trees across the river and by cutting others and keeping them suspended by rattans, so that they can be launched in a moment on a passing boat, crushing her to atoms On any alarm at sea they immediately retreat to some of these strongholds and sink or otherwise conceal their prahus in some of the innumerable creeks with which the rivers abound All attempts therefore at intercepting a piratical fleet have hitherto failed Their practice is to make a raid, and pouncing on some unsuspecting village (as the Malays poetically express it) like the rush of the alligator, to burn it, killing all the men and boys and cutting their heads off (which they value beyond price as trophies) and carrying off the women as slaves They then, whether successful or unsuccessful, return as speedily and quietly as they issued forth, having plundered any native trading prahu they fall in with and murdered the crew Advantage was therefore taken of the unusually favourable opportunity now offered, and a plan was immediately laid by Captain Farquhar of H M S *Albatross*, who commanded the expedition, and the Rajah [Sir James Brooke] for surprising and cutting them off on their return The Serebus and Kaluka, the only avenues to the country of the pirates, flow into a deep bay [Datu Bay], round the north east point of which, called Tanjong Siri, the piratical flotilla must return The following disposition therefore was made of the force under Captain Farquhar's orders Very fast spy or scout boats were stationed at Tanjong Siri with instructions to return on the first appearance of the enemy and announce their approach

"The Rajah with a native force of about forty well-armed prahus, including the *Singa Rajah*, pulling eighty oars, commanded by Sir James Brooke in person, and the *Rajah Walli*, pulling sixty oars, commanded by the Rajah's nephew and acknowledged successor, Captain Brooke of the 88th Regiment (Connaught Rangers) [afterwards Rajah Sir Charles Johnson Brooke,] as well as the cutters of the *Albatross* and *Royalist*, commanded by Lieutenants Wilmshurst and Everest, were stationed in ambush at the mouth of the Kaluka A large native force of about forty prahus was stationed at the entrance of the Serebus, supported by the three remaining boats of the *Albatross* commanded respectively by Captain Farquhar, Lieutenant Brickwell and Mr Williams, and the two boats of the *Nemesis*, under Messrs Goodwin and Baker as well as the *Ranee*, a very inefficient river steamer, commanded by Mr Wright

"Trying as it was to the patience of all parties, we remained in position until the 31st, during which interval every precaution human foresight could suggest was adopted to secure success About 7½ p m we were engaged in a rubber of whist on board the *Nemesis* and had almost abandoned all hope of surprising the enemy, when a spy-boat returned at best speed, with the long and anxiously looked for intelligence that the piratical fleet had rounded Tanjong Siri and was rapidly approaching our position As yet it was of course uncertain for which river they would make This question was however soon set at rest

[80] Tanjong (Cape) Sirik, at the mouth of the River Rejang —ED

and a brisk fire of rockets from the cutters and of great and small guns from the remainder of the Rajah's force, stationed at the mouth of the Kaluka announced that the enemy had attempted to force that river and had met with a warmer reception than they had anticipated A rocket was now fired by the Rajah, and on this preconceited signal Captain Farquhar moved round Banting Marion with the European force under his immediate command to support the Rajah if necessary, and also with a view to enclosing the enemy between two fires, leaving however a strong native force at the mouth of the Serebus to intercept the pirates in case of their passing the European boats and making for this their native river Finding themselves foiled at the Kaluka, the enemy, gallantly followed by the two cutters and the Rajah's light skirmishing boats (which kept up a constant fire), put to sea, with the intention of running for the Batang Lupar, here, however, no doubt much to their surprise, they encountered Captain Farquhar's boats, and being saluted with round shot and rockets, they divided their force They yet, however, preserved admirable order Some returning to the Kaluka (still most judiciously guarded by the Rajah) renewed their attempt to enter, but with the like bad success, others passing in shoal water inside Captain Farquhar, made for the Serebus, and the remainder, having greater speed than his heavily laden boats, succeeded for the present in escaping to sea

"The *Nemesis* had hitherto remained at the mouth of the Serebus in position, but ready to move at a moment's notice to any point where her services might be required She now acted her part, and that right nobly Perceiving by the fire from Captain Farquhar's boats that the enemy had attempted to put to sea, Commander Wallace gave chase and fell in with seventeen prahus, which had succeeded in escaping Captain Farquhar and were making in a beautiful line for the Batang Lupar When abeam we saluted them with grape and canister from our 32 pounders, raking the entire line, which we then broke, driving many of them on shore badly crippled, where they fell an easy prey to the Dyak boats, which, headed by Mr Steele of Sarawak in the *Snake*, followed the *Nemesis*, but never interfered with her fire We then pursued five others and destroyed them in detail, passing round each and pouring in a constant fire of grape and canister, musketry and rifles, until they drifted past as helpless logs, without a living being on board

"That discharge of grape was a fearful sight as, at point blank range, it crashed over the sea and through the devoted prahus, marking its track with the floating bodies of the dying, shattered prahus, planks, shields and fragments of all sorts I should have pitied them, but they were pirates, and the thought steeled my heart At this period the scene was exciting in the extreme, fighting was going on in all directions wherever the eye was turned it met the brilliant double flash of the great gun, the bright quick flame of musketry, the lightning streak of the rocket or the dazzling blaze of the blue light, whilst the ear was saluted with the boom of cannon, the roar of musketry, the wild tone of the tom-tom, the clear startling note of the gong or the still more fearful war whoop of the Dayak telling a sad tale of destruction and death The pirates now, finding themselves surrounded, lost all presence of mind—order was no longer preserved—the flotilla scattered and fled in every direction, the crews jumping overboard and swimming for the shore or running the prahus aground and taking refuge in the jungle. About 12 o'clock at night the fight might be considered as over, although isolated firing continued until midnight [? daylight] The entire force under Captain Farquhar's command may be estimated at 3000 men From informa

tion subsequently obtained, that of the enemy cannot be taken lower than 120 prahus and 4000 men The loss of the enemy in the action was 90 prahus and not less than 400 men, whilst we lost but 2 men killed and 6 wounded In addition however to the loss in action, the enemy suffered most severely being followed in the jungle by the Dyaks, who, like bloodhounds tracked and hunted them down cutting their heads off and bringing them in as a proof of victory, and even of those who escaped a violent death at least one third must have perished before they reached their homes being altogether destitute of food The total loss of the enemy may therefore be estimated at 1500 men they have also lost an immense quantity of brass guns muskets, gongs and arms of all sorts with which they were well provided but which they either threw overboard to lighten their prahus and increase their speed and prevent them from sinking, or abandoned on taking to the jungle More than a mile of the beach of Banting Marron was strewed with wrecks and abandoned prahus, which were either burnt or carried off as prizes

'As an instance of the cruelty of these bloodthirsty fellows I may mention that on the expedition [the piratical flotilla] having surprised the village of Matou as well as a trading prahu they are the pirates took some heads and one female prisoner On being compelled to take to the jungle they found they could not carry her off with them they therefore cut her head off and mangled the body in a most frightful manner in which state it was found after the action, lying on the beach of Banting Marron a ghastly object the legs and arms being nearly separated from the body, which was literally chopped in pieces

A considerable force was left at the scene of action to follow the pirates in the jungle and complete the work of destruction, and the remainder moved up the Serebus about forty miles, where the *Nemesis* and the large prahus anchored, whilst the light boats proceeded up the River Pahoo [Pahu a tributary of the Saribas] to destroy the fortified villages on its banks before the warriors could return to their defence The advance was opposed by nine large booms lately thrown across the river These were with difficulty removed but at length a monster tree, so hard that the axes scarcely made any impression on it, seemed an almost impassable barrier to further progress After in vain using every effort to overcome the difficulty, the force was disembarked with the intention of clearing a road through the jungle and marching overland but they had scarcely landed and commenced operations, when a skirmish took place in which four natives of our party were killed and amongst them Bunsee and Toojong [Bansi and Tujong], two sons of the Chief of Lundu [in Datu Bay] We all felt the deepest regret for these youths, as (unlike their countrymen) they knew not what fear was, and fell victims to the rashest valour having contrary to orders, moved in advance of their party, almost unarmed one brother was carried in headless, and the other with his face cut off and otherwise fearfully mangled This untoward event threw such a damp over the spirits of the natives that it was not deemed advisable to advance until confidence was somewhat restored and in the meantime the unusually low water enabled the boats to pass under the tree and proceed up the river, where they destroyed Pahoo and several other villages and took some prisoners as well as a great quantity of plunder, amongst which were some ancient jars,[81] which the Dyaks hand down from father to son as heirlooms and prize very highly, some of them being valued as high as £200 It was indeed fortunate the fleet had been destroyed, as otherwise it would have been impossible to perform the service without

81 Martaban jars For a history of this term from c 718 1880, see *ante*, Vol XXII pp 361 365 —ED

immense loss of life on our side, for a very small party, armed with rifles and stationed in the jungle opposite each boom, could have picked off every European whilst removing the trees and without the loss of a man on their side

During the absence of the boats, numbers of the pirates who had escaped in the action but were not aware of our still occupying the river were cut off by the Dyak boats in attempting to ascend the Serebus, and I then had an opportunity of witnessing the operation of preserving the heads The Dyaks, having killed their enemy, immediately cut off his head with a fiendish yell, they then scoop out the brains and suspend the head from a rod of bamboo They then light a slow fire underneath and the smoke ascends through the neck and penetrates the head thoroughly drying the interior It is then placed in a basket of very open work and carried suspended from the belt of the captor—more highly prized than ornaments of gold or precious stones On one occasion I saw five heads on a platform undergoing the operation, and within two feet of it the Dyaks were coolly cooking some wild boar chops for their dinner and inhaling the mingled perfume of baked human and hog's flesh

"We now proceeded up the River Rejang, the finest and most interesting of the rivers of the north eastern coast of Borneo One glance at the town [either Sârikı or Siba] speaks volumes as to the state of this unhappy country and proclaims the lawless character of one party and the insecurity of the other The houses inhabited by the Milanos [Milanau, Malanau], a race distinct from the Malay and Dyak, are of immense length, some of them containing 300 people They are erected on pillars of wood, about 35 feet in height, and are only approachable by ladders, which can be drawn up on the appearance of an enemy each thus forms in itself a perfect fortress An immense gallery, protected by a musket proof breastwork, runs the entire length of the building, this is used as the common sitting room, and here are collected offensive and defensive weapons of all sorts—brass guns, rifles, spears, shields, parangs, sumpitans,[82] stones &c and they also pour boiling water and oil on the heads of assailants I was informed that on the erection of one of these houses, a deep hole was sunk for the corner pillar, and in this (as we place a bottle containing a coin and engraved inscription) they, *horresco referens*, lowered an unfortunate girl, decked out in all her finery, and then dropped the enormous post on her head, crushing her to atoms, and yet they are *now* a fine, intelligent race and cordially unite with the Rajah for the suppression of piracy

"Having obtained a sufficient supply of fire wood we proceeded up the River Rejang to the Kenowit, up which river the boats advanced about forty miles, and, surprising the enemy, plundered and destroyed the villages and took several prisoners The boats having returned, we pressed on to the town of Kenowit [on the Rejang river], on the inhabitants of which the Rajah imposed a heavy fine, with a threat of visiting them with his heaviest displeasure in the event of their violating the pledge they now gave to abandon their piratical habits All prisoners were released with instructions to inform their respective tribes not only that the Rajah had no wish to injure them, but that he would most willingly afford them all the protection in his power if they would only abandon piracy and live at peace with their neighbours

"We returned to Sarawak on the 24th August, well pleased with the extraordinary success of our expedition We had destroyed the most powerful piratical tribe on the Coast

82 *Parang, sumpitan*, Malay terms indicating a large heavy sheath knife and a blow gun made from a hollow cane from which poisoned arrows are shot —ED

under the most unequivocal circumstances of piracy, having intercepted them returning from a desperate foray, with their hands red with the slaughter of innocent and unsuspecting traders—thus inflicting a lesson which will be remembered on the Coast for ages We destroyed the fortified towns and crippled the resources of several other tribes at the same time proving to them by sparing and ultimately liberating the prisoners, that we were not actuated by that thirst for blood, which is the usual motive for Dyak warfare I feel great pleasure in stating that the Rajah was enabled to control our Dyak allies and induce them (much as they have suffered) to spare the women children and unresisting men, who, instead of being butchered in cold blood and beheaded were now, for the first time brought in as prisoners—a grand step towards the ultimate adoption of the customs of civilised warfare, which had hitherto been invariably outraged

I remain &c , &c ,

Sarawak, August 29th 1849 B URBAN VIGORS "

[*Illustrated London News*, 10 *November* 1849]

XXIX

A BRUSH WITH CHINESE RIVER PIRATES 1851

The increase of European shipping and the regular appearance of European warships in the China Seas put an end to open piracy in those quarters in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the mouths of the great rivers were long after infested by a class of river-pirates, who preyed upon the traffic and carried off people for ransom These men always acted in connection with confederates on shore and—especially in their attacks upon Europeans—it was suspected with the connivance of the Chinese authorities

Extract from a private letter

On the 26th March, Captain Hely, commanding Messrs Dent and Co s Store ship the *Amita*, stationed in the River Min, whilst proceeding up the river to the town of Foochow,[83] in two China boats, with eight men, was attacked by six large piratical junks, carrying forty to sixty men each They commenced a heavy fire and made sail upon him, evidently with the view of running his boats down, but a well-directed and continued fire from a large swivel duck-gun and muskets by his crews disinclined the pirates to close quarters though their boarding-nettings were triced up eight feet high The boat following his own was, however, intercepted by one of the junks and one of the Lascars was knocked overboard The hazard was great, but there was no other means of saving the man s life He ranged his boat right athwart the junk's bow, gave her a raking and engaged in hand to-hand fighting with the crew

The struggle was desperate , beside the continual fire of small arms, they heaved stones and stink-pots[84] (pots filled with powder bags having slow matches attached, which are broken by being thrown on any object and explode) upon his crew, and wrested the pikes from two of his men's hands The Lascar was, however, picked up alive, a tow line was made fast [to the second boat] and Captain Hely had the triumph of sailing both his boats away

83 Fu chau fu, capital and fort of Fuh kien Province

84 Probably the same thing as the 900 pots of powder, which were amongst the ammunition that Faria provided for his fight with Coja Acem See *ante*, Vol XLVIII, p 163

and proceeding on his course, the light wind giving him a superiority over the heavy junks Considering the immense force of the pirates and the time the engagement lasted (half an hour), the escape of Captain Hely and his small crew was miraculous Seven were however severely wounded whilst alongside the junk by spears and pikes, he himself was struck on the head by a stone, carrying away his cap but without injuring him, and one man only escaped unhurt Captain Hely had no doubt that the pirates had received timely notice of his intention to visit Foochow, for the shore was crowded with spectators, watching the contest and cheering on the pirates His fire proved effective, for the Chinese authorities, who were taking measures to secure the pirates, informed him that five were killed and forty wounded, many of them severely "

[*Times*, 24 *July* 1851]

(*To be continued*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T W HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p* 108)

XIV—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESS OF DAULATÂBÂD.

It has already been mentioned that Ahmad Nizâm Shâh had determined to send an army every year into the Daulatâbâd district to plunder and ravage the country, to collect all the grain and all agricultural produce and to carry off what was moveable, and burn the rest, in order that the garrison might be prevented from carrying into the fort a single grain which would help to enable to sustain life These orders were carried out, and every year, at the reaping time and harvest, an army used to invade that country and carry off all that they could, burning the houses and the dwellings of the cultivators and inhabitants

When some years had passed in this manner, most of the cultivators and labourers of that country were reduced to sore straits by want of food and by the attacks of the royal army, and every day bands of men from the fort, guided by divine grace into the path of wisdom, truth, and righteousness, used to desert the fort and come to the royal court, where their affairs were bettered and they lived free from the anxieties of the times under the king's protection Those misguided fools who turned their backs on the good fortune and sought not refuge in the royal court had their recompense from the world-consuming wind of the king's wrath, and those who were shut up in the fortress were reduced to the greatest straits At length these turbulent men were compelled to go in a body to the originator of all the strife, Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn, and to represent to him that it was perfectly evident and clear to all that the heir of the kingdom and of the race of Bahman was none other than Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, who was too powerful to be resisted They urged Sharaf-ud dîn to submit, in order that their lives and the lives of their wives and children might be safe Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn was obstinate and blind to his own interests and would not listen to their advice Just now, however, Malik Sharaf-ud-dîn was overtaken by fate, and died, and immediately after his death all the inhabitants of the fortress, rich and poor, great and small, young and old, came forth and submitted to the king, surrendering to him the keys, and beseeching him to spare their lives The king pardoned their offences, and the fortress of Daulatâbâd, like

all the other forts which he had attacked, fell into his hands, and he appointed one of his officers to command it [50]

XV—An account of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's expedition to help Mahmûd Shâh of Burhânpûr, and his fighting with Mahmud Shah of Gujarât, and the manner in which the affair terminated

Historians relate that during the reign of Ahmad Shâh Bahrî, 'Âdil Shâh Fârûqî, who was the ruler of Burhânpûr and its dependencies, died, and according to his will his son Mahmûd Shâh [51] succeeded him

In those days the ruler of the country of Gujarât and the coasts of Somnât was Sultân Mahmûd Bekara, who is also well known as Mahmûd Nîkî, and the rulers of Burhânpûr by reason of their nearness to their powerful neighbour and their own weakness were always very submissive to the rulers of Gujarât Sultân Mahmûd of Gujarât was puffed up with pride in his own power and greatness and in the strength of his army, and had strayed far from the path of justice and equity When he heard that the ruler of Burhânpûr had entitled himself Mahmûd Shâh, he was intensely enraged and, summoning his *amîrs* and the officers of his army for the purpose of taking counsel with them in this matter, said to them, 'What power has the Burhânpûrî to make himself the partner of our name and title, or to even himself with us ?' At this time the brother of Mahmûd Shâh of Burhânpûr sent letters to the Sultân of Gujarât, professing obedience to him, and securing his friendship by promising that when the army of Gujarât invaded Khândesh he would cause the fortress of Asîr to be surrendered to it without a blow being struck Sultân Mahmûd was delighted with this letter and set out with a very numerous army for Asîr and Burhânpûr When

50 This is a very cursory account of the capture of Daulatâbâd, which held out for a long time Sharaf ud dîn took advantage of an invasion of Khândesh by Sultân Mahmud Bekara of Gujarât to send a message to Sultân Mahmûd, imploring his aid against Ahmad Nizâm Shâh and promising, if it were given, to hold Daulatâbâd as a dependency of Gujarât, to remit annual tribute and to cause the *Khutbah* to be recited in the name of Sultan Mahmud The first message had no result, but on receiving the second, Sultân Mahmûd marched towards the Dakan and Ahmad Nizâm Shâh raised the siege and retired to Ahmadnagar Sharaf ud dîn, in gratitude for this relief, caused the *Khutbah* to be recited in the mosque of Qutb ud dîn Mubârak Shâh in the name of Sultan Mahmûd, and Sultân Mahmûd returned to Gujarât After his retreat Ahmad Nizâm Shâh hastened, by forced marches, to Daulatâbâd and the Marâtha garrison, who resented Sharaf ud dîn's recognition of the sovereignty of the king of Gujarât, sent messages assuring him of their loyalty and fidelity Sharaf ud din discovered the correspondence and is said in one account to have fallen sick of grief and vexation and to have died within five or six days, when the fort was surrendered to Ahmad Nizâm Another account, given in the *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, Vol III, attributes Sharaf ud dîn's death, with greater probability, to poison

The history of the relations of Ahmadnagar, Berar, Khândesh, and Gujarât at this period teems with contradictions and discrepancies which it is impossible to reconcile

51 There was never a Mahmûd Shâh of Khândesh, and 'Adil Khân II, here described as 'Adil Shâh Fâruqî, died on the 28th September, 1501, and was succeeded by his brother Dâ'ud Khân, here described as "Mahmud Shâh of Burhânpûr" The whole of this account of Ahmad's expedition to Khândesh appears to be a fabrication and its details will be discussed later What really happened was that Hisâm ud dîn, one of the worthless of Dâ'ud Khân's *amirs*, invited Ahmad Nizâm Shâh to assist him in deposing Dâûd Khân Ahmad, who had at his court a scion of the Fâruqi house of Khândesh, one 'Âlam Khân, responded to the appeal and invaded Khândesh in 1504 with the object of placing his *protégé* on the throne Dâ'ud Khân appealed to Nâsir ud dîn Shâh of Mâlwa for assistance and he sent an army under Iqbâl Khân, one of his *amîrs*, which expelled Ahmad Nizâm Shâh and his *protégé* from Khândesh Ahmad's campaign against Mahmud of Gujarât came later and brought him no more credit than this one (See Firishta, *passim*, and *An Arabic History of Gujarât*)

Mahmûd Shâh heard of the approach of Sultân Mahmûd, he was much alarmed, for he knew that he was not strong enough to meet the army of Gujarât, and he therefore appealed for help to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, and sent him a letter in which he complained of the high-handed conduct of Sultân Mahmûd, and besought him to come to his assistance.[52]

Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, who was ever ready to help the weak and oppressed, when he read Mahmûd Shâh's letter, started at once with his army for Burhânpûr, and refrained from consulting Masnad-i-'Âlî Nasîr-ul-Mulk Gujarâtî, lest he should be opposed to an expedition against the king of his native land. Nasîr ul-Mulk, who was accustomed to being consulted in all matters of importance, obtained information of Ahmad's intention, but although he adduced clear proofs of the danger of entering into this quarrel, the king would not follow his advice.

Ahmad Nizâm Shâh marched to Burhânpûr and encamped there, but Masnad-i-'Âlî was still endeavouring to allay the strife and was ever revolving plans to this end, in order that nothing might happen which should lead to the ruin of the country, or the harassing of the king's subjects, for the enemy's army was twice as strong as that of 'Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, and victory and defeat depended upon the will of the Almighty. It occurred to him that it would be well to open a correspondence with those who were nearest to the person of Sultân Mahmûd of Gujarât and by this means to try to pour water on the fire of strife which was about to burst into flame. Accordingly he sent a letter to one of his intimate friends who was in the confidence of Sultân Mahmûd, saying that although, in accordance with the decrees of fate, he was in the service of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, yet he did not forget that Gujarât was his birth-place, and was a sincere well-wisher of Sultân Mahmûd, and made bold to represent what he thought was for his interest. He wondered, he said, that the person to whom he was writing, who was a wise and prudent man, should have arranged, and was continuing to arrange, that Sultân Mahmûd should engage personally in an expedition concerning so trivial a matter as the affair of Mahmûd Shâh (of Burhânpûr) whose rank was no more than equivalent to that of one of Sultân Mahmûd's *amîrs*, especially when Ahmad Nizâm Shâh had come to the assistance of the Burhânpûrî with his powerful army. He said that the Gujarâtîs could hardly be aware of the strength and valour of the army of the Dakan, who knew no fear at the prospect of a fight, but regarded it rather as others

52 Major King, in a note to his preface to *The History of the Bahmanî Dynasty*, says that Firishta never mentions the *Burhân i-Ma'âsir*, unless he alludes to it under some other title, and adds, "Professional jealousy probably accounts for this."

Firishta does mention this work, but under another title. In connection with this story of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's victory over Mahmûd of Gujarât he writes (ii, 189) "In the *Waqâ'i' i Nizâmshâhiyyah* which Sayyid 'Alî Sammânî was writing in the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh II and which he did not live to finish, it is written (and the responsibility for the account is on him who wrote it,) etc."

Then follows a narrative based on the account here given but connected with Ahmad's siege of Daulatâbâd. The story is not exactly copied, as Firishta's habit is, but corresponds fairly with its original. Firishta concludes the passage with the following criticism, which can hardly be said to err on the side of severity.

"It would appear from the internal evidence supplied by this account that it has been hastily compiled or copied and that no attempt has been made to comment on it. But God knows the truth!"

Firishta's weakness was not professional jealousy, but shameless plagiarism.

It may be added that Nizâm ud dîn Ahmad, author of the *Tabaqât i Akbarî*, probably refers to the *Burhân i Ma'âsir* in the following remark appended to his extremely brief notice of the reign of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh.

"As I have seen a long work on the history of this dynasty I have confined myself to this brief account."

would a social banquet Victory, he said, depended on the will of God, and it behoved the Gujarâtîs to consider carefully what was likely to be the upshot of this affair Should the victory be theirs, people would say that Sultân Mahmûd had come with an overwhelming army and had overpowered a small force, but if, on the other hand, the reverse should be the case, Sultan Mahmûd's dynasty would incur a disgrace which would never be wiped out till the end of time

Before the minister's letter reached the Gujarâtîs it fortunately happened that Ahmad Nizâm Shâh was able to devise a scheme for throwing the army of the enemy into confusion The scheme was as follows The king called a *mahaut* to him in private and ordered him to make his way into Sultân Mahmûd's camp and there make friends with the *mahaut* who had the charge of Bîrî Sâl, the largest and fiercest of all Sultân Mahmûd's elephants, and to persuade him by stimulating his avarice to loose Bîrî Sâl in the camp in the middle of the night, when Sultân Mahmûd and his army were all asleep, and thus throw the camp into confusion, when the two *mahauts* would have an excellent opportunity of plundering and of dividing their spoil one with the other Ahmad Nizâm Shâh also arranged to send on that night with the *mahaut* a force of rocketeers and musketeers, who were to conceal themselves in the vicinity of the camp and listen for the sound of the confusion in the enemy's camp, on hearing which they were to come forth and fire their rockets and muskets into the camp, at the same time making a fearful noise with drums and trumpets

Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's device succeeded The *mahaut* and the force of infantry set out for the enemy's camp and the infantry lay in ambush, waiting for the *mahaut* to fulfil his promise The *mahaut*, in accordance with his undertaking, made friends with Sultân Mahmûd's *mahaut*, and then succeeded in persuading him to fall in with his proposals In the middle of that dark night Bîrî Sâl's *mahaut* unfastened his leg chains and loosed the elephant in the camp The elephant ran about trumpeting hither and thither in the camp, killing people as he went, and shouts of confusion arose from the camp of the Gujarâtîs Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's infantry, who were awaiting this sound, sprang from their ambush with shouts, and with rockets and muskets ready When the Gujarâtîs saw that disaster was looming upon them from all directions and heard shouts from every side, they were convinced that Nizâm Shâh had made a night attack on their camp, but since they could not see their enemy and did not know which way to turn in order to face him, flight was the only choice left for them, and Sultân Mahmûd and his army left their camp and fled in disorder, and did not check their flight until they had covered a distance of nearly twenty miles

The next day spies announced to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh the joyful news of the defeat of the enemy And Ahmad Nizâm Shâh marched from Burhânpûr and occupied the camp which Sultân Mahmûd had left

When Sultân Mahmûd learnt that the disgraceful flight of his army had been occasioned by nothing which should have caused alarm, he was overwhelmed with shame. At this moment the letter of Masnad-i-'Âlî Naṣîr-ul Mulk reached his camp and was shown to him As the Sultân already repented of his coming in person, he confirmed the truth of what Naṣîr-ul-Mulk had written and said that what he had written had actually come to pass He ordered his ministers to write to Nasîr ul-Mulk and say that if he would persuade his master to retreat, the army of Gujarât would return to its own country A letter in these terms was sent to Nasîr-ul-Mulk and he shewed it to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh But Ahmad Nizâm Shâh

said that he would not budge until Sultân Mahmûd had set out for his own country, for if he did, his retreat would be attributed to cowardice and would be a confession of weakness. A long correspondence on this subject ensued between the Dakanîs and the Gujarâtîs and at last Masnad-i-'Âlî wrote to the Gujarâtîs to say that his purpose was to compose and not to foment the strife, and suggesting that the Gujarâtîs should first march two stages towards Îdar, when the Dakanîs would march two stages towards 'Imâd-ul Mulk's country and both armies could then retire to their own countries. This proposal was accepted and the Gujarâtîs first marched towards Îdar, and the Dakanîs then marched towards 'Imâd-ul-Mulk's country, and Ahmad Nizâm Shâh then returned to his capital.[53]

The king of Burhânpûr having thus, by Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's help, been freed from his powerful enemy, was firmly established on his throne in independence, but for the rest of his life he was under an obligation to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh and always deferred to him. Afterwards, when Burhân Nizâm Shâh was on the throne and strife was stirred up between him and Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât by Imâd ul Mulk, Mahmûd Shâh of Burhânpûr, remembering his obligation to Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, used his best endeavours to compose the quarrel and succeeded in converting the enmity of the disputants into friendship, as will be related in the account of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's reign.

XVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE FORT OF AHMADNAGAR.

After the conquest of Daulatabâd, the king determined to erect a fort in his capital of Ahmadnagar, which he had built. Surveyors and architects laid it out in an auspicious hour, and masons and overseers set to work to carry out the king's orders. In a short time this strong lofty fortress was completed, and was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch. The slope which formed a berm between the wall and the ditch was scarped, and the approach to the fort, even should the ditch be crossed, was thus rendered inaccessible. In the interior of the fort dwelling houses and other buildings were built, gardens were laid out and planted with fruit trees, flower gardens were planted with herbs and flowering plants, and

53 This imaginary account of a victory gained over Mahmûd Shâh of Gujarât is apparently intended to do duty for the history of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's two expeditions into Khândesh. The result of the first, undertaken in 1504, has been given in note 51. The course of the second was briefly as follows:—Dâ'ud Khân died on the 28th August, 1508, and his son Ghaznî Khân was raised to the throne but was poisoned after a reign of ten days. With him the direct line of the Fâruqî house expired and two parties were now formed in Khândesh, one under Hisâm ud dîn, already mentioned, supporting 'Âlam Khân, Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's candidate, and the other under Malik Sâdan, another *amîr*, supporting another 'Âlam Khan, the candidate of Mahmud Shâh of Gujarât. The latter 'Âlam Khân, who may be called, for distinction, 'Âdil Khân, the title which he afterwards assumed, was a descendant in the fourth generation of Hasan, Malik Iftikhâr, younger son of Malik Râjâ (1382—1399) the founder of the Fâruqî dynasty. Malik Iftikhâr had taken refuge in Gujarât from his elder brother, Nasir Khân, and his descendants had lived in that country and had intermarried with the royal family. Mahmud Shâh of Gujarât had promised to place 'Âdil Khân on the throne of Khândesh and 'Âdil Khân II. had adopted him as his heir.

Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, invited by Hisâm ud dîn, was first in the field and marched to Burhânpûr, where his candidate, 'Âlam Khân, was proclaimed. 'Âlâ ud dîn 'Imâd Shâh of Berar also marched to assist him. Meanwhile Mahmud Shâh, with 'Âdil Khân, invaded Khândesh from the west and captured Thâlner. Ahmad Nizâm Shâh with his *protégé* and 'Alâ ud dîn 'Imâd Shâh fled disgracefully to Gâwilgarh on hearing of Mahmud Shâh's approach and 'Âdil Khân was enthroned in Thâlner. Ahmad Nizâm Shah, who had now reached the frontier of his own territories, wrote to Mahmûd Shâh suggesting that his *protégé*, 'Âlam Khân, should inherit at least a share of the territories of Khândesh, but unfortunately for him wrote as one king to another. Mahmûd was much enraged and would not deign to answer the letter, but gave the unfortunate envoy a message for his master. How dared the son of a slave of the Bahmanî kings, he said, write as though he were a king? A humble petition was the only communication that a slave should address to a king. Let Ahmad see that he did not repeat such insolence, or it would be the worse for him. The unfortunate Ahmad Nizâm Shâh retired, humiliated and mortified, to Ahmadnagar, taking his *protégé* with him.

Sayyid 'Ali's unwillingness to give a faithful account of such an event is comprehensible.

fine palaces with arches and domed roofs were erected with coloured and latticed walls like the mirror of the satin sky, red and yellow, with floors paved with turquoise and *lapis lazuli*, their courts were like the gardens and their fountains like the springs of paradise

After the completion of the fort, the king made it the seat of his government and took up his residence there

XVII—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MASNAD-I ALI MALIK NAṢIR-UL-MULK GUJARÂTÎ THE KING'S PRIME MINISTER, AND OF THE APPOINTMENT OF MIYÂN CHANDU (MUKÂMMAL KHAN) ONE OF THE KING'S OLD SERVANTS IN HIS PLACE

After these events the king's faithful able and prudent minister Masnad-i Âli Malik Naṣir ul Mulk, died, and he bade farewell to his ministry and betook himself to the neighbourhood of the mercy of a forgiving God The king was much grieved by the loss of his minister, but as the administration of the kingdom had to be carried on he appointed to the vacant office of minister, Miyân Chandu one of his old servants, who had great wisdom and intellectual power and was passably well fitted for the post and moderately generous He gave him the title of Mukammal Khân and conferred other favours upon him and entrusted to him the care of his army and his subjects

Some historians have said that Ahmad Nizam Shah predeceased Malik Naṣir ul Mulk Gujarâtî, who poisoned him in a quid of betel and was executed for his treason, but the story which has been told above is nearer to the truth But God knows the truth of the matter

XVIII —AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF SULTÁN AHMAD NIZAM SHÁH

Death comes alike to prince and peasant, and Sultân Ahmad Bahri, after he had reigned for nineteen years and four months, or, according to another account, for twelve years, and had waged holy wars and had taken most of the forts and districts of the Dakan from the idolaters and turbulent men, and made them his own, and had destroyed the temples and places of worship of the accursed infidels and the irreligious polytheists, came at last to the end of his days The signs of death appeared in his face and the hand of sickness was heavy upon him His *amîrs* and officers of State, but especially Mukammal Khân, feared that his spirit would take flight from his sufferings and earnestly prayed that God would allow them to die rather than that they should behold the sufferings of their king Although skilful physicians treated him with all the skill at their command, nothing was of any avail, and the king's power declined day by day

When the king became aware of the approach of death, he withdrew from desire of wordly kingdom and sent for the prince, Al Mu'ayyad Min'andi'llâh Abûl Muzaffar Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who was then seven years of age, and gave him his counsel

After that he sent for the *amîrs* and officers of State, and conjured them all to be faithful and obedient to the prince All the *amîrs* and officers of State, the rest of the army and the subjects of the king promised to be obedient to the prince and swore allegiance to him

When the king had given his parting instructions to all about him, he died, and great grief fell on the *amîrs*, the army, and all the kingdom The *amîrs* and the officers of the army made all preparations for the funeral and the king was buried in the tomb which he had built for himself in the environs of Ahmadnagar, in the garden known as the Rauzah [54]

This calamity happened in A H 911 (A D 1505-06) [55]

(To be continued.)

[54] Probably Rauzah, in the hills above Daulatâbâd, and not a garden in the environs of Ahmadnagar

[55] Firishta says (ii, 198) that Ahmad died in A H 914 (A D 1508 09) Firishta's date must be accepted as correct, for Ahmad certainly invaded Khândesh in 1508, retiring early in 1509, and there is other evidence in favour of the later date Perhaps Sayyid 'Ali intentionally antedated his death On page 105 he places Burhân s accession, and consequently Ahmad s death, in A H 918 (A D 1512 13)

INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., CALCUTTA

Prefatory Remarks

THE subject of ancient inter-state relations is evidently very wide, including not merely those inter-state relations that were regulated by inter-state laws corresponding to the international laws of later times, but also those that fell outside the said laws. Light is here attempted to be thrown on the two fields of regulated and unregulated relations in order that a comparative estimate may be made of each in contrast with the other. The recondite nature of the task requires among others a thorough study of the latter half of the *Kautiliya Arthaśâstra* which happens to be the toughest portion of the whole work. Its English translation has, I must admit with gratitude to its learned translator, helped me a good deal in overcoming many difficulties within a shorter time than I could have done without its aid; but at the same time I have to mention, without the least intention of detracting from the credit of the very useful pioneering performance of the said translator, that there have been very many occasions for me in the course of my research to differ from the translation. A critical perusal of the said latter half of the *Kautilîya* was undertaken with the object that generalizations made from one of its parts should not run the risk of being contradicted by another. The subject matter of this portion of the *Kautilîya* is hardly met with in any other Sanskrit text that I know of with the same elaboration of details, and hence, references to other Sanskrit works in my treatment of the subject are few and far between. It must not however be supposed that I have ignored the evidence available from other quarters, whether law-codes, epics, *purânas*, dramas, codes of polity or documents of any other description. On the other hand, I have always kept my mind on a keen look out for all kinds of evidence on my subject and would welcome them whenever anything fresh comes or is brought within my reach.

The task of refutation of certain opinions rendered current by previous writers who had occasion to touch the subject of "statal circle," and such other topics pertaining to the present subject, rendered my task doubly difficult. These opinions have become deep-rooted not only by the length of time they have been obtaining currency but also on account of the eminence of one or two of the writers who have lent them their support. In the facility with which the finished products of research are perused, we are apt to lose sight of the great difficulties besetting the stemming of current opinions or the elicitation of facts and generalizations from a confusing mass of evidence, and hence I make no apology for pointing out the following:—

(1) The various states forming the *mandala* (statal circle) have not hitherto been regarded as a collocation, general in character and applicable to the case of any state whatsoever, surrounded by the rest with mutual feelings of friendliness or enmity issuing from the principle of *spacial* adjacency.

(2) The *madhyama* state has been hitherto rendered as "intermediary," signifying the misconception about its real character.

(3) The state called *udâsîna* has also been wrongly rendered as "neutral" as the result of a mistaken notion about its position and function in the statal circle.

(4) A *yâtavya* is not the same as *ari*, which again is not identical with *śatru*. Though the differences among them are not clear in the *Kâmandakîya*, they do exist and appear

from the *Kautilîya* In the English translation of the latter, the differences have not been clearly kept in view

(5) The term *sandhi* bears in reality various meanings and cannot be rendered by the expression "treaty of peace" Even in the *Kâmandakîya*, the term has been in one place used in the sense of *alliance* In the English translation the various meanings have been missed, giving rise to confusion in several chapters

(6) The *dandopanata* and the *dandopanâyi* are totally different individuals and the confusion between them appearing in the English translation should be guarded against

(7) One is led to suppose from the English translation that a state could be attacked by another state without any previous provocation I have attempted to prove this supposition to be baseless

Section I.

The foundations of the statal circle

(A) It was usual with the ancient Hindu writers on Polity to commence their discourses on inter state relations by imagining a number of states with special names, and inclined to one another as friends or enemies, owing to their mutual spacial correlation The adjacency of one state to another, which is obviously a fruitful source of rivalry and differences, was taken to be the determining factor of their mutual attitude If A be the state with which we start our discourse and B its immediate neighbour, it would be allowable to infer that ordinarily they would be hostile to each other The same inference applies to A's relation to any other of the states which, like B, may happen to be its immediate neighbour The territories of the first neighbours of A therefore constitute a zone of natural enmity[1] towards A Not so the zone of second neighbours indicated by C The C's being the immediate neighbours of the B's are hostile to them and therefore friendly to A The second zone therefore is one of natural friendliness[2] towards A For the present purpose, we need take into consideration A the central state (*vijigîshu*) [3] and one state from each of the zones, keeping their adjacency intact (Diagram I) Let us put down in a separate diagram this set of A B C, and by applying the aforesaid determiner of friendliness and enmity, add D, E and F to their numbers (Diagram II) D being in the second zone from B would be its friend, and E and F, for the same reason, friendly to C and D respectively We can now name the states as follows —

Adjacency creating enmity

Two zones of enmity and friendliness

Further application of the principle

(1) A=Central state (*vijigîshu*),
(2) B=Enemy (*i e* of A) [*ari*],
(3) C=Friend (*i e* of A) [*mitra*],
(4) D=B's friend *i e* enemy's friend (*ari-mitra*)

[1] "Tasya samantato mandalîbhûtâ bhûm yantarâ ari-prakritih"—*Kautilîya*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 258 Within this zone, congenital enemies (*sahaja*) are created by common lineage, and acquired enemies (*kritrima*) by actual opposition or causing of opposition (*Kautilîya*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 258)

[2] "Tath-aiva bhûmy-ekântarâ mitra prakritih"—*Ibid* Within this zone also, congenital and acquired friends are distinguished (*Kautilîya*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 258)

[3] *Vijigîshu* literally means a state bent on conquests But as this desire is not the peculiar characteristic of A alone, it is better to attach to the term some colourless signification and to render it accordingly

(5) E=C's friend *i e* friend's friend (*mitra-mitra*),

(6) F=D's friend *i e* friend of the enemy's friend (*ari-mitra mitra*)

It will be seen that C, D, E, F are equally divided among themselves as adherents of A and B, for in the ultimate analysis, C and E would be on the side of A, and D and F on that of B (Diagram III) It was not generally thought necessary to add to the chain of friendly and hostile states any more, for inter-state relations were not considered generally to bring into operation the active friendliness or hostility of a larger number of states in a particular direction

Four types of states in front

In the opposite direction, however, it would be necessary to take into account a number of states, for the reason that if the *casus belli* occurs between A and B, and they be the actual belligerents, A may be attacked and helped from behind in the same way as we have supposed in B's case Four states are therefore set down in the rear, their attitude towards the central state being determined by the usual principle These states are called

Four states in the rear

(7) A=Rear-enemy [*pârshni-grâha* (*lit* "heel-catcher")],

(8) B=Rear-friend (*âkranda*),

(9) C=Rear-enemy's friend (*pârshni-grâhâsâra*),

(10) D=Rear-friend's friend (*âkrandâsâra*)

Thus the two belligerents A and B have each two adherents in front and two in the rear, the total number including the belligerents themselves being ten (Diagram IV)

The reasons for supposing the belligerents to be as adjacent states and not belonging to separated "zones" are perhaps that (1) adjacency was the most prolific source of jealousy and enmity, and (2) the waging of war between two distant states with one or more territories separating them rendered the outbreak of war a difficult matter until the interposing states were persuaded to allow them a free passage of troops and all other necessaries of war through their territories This was rendered difficult by the fact that the states of the first and every alternate zone of each of them are naturally hostile to it, and should they be persuaded by money or otherwise to admit such passage, severance of supply and communication might arise at any moment, for the hostile states could not be fully trusted, and their temporary accession to a demand might ultimately prove to be a trap for the hazarding parties (3) If however the hazarding party was very powerful, it might subdue first the interposing states and reach its distant enemy, but such cases must be rare (4) If the interposing hostile states were won over by money or prospect of material gains to fight on the side of the attacking party against its distant enemy, the situation would then be reduced to one of adjacency of the central state and its enemy, alliance having extended the former's range of hostile activities to the latter's door In these circumstances, it was reasonable to put down the belligerents as adjacent states and determine the mutual attitude of the surrounding territories by the application of the principle of adjacency as the cause of enmity, a principle that has not perhaps yet lost its force

Why belligerents are supposed to be adjacent

Two more states within the first zone

To the types of friendly and hostile states already named were added two more, *viz.* *madhyama* and *udâsîna* The former is situated within the first zone of both the central state and its enemy, and is therefore within the zone of enmity to each of them But as expressed enmity to one of them results in friendliness to the other, none of them can consider *madhyama* as friend or foe until its word or action crystallizes its position The texts lay down that it helps the central state and its enemy if allied, and can help or destroy each of them when not combined. From this issues the corollary that the strength of this state is much greater than that of either the central power or its enemy, but less than their conjoint resources[4] (henceforth, we shall call it the medium power or state) The *udâsîna* (henceforth to be termed super power or state) is the strongest power we have to imagine within the first zone of the central state It is laid down that the super-power takes a friendly attitude towards the three powers when combined, and can at pleasure help or destroy each of them when separate This gives rise to the position that its strength is less than the combined strength of the central state, its enemy, and the medium state, and necessarily much greater than the individual power of each of them [5] (Diagram V shows the location of the medium and super states)

Why *madhyama* and *udâsîna* are so called

The *madhyama* is so called from its strength being intermediate between the central state or its enemy on the one hand, and *udâsîna* on the other, the last being the strongest power within the first zone, within which therefore three states besides the central, of gradually higher strength, are contemplated, *viz.*, enemy, medium, and super This zone, as already stated, is the region where the chances of war between the central and other states are the greatest, and hence the location of two states of higher grades of strength within it, with their special names, to meet emergencies of reference to such powers in the discourse to follow.

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[4] The *Kautilîya* (Bk VI, ch 2, p 259) has this passage "ari vijigishvor=bhûmy-antarah samhatâsamhatayor=anugraha-samartho nigrahe ch=âsamhatayor=madhyamah " The expression *samhatâsamhatayor=anugraha samarthah* is ambiguous inasmuch as it may be made to signify (1) "can help the central state and its enemy both when allied with each other, and when not so allied '; (2) "can help the central state or its enemy both when allied with other power or powers, and when not so allied "

The first meaning gains support from the " Upâdhyâya nirapekshasârini " commentary (Bibl. Indica) on *sarga* 8, *ślk* 18 of the *Kâmandakîya*, and the second meaning from Śankarârya's commentary on the same

The merit of the first interpretation is that it indicates the measure of strength of the *madhyama*, while the second leaves it obscure It may be objected that the central state and its enemy cannot easily be transformed into allies which this interpretation implies To this the reply may be made that the alliance (though it is not an impossibility) is suggested only to show that, should they be allied, the *madhyama* single-handed will not dare offend them both simultaneously but rather will turn to help them. This indicates that the strength of the *madhyama* is greater than *both that* of the central state and its enemy but less than their combined resources That such a measure of strength in the *madhyama* was intended to be conveyed by the political thinkers of yore may be inferred, not only from the name *madhyama*, but also rom the location of a higher power than *madhyama* within the first zone of the central state This power is called *udâsîna* (literally "seated on a height") and is the highest power that we have to keep in view within the aforesaid first zone With reference to the central state or its enemy on the one hand, and the *udâsîna* on the other, the *madhyama* comes as a *state of medium strength*, and hence its name

[5] *Kautilîya* (Bk VI, ch 2, p 259) has "ari vijigishu-madhyamânâm vahih prakritibhyo balavattarah.... " The Bibl Indica commentary on *Kâmandakîya*, *sarga* 8, *ślk.* 19, which uses the words "mandalâd=bahih," interprets 'vahih " as " vijigishor=bhûmy anantarah " *i.e.* " within the first zone of the central state "

INTER STATE RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

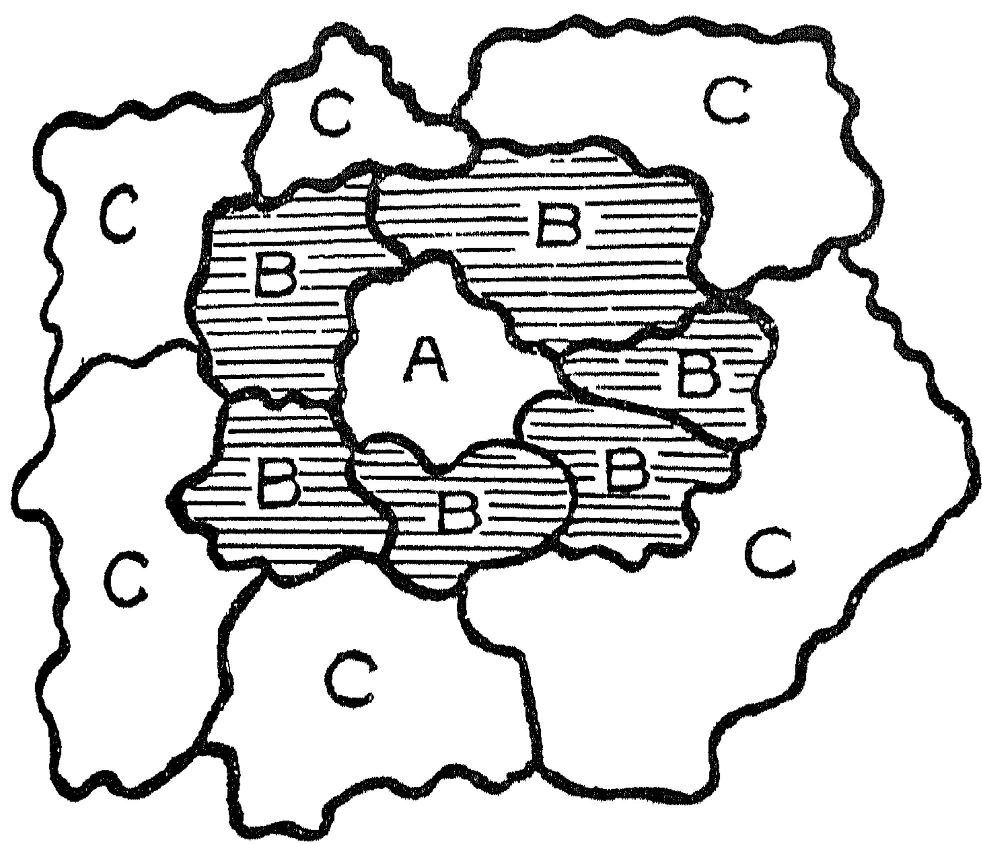


DIAGRAM I

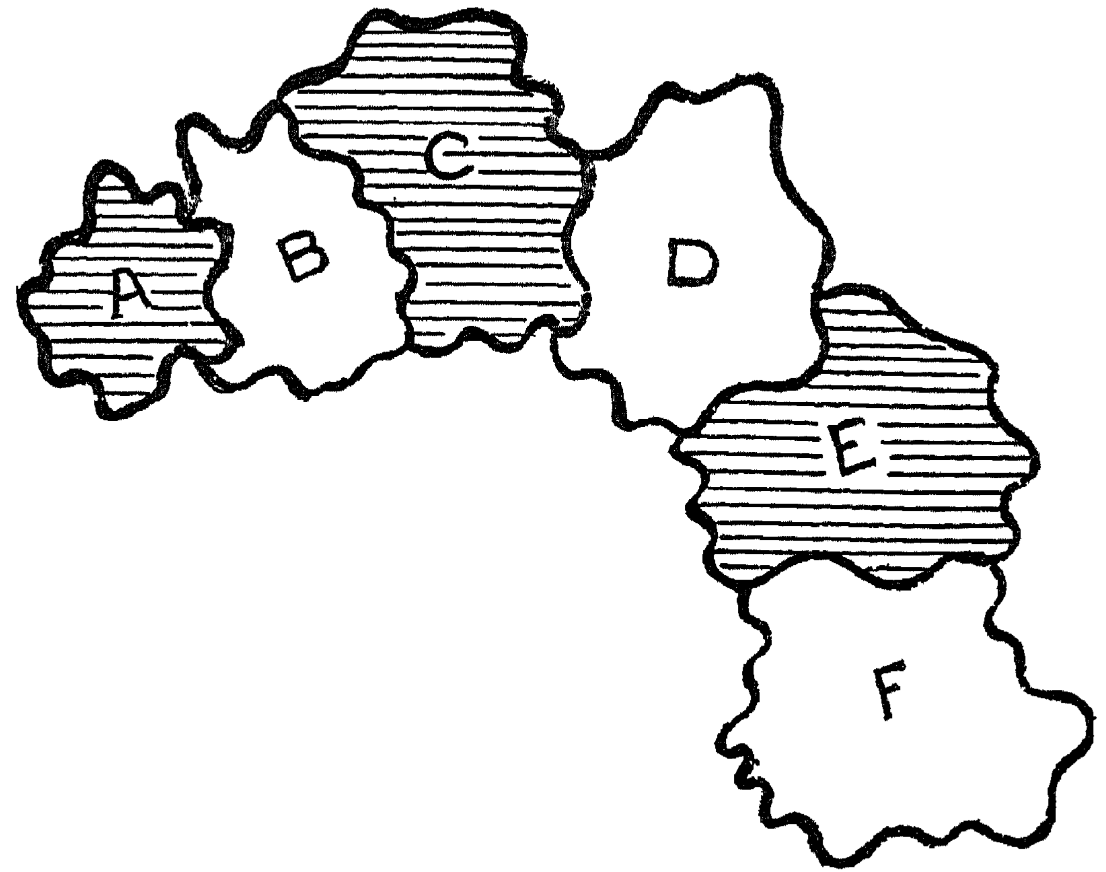


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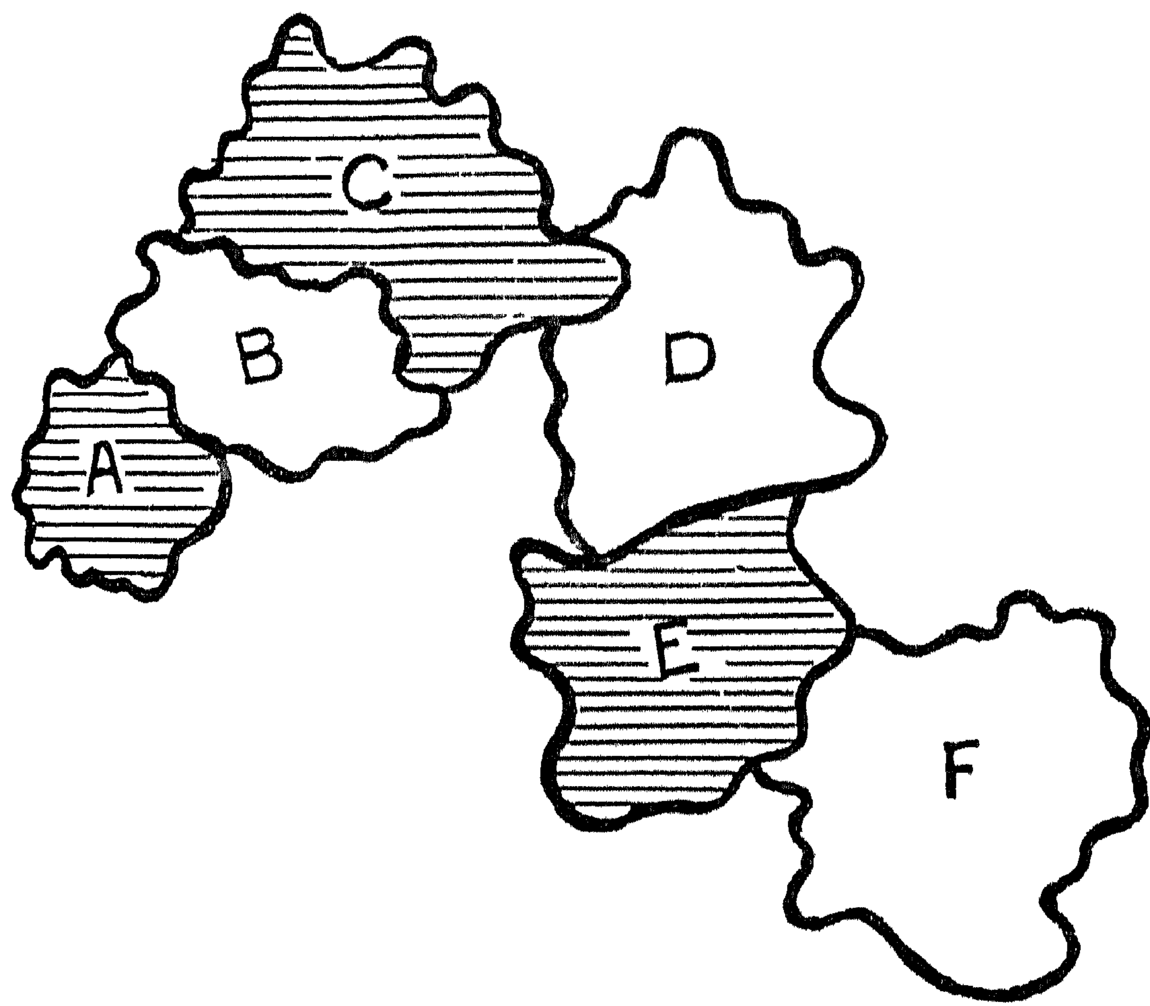


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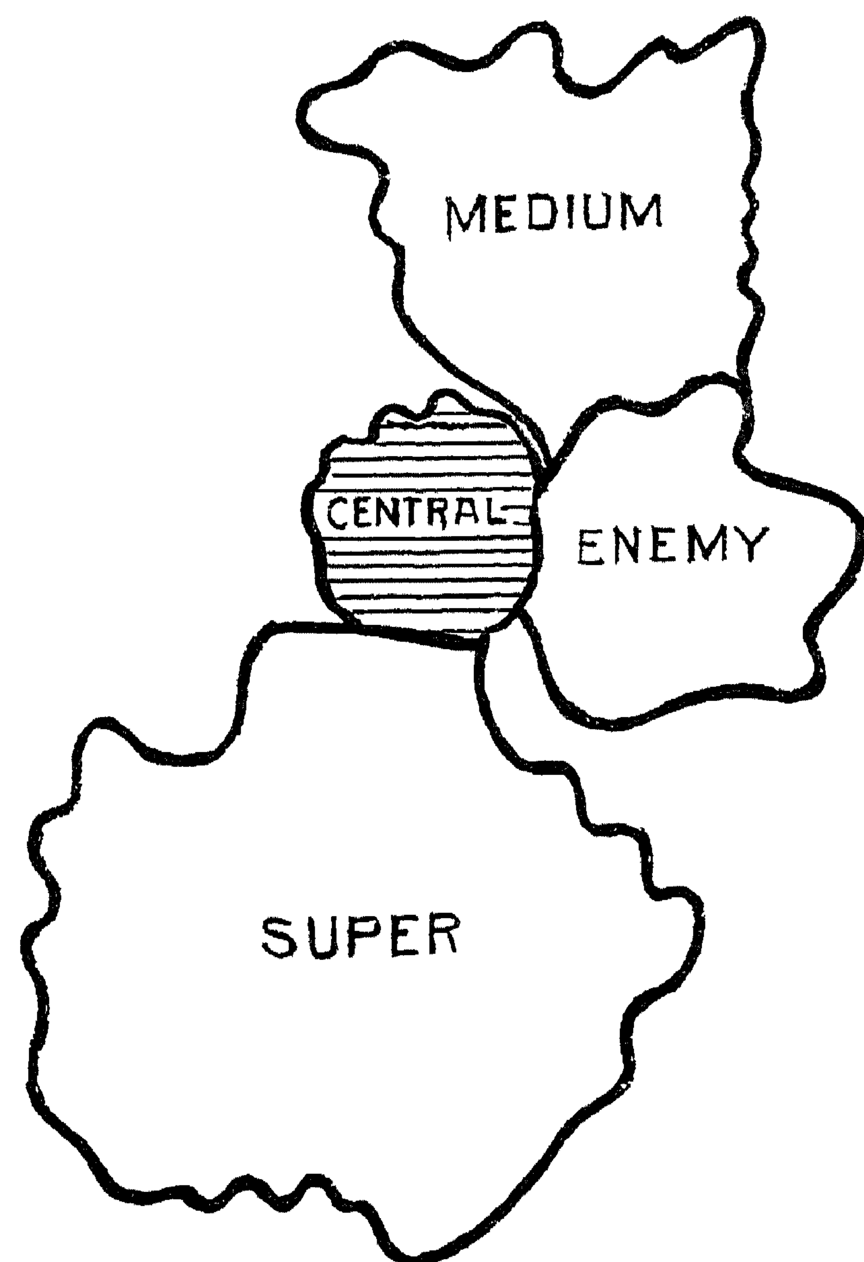


DIAGRAM V

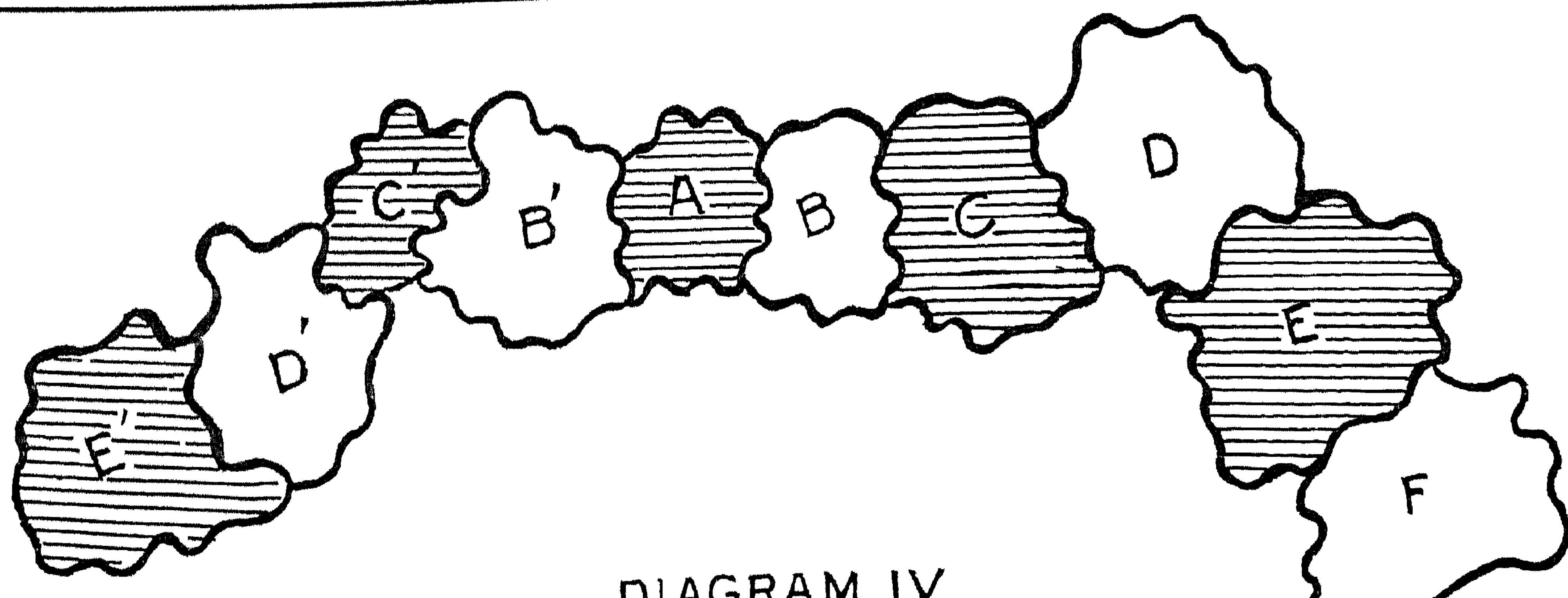


DIAGRAM IV

To render *udâsîna* by 'neutral' and *madhyama* by 'mediatory,' *i.e.* as effecting a mediation between the central state and its enemy would be wide of the mark. The significance of their names has already been indicated. Mediation need not be the special work of a particular neighbour, nor neutrality the special attitude of one of the aforesaid eight states in the hostilities between the central power and its enemy.

Seven constituents or sources of strength of a state

A state was analysed by Hindu statesmen into seven constituents, *viz*, (1) Svâmî (sovereign), (2) Amâtya (minister), (3) Janapada (territory with its subjects), (4) Durga (fort), (5) Kosa (treasure), (6) Danda (army) and (7) Mitra (ally).

To gauge the strength of a state, it is necessary to measure the individual excellence of each of the seven constituents. The first constituent, *svâmî*, signifies the person holding the supreme authority in a state, and in a monarchy the king personally. The excellences of these constituents as enumerated in the *Kautilîya*[6] make it clear that *svâmî* signifies a king or any other person in supreme authority in a state, and not any constitutional body or bodies in which the sovereign-power may be vested. In the above scheme of twelve states, each has its *svâmî*, and if the central sovereign or his enemy wants to measure the allied strength of the other before taking any important political action the aforesaid attitudes earmarked for the several states may well furnish a basis upon which to calculate roughly the number of his allies. The above calculation will have to be supplemented by gauging the strength of each state from the information previously collected as to the excellence of each of its first six constituents.[7] The twelve states, with five inner constituents in each (the first constituent *svâmî* being merged in the state, and the seventh *mitra* in the allies among the twelve states) compose a *mandala* (circle),—the twelve states being called the sovereign-elements (*râja-prakriti*)—and the sixty constituents the resource-elements (*dravya-prakriti*), the total number of the two kinds of elements being seventy-two [$12+(12\times5)=72$].

The sovereign elements and the resource-elements

A general concensus of opinion among the Hindu publicists accepts the above composition of the statal circle as sufficient for the needs of reference to or delineation of the situations arising among the states in their mutual intercourse, the components of the circle with their defined correlation and special nomenclature furnishing the basal concepts and terminology for the performance of the aforesaid task with ease and precision.

Other schemes of *mandala*.

There were various opinions inclining to an extension of the range of the statal circle or a different arrangement of its components for the same purpose *e g* (1) the 72 elements form four *mandalas* of 18 elements each [the central state with a friend, and friend's friend with inner constituents of each are equal to ($3+15=18$) elements composing the first *mandala*,

6 *Kautilîya*, Bk. VI, ch. i, p. 255.

7 The seventh constituent is here left out, as it has been taken into account already.

the second, third and fourth *mandalas* being similarly formed by the enemy, medium, and super states with a friend and friend's friend of each.][8] (2) The central state, enemy, friend, rear-enemy, medium, and super states form a circle of six sovereign elements according to Puloman and Indra.[9]

A list of other opinions is given below.[10]

The excellences of the seven constituents are indicated in the *Kautiliya*.[11] (1) Those of the sovereign are :—(*a*) The *inviting* qualities (*abhigâmikâ-guna*)—of very high descent, favoured by destiny (*daiva-sampanna*), intelligent (*buddhi-sampanna*), steady (in weal or woe) (*sattva-sampanna*), seeing through people old in wisdom, virtuous, truthful, non-contradictory, grateful, having large aims, highly energetic, prompt, able to control neighbouring states, resolute, served by good men, and self-controlled.[12]

(*b*) The *intellectual* qualities (*prajñâ-guna*)—desiring to hear what is worth hearing, hearing it, understanding, retaining in memory, discriminating, deliberating, rejecting what does not appeal to reason, and adhering to what is regarded as best.[13]

(*c*) The energic qualities (*utsâha guna*)—courageous, justly indignant, quick, and industrious.

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8 *Kautiliya*, Bk. VI, ch. 2, p. 259. This corresponds to Maya's view in the *Kâmandakîya*, *sarga* 8, *ślk* 20, calling the four principal states *mûla prakriti* (root elements). The other elements would be called *śâkhâ prakriti* (branch elements).

9 *Kâmandakîya*, VIII, 21. The resource elements have not been calculated.

10 (*a*) *Maya* (second view): the usual 12 sovereign elements with an ally and an enemy of each (12+(12×2)=36 sovereign elements). *Ibid.*, VIII, 23.

(*b*) *Brihaspati*: 12 sovereign elements+an enemy of central state+an enemy of enemy+a friend as well as an enemy of each of the latter two=12+1+1+4=18 sovereign elements. *Ibid.*, VIII, 26.

(*c*) *Kavayah* (the wise): 18 sovereign elements mentioned in (*b*)+5 resource elements of each=18+90=108 (both kinds of elements). *Ibid.*, VIII, 27.

(*d*) *Viśâlâksha*: 18 sovereign elements+an ally and an enemy of each=18+36=54 sovereign elements. *Ibid.*, VIII, 28.

(*e*) 54 sovereign elements mentioned in (*d*)+5 resource-elements of each=54+5×54=324 (both kinds of elements). *Kâmandakîya*, VIII, 29. [M. N. Dutt's translation of this passage at p. 90 is incorrect. He refers to "three hundred and twenty-four monarchies" which is likely to mislead a reader.]

In this way, the varying speculations of the ancient Hindu publicists mention 14, 6, 36, 21, 48, 10, 60, 30, 2, and even 1 element (*Ibid.*, VIII, 30—40), the generally accepted view as already pointed out being that of 12 sovereign elements. (*Ibid.*, VIII, 41.)

11 *Kautiliya*, Bk. VI, ch. 1, pp. 255, 256.

12 I have consulted Śankarârya's commentary as well as that called "Upâdhyâya-nirapeksha sârinî" on *ślokas* 6—8 of the fourth *sarga* of the *Kâmandakîya* in translating the above passages of the *Kautiliya*.

13 Cf. *Kamandakîya*, IV, 22, 23 with the aforesaid commentaries.

(*d*) The personal qualities (*âtma sampat*)—intelligent, bold in the refutation of arguments, with retentive memory, strong, towering, able to easily dissuade others from evil ways, proficient in arts, able to reward or punish for benefaction or injury in calamities, shameful,[14] far-sighted, able to utilize the advantages of time, place, and manly efforts resorting timely to alliance, *vikrama*,[15] concession, restraint upon actions and compacts, and turning into account the weaknesses of enemies, reserved (*samvrita*), noble-minded (*adina*), treating jests with oblique looks and brow beating,[16] devoid of evil passions, anger, avarice, idleness, frivolity, haste, and wickedness, able, and talking with smile and dignity, and acting upon the advice of men old in wisdom.

(2) The excellences of ministers have been enumerated at the beginning, middle, and end of the *Kautiliya* [17]

(3) The excellences of the *janapada* are —Extensive, self sufficing, able to supply the needs of other states in their calamities, provided with sufficient means of protection and livelihood, (with subjects) hostile to inimical states, able to control the neighbouring states, devoid of miry, stony, saline, uneven, thorny lands as well as forests with ferocious animals, lovely, containing agricultural lands, mines, timber and elephant forests, inhabited by energetic people, provided with cattle, other animals, and well-protected pastures, not relying upon rain for irrigation purposes (*i e* containing irrigation works), possessing land and water-ways, large quantities of valuable and variegated articles of commerce, able to maintain an army and bear taxes, inhabited by laborious tillers of the soil and numerous intelligent (*abâlisa*) owners of properties, and containing numerous people of lower castes and loyal and righteous citizens

(4) The excellences of forts have been already mentioned [18]

(5) The excellences of the treasure are —Acquired honestly by the sovereign himself or his predecessors, containing large quantities of gold and silver, gold coins and varieties of big gems, and able to withstand long calamities and non replenishment

(6) The excellences of the army are —Hereditary service, permanent, devoted, contented, maintaining wife and children, not dissatisfied (*avisamvâdita*) in sojourns,

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14 The next expression in the text is not intelligible

15 Including *prakâśa yuddha* (open fight), *kuta yuddha* (treacherous fight) and *tushnim yuddha* (secret fight). See *Kautiliya*, Bk. VII, ch 6, p 278

16 "Abhihâsya jihma-bhrukutikshaṇa" (implying *abhihâsye=abhihâsya-vishaye*)

17 See *Kautiliya*, Bk I, (*mantri-purohitotpattih*), p 15, and the next chapter, p. 17, the qualities of the *amâtyas* lie scattered elsewhere in the work, the word referring to officials like *samâhartri* and *sannidhâtri* and not to *mantrins* (councillors) alone

18 *Kautiliya*, Bk II (*durga vidhânam*), p 51, Bk VII, ch. 10, pp 292, 293

irresistible everywhere, enduring, experienced in many battles trained in all modes of fighting and skilful in the use of all sorts of weapons, never failing in adversity[19] (sharing equally as they do the weal and woe of the king) and composed mostly of Kshattriyas

(7) The excellences of a friendly state are - Friendly from generation to generation, unchanging, devoted liberal, and responding promptly to call for help [20]

(*To be continued*)

MISCELLANEA

'CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA'

A NOTEWORTHY OMISSION

Our thanks are due to Mr Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, M A , for publishing in the *Indian Antiquary* of February 1919, a bibliography on the ancient geography of India While Mr Majumdar has included such books as Babu Nabin Chandra Das's *Geography of Asia Compiled from the Ramayana*, which he himself styles as of 'no importance, it is extremely regrettable that he has omitted from the list by far the most important contribution on the subject made by an Indian We cannot point to a more devoted scholar in the field of Sanskrit research than the late Mr Anundoram Barooah, B A, I C S, Barrister at Law, of Assam His *English–Sanskrit Dictionary* written in the late seventies was for a long time the only book of that type by an Indian To the third volume of this Dictionary Mr Barooah prefixed a long introduction on "The Ancient Geography of India" and an appendix of "Geographical names rendered in Sanskrit" Along with Sir Alexander Cunningham s monumental work on the subject, Mr Barooah's is regarded as the most valuable, and I have seen editors and commentators of Sanskrit texts quote Mr Barooah's authority in tracing the identity of places mentioned in our ancient classics The well known editor of Sanskrit Classics, Rai Sahib Bidhu Bhusan Goswami, M A, has added a summary of Mr Barooah s "Ancient Geography of India" to his excellent edition of Kalidâsa's *Meghadûtam* Prof Max Muller has said about Mr Barooah's work in the *Academy* of the 13th August 1881 — "Mr Barooah has added to the third volume of his *English–Sanskrit Dictionary* a long and important introduction on the 'Ancient Geography of India, and an appendix of Geographical names rendered in Sanskrit both of which will be gratefully received by Sanskrit scholars in Europe Prof Cecil Bendall has remarked in *Trubner s Record* No 245, 1889,— 'Not content with commencing such a *magnum opus* as a dictionary he added to its second and third volumes two new and original works, his Higher Sanskrit Grammar and a Sanskrit geographical names illustrated by a valuable prefatory essay Both are thoroughly original works and rather suffer by being united with the dictionary The latter is, I believe, still a unique contribution to Indian research '

It is to be regretted that the existence of such a book on the ancient geography of India has not come to the knowledge of Mr Majumdar, deeply read as he is in Indian antiquities We hope in future discussions he will not omit Mr Barooah s most noteworthy contribution on the subject

Here we may add that we agree with Prof Bendall when he says that the value of Mr Barooah's "Geography of Ancient India' has suffered by being united with the dictionary. His *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* was published separately during Mr Barooah s life time Could not the lovers of Sanskrit learning, and the various organizations existing all over the country for its promotion and research, see their way to reprint and publish separately Mr Barooah s "Geography of Ancient India" and thus rescue from oblivion this most valuable contribution by an Indian to the ancient geography of the land of his ancestors'

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19 For the meaning of *adiradhya*, cf *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 9, p 289

20 These attributes of the friendly state have been dealt with at length at p 289 of the *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 9 The *Kâmandakiya* dwells on the excellences of the state elements in *sarga* 4 and offers many parallels to the statements in the *Kautiliya*

rope, (s) 1. cord bêtmo (da) *See* App xiii 2 coil of rope kōdo (da)

rot, (v i) 1 of a log of wood (a) rûka (ke), (b) chōro (ke), (c) bûdara (ke), stages in decomposition in order noted 2. of flesh or vegetation (a) â chōro (ke), (b) â mêtel (ke), two stages in order given

rotate, (v i) ad gêri (ke)

rotten, (adj) 1 of meat a-jābare, chōrore, 2 of wood ûb (da), chōrore, ar yôb (da) 3 of fruit or vegetables â-mêtelre, chōrore 4 of bamboo or cane kōta (da)

rough, (adj) 1 uneven, as the bark of a tree ôt-rêñi (da) 2 not planed . pōrnga ba (da) 3 of the sea pâtara dôga (da)

round, (adj) 1 globular ot-bana (da), mōtâwa (da) 2. circular kōrnga (da)

rouse, (v t) *See* **awaken** (v i) . ôyu bôi (ke)

row, (s) line tōrnga (da) In a row, (a) of animate objects â-tōr-len, (b) of inanimate objects î-tōr-len

row, (v t) transport by boat ûn-târ-tegi (ke) 2. propel with an oar tâpa (ke) *See* **paddle** I rowed my wife across the creek *wai do dai îkyâte len jîg l'ig tedibala ûntârtegire*

row, (v i) engage in a row or brawl iji chêt (ke)

rub, (v t) 1. in order to dry or clean iâr (ke) *See* **clean** and **dry** 2. as in polishing anything . chûlu (ke) *See* **polish** 3 gently, as a sore lûrai-cha (ke). (v i) 1. rub one's eyes, as on waking iji-lûraicha (ke), iji-pûlaiña (ke) 2 rub one's back ad-rîr (ke) *See* **whet**

rub off, (v t) . . . pûl (ke)

rubbish, (s) . . bêra (da)

rude, (adj) . . ōko-dûbungaba (da)

rudder, (s) . . . âr-gîuda (da)

ruler, (s) *See* **chief** (head or supreme)

rum, (s) rôg (da) *See* **grog**

rumour, (s) târtît châlinga (da)

rump, (s) *See* **buttock**

run, (v i) kâj (ke) runner, (s) kâjnga (da), kâj yâte (da) run aground, strand, (v t) ōko yôboli (ke) (v i) ad yôboli (ke) run away ad-wêti (ke) run after ar-(or ig) âj (ke) running over, (p a) overflowing ōto-êlanga (da) run-away, (s) ad wêti yâte (da)

rupee, (s) ik pûku (da) *See* **coin**

rush, (v t or v i) as in order to capture î-lo-kîmi (ke), ig mûtli (ke)

rust, (v t) bô-l'ab-lê (ke) *See* **dung and eat**, (v i) ad chê (ke)

rust, (s) êla-tâ-l'âr-bô (da), tōlbôd-tâ-l'âr-bô (da) (*lit* "iron-dung")

rusty, (adj) bô-l'ab-lêre, ad-chêre

rustle, (v i) of leaves kōtot (ke)

rustle, (s) kōtot (da) *See* **sound**

S

sad, (adj) sorrowful 1. out of spirits . kûk l'âr jābag (da), kûk-l'âr tâlag-inga (da), wîanga (da) 2. as when mourning, or when punished . dêkia (da), bûlabnga (da)

safe, (adj) free from danger ôt-jîba (da) *See* **alone**

sail, (s) foreign, or canvas âkà-dādi (da), yôlo (da) The latter is distinguished from the word for "soul" by taking the p pron dîa, ngîa, îa, etc *See* App ii.

sailing-ship, (s) chêlewa l âkà-dādi (da)

sake of, for the (postp) en, ûl *See* **for, dance, give, make** and App ii For your sake I will not beat him *wai dô ng'ûl ad ab-pareke yāba* (*da*)

saliva, (s) âkà tûbal (da), âkà-raij (da)

salt, (s) 1. êrepaij (da) 2. salt-water râta (da)

saltish *See* **brackish**

salute, (s) salutation iji-mûgu-eninga (da)

salute, (v t or v i) iji-mûgu eni (ke)

same, (adj) 1. identical ûcha-ûba (da) 2 similar, of like kind âkà-pâra (da), âr-lōinga (da), âr-tâ-lôg (da) 3 at the same (or such) time as (rel) kîan-êr ûba-lik at the same time (correl) kichi-kan At such (or the same) time as you strike my hand (at the same time) I will hit you on the head *kîan êrubalik ngô d'ông-parekn̄ga bêdig, kichi kan do ng'ôt pareke* See App i

sand, (s) târa (da) 2 sand-bank (bar) tar-pârag (da) 3 sand-fly ñipa (da) Sand-flies bit me during the night *qûrug ya ñipa den kârabre*

sandy beach, (s) târa-l'ōko pai (da)

sap, (s) 1. milk like and viscous, as of the *Ficus Sp*, *Artocarpus chaplasha*, etc ig mûn (da) 2 watery, as of the *Bombax malabaricum* ig-raij (da) 3 oleaginous, as of the *Dipterocarpus sp* ig-âna (da)

sardine, (s) to âna (da)

satiate, (v i) satisfy one's appetite teg-bût (ke)

satisfied, (p a) 1 contented ôt kûk-l'âr-bêringa (da) 2. as regards food, satiated teg-bûtre

satisfy, (v t) gratify to the full en-ôt-kûk-l'âr-bêringa (ke)

saturate, (v t) soak ôt-pi (ke), ôt-îna (ke)

savage, (adj) 1 fierce *See* **ferocious** and **cruel** 2 wild, uncivilized î dûbunga-ba (da)

save, (v t) 1 make safe *See* **rescue** 2. save food *See* **preserve, reserve**

savoury, (adj) 1. with ref to taste âkà-bêringa (da), âkà râjamaich (da) 2. with ref to odour ôt-àu-bêringa (da)

saw-dust, (s) rûb (da)

say, (v t) state, affirm, tell târ chî (ke) What did he say? *ô michima târchire?*

scab, (s) waiña (da), with prefix, ôt, ông, ig, ab, etc according to part of the body referred to *See* App ii

scald, (v t) 1 one's person ab tûlup (ke) 2 scald one's throat âkà-pûgat (ke)

scalding-hot, (adj) of water gravy, etc akā-uya (da) *See* **hot**

scale (of fish) (s) yât-l'ot êj (da), yât-l'ot-waiña (da)

scalp, (s) ot-kâkà (da)

scaly, (adj) waiña (da), with prefix according to part referred to *See* also **scab, scurf** and App ii

scamp, (s) ab jābag (da)

scar, (s) *See* **cicatrix**

scare, (v t) ar-yâdi (ke) *See* **frighten.**

scarce, (adj) *See* **rare**

scarify, (v t) tûp (ke)

scarlet, (s) chêrama (da)

scatter, (v t) 1 with ref to animate objects ab wilya (ke) 2. with ref to inanimate objects kōr (ke) (v i) as after a meeting chāradami (ke), âkan târ-tôai (ke)

scent, (adj) of fruit, flowers, etc *See* **smell**

scold, (v t) ig râl (ke), pareja (ke) *See* **blame**

scoop, (v t) 1. with adze, as in making a canoe, bow, etc kôp (ke) 2. as in making a bucket tane (ke) 3. with the fingers as when searching for turtle eggs in the sand kâraij (ke) *See* **burrow, excavate** and **make** (p p) scooped evenly iêdnga (da)

scorch, (v t) jôi (ke), ōtini (ke) I have scorched my hand with (by touching) the cooking pot *wai dô bûj d'ông jôire* (v i) pûd (ke), dal (ke)

scorpion, (s) pātera (da)

scoundrel, (s) ab-jābag (da) *See* **scamp.**

scowl, (v t and v i) *See* **frown**

scraggy, (adj) *See* **lean**

scrap, (s) *See* **bit**

scrape, (v t) pōr (ke)

scratch, (v t) **1.** with the nails or claws ngōtowa (ke), with prefix according to the part of the body referred to **2.** as animals scratch up soil êr-kâraij (ke) (v i) **1.** as a thorn (ig-)ngâli (ke) 2. one's self, **(a)** with a thorn ad-ngâli (ke) **(b)** with one's nails . ad-ngōtowa (ke)

scream, (v t) **1.** from pain ara-tâmi (ke) 2 from fear ara-patek (ke)

screen, (leaf-hand-) (s) . . kâpa jâtnga (da) This consists of large palm leaves (of the *Licuala peltata*) which are stitched together (jâtnga) and then used as a protection against sun or rain *See* App xi and xiii

screen, leaf- (s) **1** large, encircling hut on wet days kōmla (da) **2.** smaller, on weather side of hut for protection against wind or rain . bigadinga (da)

screw pine, (s) *Pandanus Andamanensium* mâng (da)

scum, (s) *See* **froth, foam**

scurf, (s) scurfy (adj) ôt waiña (da) *See* **scab, scale**

scuttle, (v t) make holes below water-line of ship or canoe in order to sink her âr-ête tûbuli (ke), âr ête-rêu (ke)

sea, (s). **1.** jûru (da) **2.** boundless, ocean jûru châu (da), jûru-chânag (da) **3.** calm lia (da) **4.** rough lîa-ba (da) **5.** sea-shore tōko-kêwa (da) **6.** sea water râta (da) **7.** sea-urchin (with spines) mōrio (da) **8.** sea-pen (*Virgularia Rumphii*) . jûruwin (da). **9.** sea weed châbya (da), tono-tòng (da), paio tòng (da) These are the three common varieties, the seed of No 2 is eaten by the natives **10.** sea shell ōla-tâ (da) **11.** (v i) travel by sea, **(a)** a short trip in a canoe . . . âkan-gai (ke) **(b)** a long voyage . ōto-jûru-tegi (ke) (adv) by sea . . . jûru-len

seal, (v t) *See* **caulk**

sealing-wax, (s) . kânga-tâ-bûj (da) *See* **honey-comb** and App xiii

seam, (s) tânwi (da).

search, (v t). **1.** for a person âta (ke) *See* **along,** and **look for** I will search for him myself *wai dô d'ôyun batâm ab âtake* **2.** search for honey, fruit, etc up (ke) *See* Ex at **rest**, êr-kêdang (ke) While the others are finishing their evening meal with choice morsels (*lit* enjoying tit bits) Bia goes alone and searches among the trees for flying foxes near our hut *arat dilu dîlaya akat-rârnga bêdig bîa igilā mêta bûd l'ông-pâlen wōt leb êr-kêdangke* *See* **for, others, look overhead,** and **tit-bit**

season, (s) **1.** wâb (da) *See* App ix **2.** rainy season gûmul (da) **3.** cool season pâpar (da), pâpar-wâb (da) **4.** hot season yêre-bôdo (da), râp-wâb (da) **5.** stormy season . chârâp-wâb (da) [The tree chârap blossoms about September when storms prevail] (v t) **1.** give relish to âkà-yâro-leb kyû (ke), âkà-yâro leb-îgau (ke) **2.** mature yâlai (ke) (v i) be in season lōna (ke) I will come when the jack-fruit is in season *kaita-lōnanga bêdig wai dô ònke* (adv) every season wâblen-wâblen

seat, (s) âra-tōknga (da)

second, (adj.) in order **(a)** of two târ-ôla (da) **(b)** of three mûguchâl (da) *lit* middle **(c)** of four to six . âr ôla (da) **(d)** of six or more . âr-tônau (da) **(e)** of a row or line . tōko-yôlo (da) second-sighted, (adj) . . âra-mûgu târabanga (da). *See* **dream** and Ex at **eer**

secret, (s) . . ôt-tig-pûluganga (da). (v i) keep a secret pûku-len-lōtî (ke), pûku-len-tegi (ke)

secretly, (adv) mîla-ya (v i) talk secretly *See* **whisper**

secretion, (s) raij (da) *See* **milk, sap**

sediment, (s) ar mûrudi (da) ar-mûruwin (da)

see, (v t) 1 ig bâdi (ke) (perf ig-bâdigre) *See* **feast,** and **seer** He saw me yesterday *ô dîlia d'igbâdigre* 2. s some distant object el ôt-iai (ke) Just now I saw a sailing ship on the horizon *wai dô gôi-la el-ôko kîliya chêlewa-l'âka-dādi el ôt-raire* 3 see ! ig-bâdig ! *See* **another** (v i) apprehend iji-bâdi (ke) I now quite see what you mean *ngô mîn yâte dô âchitik ubaya d'iji-bâdi* (*ke*) see to (spoken threateningly) eb-ad-bêringa (ke) Wait a bit, I'll see to you *kanya, dô ng eb ad beringake*

see-saw, (s) (the game) ad yênenga (da) *See* **game**

seed, (s) 1. generic term for all descriptions ôt-ban (da) The seed of that tree *kâto âkatâng l'ôt-ban* (*da*) 2 of plantain, pine apple, and jack-fruit î dal (da) *See* **preserve**

seedling, (s) wîchi (da) (a) of the *Semecarpus* . kât (da) (b) of the *Entada pursoetha* gana (da) (c) of the jack fruit tree . bêreñ (da)

seek, (v t) *See* **look for, search**

seer, (s) ōko-paiad (da) The seer told me that in his dream (*lit* being second-sighted) he had seen my deceased wife happy in Paradise *ōko paiad den târchî wai d'ara-mûga-târabanga bedig ngai ik yâte jereg-ya kûk bêringa l'igbâdigre*

seize, (v t) 1 take hold of eni (ke) 2. as one combatant seizes another jûlu-kîni (ke) 3 one or more combatants in order to stop a fight ôt-pûnu (ke) *See* **prevent, squeeze** 4 forcibly . jûr-baring'i (ke)

seldom, (adv) ñōthi , tig lûmunga (da).

select, (v t) *See* **choose**

self, (s) . ôyun têmar , ôyun batâm (plur ôyut-t , ôyut-b) *See* **break,** and App ii Wologa himself made this bow *wôlog' ôyun-têmar ûcha kârama pōrre* We ourselves shot all these pigs *môl'ôyut-batâm ûch' ârdûru reg tairre* We therefore fetched several prime young pigs for ourselves *kîanchâ reg wâra-gôi jîbaba môyut-têmar l'eb ômore* 2 iji, (plur ijit) *See* Ex at **never mind** ! 3 ōto *See* **break** and Ex at **barter, forget** and App ii 4 êkan We are now rearing in our midst a few sucking pigs for ourselves *med' âchitik* (*m'*) *ekan l'eb reg-bā l ikpōi motot-paichalen chilyuke* *See* **hurt one's self** and App ii Among selves ôyut-bûd bêdig *See* Ex at **among**

selfish, (adj) âi mûroba (da)

Semecarpus anacardium, (s) ʹ chaij (da) Fruit and seed are eaten

Semecarpus sp (s) pâ (da) Seed is eaten

send, (v t) 1. . with ref to human objects en titân (ke) , ab-lûdai (ke) , ab lûpati (ke) I sent my wife to her mother *wai do dai ikyâte ekan abêtinga l'ot paichalat en-titânre* 2. with ref to animals or inanimate objects i titân (ke) , ôt-lûdai (ke) , ôt-lûpati (ke) *See* **disappointed** I sent my canoe in order that he might come here (or for the purpose of his coming here) *ôna kârin ônnga l'eb da dîa iôko i titânre* *See* **receive** send away, dismiss âkà târ-tôai (ke) send for âi ñgêre (ke) send word ig-gairma (ke)

separate, (v t) 1. sort . . . ôt-nân (ke) 2. keep apart . . ôt-kâ (ke) (v i) as friends after a visit, part ōto kâ (ke) *See* **part** (adj) 1 distinct ig lā (da) 2 apart iji-lā (da) *See* Ex at **apart** Separately, (adv) not together . ōto kângaya *See* **one by one, singly**

septum of nose, (s) ig-êj-bā (da)

serrated bony spine of sting-ray, (s) ñîp-l'âr-châga (da) *See* **ray**

serviceable, (adj) of a canoe, bow, etc after repair . . . mêdel (da) *See* Ex at **no longer**

set, (v t) **1.** place . . . tegi (ke) **2** s free *See* **release** **3.** s fire to, s light to . . . ōko jôi (ke), ōko-pûgat (ke) **4.** s aside . . . iji-lā-l'ôt-chilyu (ke) **5.** s to rights . . . eb-ad-bêringa (ke) *See* **see to** **6** s upright . . . tig jêrali (ke) **7.** s apart *See* **separate** (v i) **1** sink below the horizon, as sun, moon etc . . . ara lôti (ke) **2.** s out, proceed *See* **start**

settle, (v t) occupy a new site . . . êr-wâl (ke) *See* **area, distribute**

settlement, (s) colony . . . el-ôt-wâlnga (da) *See* Ex at **afraid**

seventh, (adj) *See* App iii

sever, (v t) cut off . . . ep tōpati (ke)

several, (adj) . . . jîbaba (da), jeg-chàu (da), ârdûru (da), at-ûbaba (da) *See* **assemblage** We stayed there several days *med'kâto ârla jibaba pòlire*

sew, (v t) stitch . . . jât (ke)

shade, (v t) 1 to shelter from the sun . . . ab-diya (ke) **2.** s the eyes with the hand from glare of the sun . . . ig kâran (ke) **3.** go into (*lit* desire, seek) the shade . . . dîya-lat (ke) *See* **Shelter** (s) . . . diya (da) *See* **family** When the sun is hidden by clouds the land (or sea) affected is spoken of as "el-âr dîya (da)" *lit* "shaded area" *See* **place.**

shadow, (s) . . . ôt lêre (da)

shaft, (s) 1 of pig arrow . . . bûtu-tâ (da) 2 of fish arrow . . . râta-tâ (da) 3 of pig-spear . . . bôl tâ (da) 4 of turtle harpoon . . . tōg (da) We make the shafts of the rata arrow from the reed *meda ridi tek rata la mōkke*

shaft, fore (s) *See* **ad of arrow**

shake, (v t) agitate . . . ab jûla (ke), ab gîdi (ke) (v i) **1.** tremble, shiver from fright . . . yua (ke), yûyuka (ke) *See* **tremble, shiver** **2.** shake, owing to vibration . . . iji lêlo (ke) **3** s the head, in token of denial or dissent . . . iji-gîdi (ke) **4** s the fist . . . ôyun-têla (ke)

shall, (v aux) . . . ngabo See *ante*, p 6, footnote 15

shallow, (s) shoal . . . kêleto (da), tōko-kêwa (da), tâlawa (da) I harpooned this turtle in the shallow water over there *wai dôl ûcha yâdi kâto kêleto len jeralire* *See* **foreshore**

sham, (v i) *See* **malinger, pretend**

shame, (s) . . . tek-îk (da), ôt-tek-yôma (da) (adj) shame-faced, bashful . . . ôt-tek (da) shameful . . . tek-bōtaba (da) shameless, immodest, without shame . . . ôt tek-yāba (da), ôt tekngaba (da), tek-îk-yāba (da) (interj) shameful! for shame! . . . tek-bōtaba!

shampoo, (v t) . . . ab-rû (ke)

shape, (v t) form, fashion . . . oiyo (ke) *See* **make**

share, (v t) divide . . . ôt-kōbat (ke), dulâ (ke) (v i) **1.** have part . . . ara-jôpi (ke) **2** s equally . . . tâ rîm (ke)

sharer, (s) partner . . . ara jôpinga (da)

shark, (s) **1** . . . yai (da) **2.** hammer-headed . . . pîn (da)

sharp, (adj) **1.** of a blade . . . rînima (da) **2** intelligent . . . mûgu-tig dai (da) **3** sharp-sighted . . . ig bêringa (da). (interj) look sharp! . . . ar-yêre!, kuro!

sharpen, (v t) a blade . . . î (or ig)-jît (ke), âkà-lêje (ke) **2** s a pointed implement or weapon . . . ōko-jît (ke).

sharpening-stone *See* **hone**

shatter, (v t) . . . â-tōra (ke), pâchi (ke), patemi (ke) *See* **break to pieces** (v i) . . . ōkan-pâchi (ke), ōto patemi (ke)

shave another, (v t) **1** . . . jêr (ke) with prefix ab, âkà, ôt, etc according to part of person referred to **2.** s the crown of the head . . . tâ-la-tim (ke) **3** s one's self . . . jêr (ke) with prefix ara, ad, akan, ôyun, ōto, iji according to part of person referred to

shaving (of wood), (s) rûb (da)

she, (pers pron) ôlla, ôl, (in construc ô, â, a, ôna) *See* App ii (honorific title) châna, chana

shed, (v i) **1.** cast, as the skin of snakes, etc waiña (ke) **2.** moult, as feathers, hair, etc ōto pîj (ke) **3** s tears t'î-tōlat (ke) *See* **dance**

shed, (s) baraij (da)

sheep, (s) tûtma (da) The same word is used for "goat", both animals were formerly unknown to them

sheer, (v i) sheer off, of a canoe iji-pòlokîni (ke), mana (ke)

shelf, (s) for food tâga (da) *See* **platform**

shell, (v t) with ref. to the seed pods of the *Entada pursœtha*, etc taia (ke).

shell, (s) **1.** of edible shell-fish (generic term) âka-tâ (da) What a big (*Tridacna*) shell! *badi ûcha âkà-tâ (da)* ! **2.** sea-s ōla-tâ-(da) **3.** land-s êrem-ōla-tâ (da) **4.** fresh-water s îna ōla-tâ (da) **5.** coconut-s jêdir-l'ôt-tâ (da) **6.** tortoises tàu-l'ôt-êj (da) **7** nut-s ôt-tâ (da) **8** egg-s ôt-êd-(da) (in construc ôt-êj) **9.** s fish ōla (da) **10** s-heap *See* **kitchen-midden** For lists of shells *see* App xii

shelter, (v t) another in one's hut ôt-mêdali (ke) *See* also **shade** **2.** s from sun or rain ôt râm (ke), bigadi (ke) *See* note at **wall** (v i) take shelter târ lōtî (ke) **2.** shelter from rain only yûm l'îji (ke) *See* **shade** and **leave**

shimmer, (v i) as sun on rippling water êlemja (ke)

shin, (s) ab châlta (da) *See* App ii

shine, (v i) **1.** of polished metal kar (ke), bêtel (ke) *See* **glitter** **2.** beam, of sun or moon châl (ke)

ship, (s) **1** sailing- chêlewa l'âkà-dādi (da) *See* **see** **2.** steam-s bîrma-chêlewa (da), chêlewa-l'âkà-bîrma (da), âkà bîrma (da) **3.** ship-wreck chêlewa-l'ōto-kûjuri-yâte (da)

ship-worm, (*Teredo navalis*.) (s) jûru-win (da)

shiver, (v t) break into fragments *See* **break** and **shatter** (v i) **1.** from cold ig bêredi (ke) **2.** from fright vûa (ke), yûyuka (ke) *See* **shake, tremble**

shoal, (s) **1.** sandbank târ pârag (da) **2.** a shallow *See* **shallow**

shoot, (v t) **1** with bow and arrow taij (ke) On looking there I saw the same Jarawa who shot my father yester day *kâto lûnga bêdig da uch'ûba jarawa d'abmaiola len dilêa taij âte l'iqbâdiqre* **2** s at a target êr-taij (ke) **3** s from ambush î-chōpat (ke) **4** s two or more animals while hunting ar mâl (ke) **5** s with harmless bows and arrows at friends iti-taij (ke) a village game played after dusk *See* **game** **6** s with a gun ôt-pûguri (ke) *See* **throw**, the flash from the gun being likened to that of a brand when used as a missile (exclam,) (Now) shoot! olo-wai!, jeg!

shooting-star, (s) *See* **star**

shore, (s) **1.** tôt (or î)-gōra (da), tōn mûgu (da) *See* **coast** **2.** fore-s kêwa (da) *See* **foreshore** The shallow water beyond the foreshore is called kêleto (da) or tōko kêwa (da) *See* **shallow** (v i) go on shore *See* **land,** (v i)

short, (adj) **1.** with ref to human beings ab jôdama (da), ab dêdeba (da), ab dûgab (da) **2.** with ref to animals î (or ôt)-jôdama (da), î (or ôt) tôdama (da), ôt dêdeba (da), ôt-rôkoma (da) **3** inanimate objects jôdama (da), tôdama (da), rôkoma (da), dôdeba (da)

short-commons, (s) insufficient food yât bā (da)

short-sighted, (adj) unable to see far ig jābag (da)

short-winded, (adj) âkà-chaiat (da)

shorten, (v t) pòiñ (ke), (v i) ōto pòiñ (ke)

shot, (s) marksman ûn-yâb (da), ûn-taijnga (da) Master Woi is an excellent flying fox shot *mar wôi ûn-wot taijnga tâpaya* *See* **Master**

should, (v aux) tôguk See *ante*, p 6, footnote 15 Before making that voyage you should eat a good meal *kât'ōto-jûru-tegınga l'entōba waı ngô dôgaya maknga tôguk*

shoulder, (s) ıg-tōgo (da) (a) shoulder blade ab pōdıkma (da) (b) flesh adjoining the s blade ōt chag (da) (adv) shoulder to shoulder at mêterı (da)

shout, (v t) call to pek-îk (ke) (v ı) 1. call loudly to attract attention êrewâ (ke) Why do you shout his name ? he is absent *mıchalen ngol ōt tıng lat êrewâ (ke) ? (ol) ab yāba (da)* 2 utter a shout akan-gûru (ke) 3 shout with delight (of women only) romo (ke) When I brought the two turtles all the women shouted with delight *do yddı l ikpor tôyunga bedıq chan ârdaru romore* [When men return from a successful hunt, the women on seeing their spoils (pigs, turtles etc) usually express their delight by shouting and slapping their thighs , men never do this] 4. s to one's friends on nearing home after a successful hunt terebla (ke) See Ex at **listen** [When returning from a successful hunt or search for honey, etc men generally acquaint their friends on nearing home by shouting to them]

shove, (v t) ı gudàuwa (ke) 2. s off, of a canoe î gudàutı (ke)

show, (v t) 1 any small object by holding it up ı târanı (ke) 2. s any large or heavy object by pointing it out ıtân (ke) I showed the hut to the European sailor *waı do bouqolı len bûd l'ıtânre*, (ōko-t') ıg-ıau (ke) 3. s the method of doing a certain thing . ûl (ke) Show me how to dance *waı d'ûl-kôı (ke)* [*lıt* " dance for my sake," *i e* showing by ocular demonstration] Show us how to string a bow *waı met ûl-ngōtolı (ke)* See **for** and **teach** 4 describe, explain î taı (ke) *See* **explain and teach.** 5. s the way tınga-chî (ke) *See* **tell**, tınga-l'ōko lâ (ke) *See* **lead the way**, tınga-l'ıg nàu (ke) *lıt* " way-see walk " *See* also **blaze,** (v t) (v ı) s one's self, appear ara-dîya (ke)

shower, (s) yûm-l'âr yîl (da), yûm-bā (da)

shred, (s) kajılı (da), râchatnga (da) *See* **rag**

shriek, (v ı) ara-pate (ke)

shrımp, sea water- (s) kaıbıj (da) *See* **prawn**

shrug, (v ı) one's shoulders owing to cold or sudden emotion ōto-ñıkıl (ke)

shudder, (v ı) *See* **tremble**

shun, (v t) *See* **avoıd**

shut, (v t) 1 mêmatı (ke), mêodı (ke), mêwadı (ke) 2 s the mouth âkà mêmatı (ke) 3 s the eyes ıg-mêmatı (ke) 4. s by means of screen elâkà-mematı (ke) 5 s with lid or cover ōko mêmatı (ke) 6 s the hand mōtrı (ke) *See* **fist** (v ı) 1 s one's ears aıyan-mûju (ke), âkan mûju (ke) 2 s ın ref to one's mouth ōkan mêmatı (ke) 3 s ın ref to one's eyes îdal-ıjı-tarı (ke)

shy, (adj) 1 bashful, as a girl ōt-tek (da) 2 reserved, as strangers on meeting . mûkurınga (da) 3 suspicious, as wild animals adamınga (da)

sick, (adj) 1 ill ab yednga (da), ad-jābag (da) Her (*lıt* the woman's) son told me that his (own) father was sick *chân l'ab îtıre den târchî aña êkan abmaıola waı ab-yednga (da)* *See* **her** 2 unwell, out of sorts *See* **unwell** 3. ınclined to vomit ad-wênga (da)

sickness, (s) ab-yed (da)

sıde, (s) 1. bank of creek or straıt ıg-paı (da) (a) this side ıg bala (da). (b) the other side tedı-bala (da) *See* **opposite** 2 of the body âkà-châga (da) 3 of a canoe rôko-l'ab pârıtâ (da) (*lıt* " rıbs ") *See* **propel** 4. left side ıjı-kōrı (da) 5. right side ıjı-bîda (da), ıjı-bôjıg (da) 6. side-face, profile *See* **face** (adv) on this

side kâre tek, dig-tar-châgya on that side . kâto-met-tek, tîmar-tek on one side ijilā (da) Stand on one side! *ijilā kâpi!* side by side paipdanga (da). on both sides of id paipdanga (da) sideways lōriya

sigh, (v i) âkà-chaiad (ke) sigh, (s) âkà chaiad (da) In construction "chaiat"

sight, out of (adj) *See* **invisible**

sighted, (adj). **1** long (or clear) s ig-bê-inga (da) **2** short-s. ig-jābag (da) **3.** dim-s ig-kârangnga (da)

sign, (s) mark, trace ig lâmya (da) *See* Ex at **trace**

signal, (s) ig wîl (da)

silence, (v t) en-mîla (ke) (exclam.) silence! âh!, mîla (ke)! silent, (adj) mîlanga (da), âkà (or ōko)-mûlwinga (da)

silk-cotton-tree (*Bombax malabaricum*), (s) gereng (da) Is rarely used for making canoes

silly, (adj) ig-pîchanga (da), î-gar'adnga (da)

silver. *See* **metal**

similar *See* **alike,** and Ex at **exactly**

simpleton, (s) mûgu tig-pîcha (da)

simultaneously, (adv) êr-ûba-lik *See* **together**

sin, (s) offence against the deity yûbda (da) (v i) yûbda (ke)

since, (postp) **1** ever after tek I have waited here since noon *wai do bôdo-châu tek kârin tâmire* **2.** during the time after âr-tetagôiya Since your departure this morning Bira has been very abusive to me *dîlmaya ng'ârteta-gôiya bîra dôgaya d'abtôgore*

sincerely, (adv) . ûba-ya

sinew, (s.) *See* **muscle**

sinful, (adj) yûbdanga (da)

sing, (v t and v i) râmit-tôyu (ke).

singer, (s) ar-râmit-tôyunga (da)

singe, (v t) *See* **scorch** The sound of singeing hair, hide, etc ôt-êr êchanga (da) *See* **sound**

singing in the ears, (s) âkà-nîli (da)

single, (adj) **1** one only, separate, individual ûba dôga (da) *See* Ex at **sufficient** **2.** alone *See* **alone** **3.** unmarried, widow, widower *See* App vii

singly, (adv) one by one, of inanimate objects . ōko lôdongaya **2.** of animate objects âkà-lôdongaya *See* **one by one and separately**

sink, (v t) submerge ôt nōti (ke) (v i). **1** as a stone, drowning man, or harpooned turtle lûdgi (ke) **2.** as one's foot in sand or a swamp ôyun nōti (ke) **3.** set, as sun, moon, etc ara-lōtî (ke) **4** as a canoe over laden or leaky ad-tōb (ke)

sip, (v t) nûruj (ke), âkà-nō (ke)

sir, (s) term of respectful address mar, maia, maiola, mâm *See* **Master** and "Letters to Jambu" *ante*, pp. 8–16 These terms are used as follows —mar, in addressing or referring to a bachelor or young married man, maia, one who is a father or no longer young, maiola, one's own father, or a Chief, mâm, a leading Chief The officer in charge of the Andaman Homes is addressed or referred to as "mâm jôla" (euphoni ally for mâm-ôla), indicating head or supreme Chief

sister, (s) **1** elder â-entōbare (or entōkare) pail (da), â-entōbanga (or entōkanga)-pail (da) **2** elder half-sister (a) consanguine ar châbil-entōbare pail (da) (b) uterine ar-chânol entōbare pail (da) **3** younger ar-dôatinga pail (da), ar wêjinga (or wêjeringa)-pail (da), âkà-kâm pail (da) **4.** younger half-sister (a) consanguine ar-dôatinga-pail (da), ar-wêjinga (or wêjeringa)-pail (da) (b) uterine âkà kâm pail (da) *See* **brother** and App viii

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 to 1851

By S CHARLES HILL

(*Continued from p* 123)

ADDENDA

(I)

Additional note to Episode V

Japanese Destroy a Spanish Ship, 1640

Mr W A Woolley gives the Japanese version of this episode as follows —

"In 1640, on July 7th, a ship from Luzon [Manila] arrived It was seized and the crew were imprisoned in Deshima [a small island in the harbour], 61 of whom were put to death at Nishizaki on August 3rd, and the ship with its cargo, consisting of 60 *kwamme* [one *kwamme*=10 lbs Troy or 8½ lbs Av] of gold, gold ornaments and piece goods was sunk off Sudzure in Nishidomari Thirteen of the crew, who stated that they had come to Japan against their will, were spared and sent home in a Chinese Junk to inform their countrymen of the fate of their comrades and of the prohibition against the coming of foreigners In 1663 the sunken cargo was presented to the Machi-doshi yori, who succeeded in raising over 45 *kwamme* of gold"

[*Historical Notes on Nagasaki*, from a MS entitled *Nagasaki Kokon Shûran by Matsura Tô of Nagasaki Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, IX, 139]

(II)

A Chinese Account of Episode VII

The Pirate Coxinga takes Formosa from the Dutch, 1661

(*Communicated by Mr. S Charles Hill and edited by Sir R C Temple, Bt*)

The Dutchman Lang-peih-tseih-li ho (?) after his unsuccessful raid on the coast of Fuhkeen, made sail for Holland, and throwing himself on the mercy of the King, was pardoned.[85]

Kwei-yih,[86] a younger brother of the King's, burning with anxiety to avenge the honour of his country, was allowed to organize the next expedition which consisted of veteran troops, and which embarked in fifteen transports Favoured with southerly breezes the flotilla progressed, until on a certain day high land hove in sight, which caused Prince Kwei to enquire whether the China coast was not being approached An old soldier, one who had served under Lang-peih-tseih-li-ho, on being appealed to replied, that judging from the colour of the water he surmised that they were on the coast opposite to China, whereupon the Prince ordered the squadron about so that they might determine their position

An anchorage having been discerned, the Prince was able to make out through his telescope that there were no towns or cities on shore therefore the ships were anchored in line, guns were run out for use in case of need, and the Prince's son, Tung-lan(?) landed to recon-

[85] This statement is either a garbled account of the attempt of the Dutch, under Franzoon, in 1623, to trade with Amoy (see Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, IV, Formosa, pp 47, 48) or an allusion to the unsuccessful attack on Macao, in 1660, by Admiral Van der Laan, who subsequently retired to Batavia But, as the narrator goes on to describe the settlement of the Dutch in Tai ouan in 1624, it seems unlikely that he is referring to the latter incident

[86] By "Prince Kwei yih" the narrator means Frederik Coyett, as is evident from the account of the taking of the Dutch possessions on Formosa which follows But Frederik Coyett, Governor of Fort Zeelandia in 1661, had nothing to do with the first settlement of the Dutch on Tai ouan, an islet on the S. W of Formosa, in 1624 Moreover, the expedition was made peaceably under Maarten Sonk, who became the first Governor (see Valentyn, *op cit*, p 49, Imbault-Huart, *Formosa*, pp 13—22). The right of the Dutch to settle on Formosa was conceded to them by the Chinese, on condition of their evacuation of the Pescadores Islands A treaty was negotiated by Cornelius Reyersz in 1623 and concluded by Sonk in the following year.

noitre, being accompanied by a guard of one hundred men, each armed with musket, pistol and sword. Nothing but some old ruins being observed at Kwen-shen the party returned to their boats and crossed to the other bank of the river,[87] where after traversing a *li*[88] or so, a native came in sight who was armed with a bow and arrow, and who was destitute of clothing His language proved unintelligible, but by signs he led the way to where his tribe were living It so happened that at the time one Ho-pin, a linguist, was lying sick in the encampment of the tribe, and on the approach of the Dutch he came forward and explained that the country they had reached was called Tai-wan He further explained that there were no rulers in the island and that people settled here and there at their pleasure On learning this the Dutch were delighted beyond measure and took Ho-pin on board ship with them to see Prince Kwei After questioning the linguist the Prince was highly pleased with him, engaged his services, and made him his right hand man generally [89]

In due course he came to enquire as to the distance from Taiwan to China, and on being informed that the Pescadores could be reached in four watches, and Amoy in seven, he replied that he was eminently satisfied, as in the absence of any fixed government in the island he intended to colonize

From morning till night therefore he proceeded to busy himself with Ho-pin in surveying, and in laying out sites for cities, all with a view to permanent occupation

Substantial walls were run up at Tseih-kwen-shen, the bricks being well faced, and cemented together with a compound of ground rice and lime, and outside these again a fort [Zeelandia] was erected On the opposite shore at Chih-khan [Sakkam] a smaller fort [Provintia] was built The soldiers of the expedition were directed to take women of the Sinkiang aboriginal tribes to wife, whilst three transports were despatched to Holland to convey despatches, and to obtain supplies generally for the new colony

The land works being completed, attention was next paid to the approaches to the position from the seaward, and as these were found to be comparatively easy, six or seven of the old transports were filled with stones and scuttled in such positions as to render it necessary for a vessel entering port to pass under the guns of the fortifications otherwise she ran a great risk of striking on the sunken vessels The above precaution having been taken, the position was deemed to be impregnable [90]

In the 18th year of Shun-chih (A D 1667),[91] Ho-pin, the linguist, having embezzled several tens of thousands of dollars from Kwei-yih's treasury,[92] and fearing lest he be called on to render an account, had recourse to a stratagem He managed to find out about the intricacies of the river navigation, and, having engaged two vessels to lie in wait for him, he prepared for flight A feast was arranged to which he invited Prince Kwei and his staff, and whilst lamps were blazing on all sides, firecrackers were being let off, puppet shows, dancing and feasting were in full swing, he waited for the turn of the tide, and then, feigning to be the worse for liquor, and to have a colic, let himself out by a back entrance, and reaching his vessel made good his escape to Amoy [93]

Arriving there he called on Cheng-cheng kung [Coxinga], and whilst unfolding to him all the advantages to be reaped by the possession of Formosa, he drew from his sleeve and presented him with a plan of the whole Dutch position

87 I have found no confirmation of this part of the story or any mention of "the Prince s ' (Sonk's) son

88 The ordinary Chinese itinerary measure, now reckoned as rather less than a third of an English mile, but it varies in different parts of China and has varied at different dates

89 This part of the account is substantially correct (see Imbault Huart, *Formosa*, pp. 21 22, 58 59)

90 See Imbault Huart, *op cit*, p 23, for confirmation

91 An error for 1661 Shun chi, ninth son of T'ien ming, was proclaimed Emperor in 1644

92 Kwei-yih here means Frederik Coyett, Governor of Tai ouan, 1656—1662

93 For corroboration of this account of Ho pin, a Fuhkienese interpreter, see Imbault Huart, *op cit*, pp 58-59.

Cheng was highly delighted with all he heard, and after a deep consultation with his several Commanders, he put to sea with his whole fleet on the 3rd of the moon, bound for Tai-wan [Formosa] On the morning of the 4th a look out man at the mast head discovered the Pescadores, and little after mid day the expedition reached Neang-ma king in safety [94] On the 6th oblations were offered to the sea gods, and a thorough reconnaissance of the adjacent islands was made

On the 8th the fleet weighed anchor, and on Luh-urh-mun [95] being descried in the distance, Cheng made prayer for a favourable tide to carry his vessels safely into port. Prayer ended, he directed leadsmen to take a line of soundings, and these returned with the news that the tide had risen fully ten feet higher than on the previous day

On receiving this intelligence, Cheng fired a gun, and, hoisting signals for a general advance, was followed by his whole fleet The linguist Ho pin was posted in the prow of the leading vessel to point out the passage as laid down on the chart he had provided and eventually, after much poling, sounding and manœuvring, the fleet came to an anchor with great uproar off the city of Chih-khan [Sakkam] [96]

The Commandant of Chih-khan, Meaou-nan ting ? [97] no sooner beheld the martial appearance of Cheng's landing party, than he despatched Lang-ho-ke (?) to Kwen-shen [98] for reinforcements, and at the same time opened fire on the fleet from all his guns

On the 10th Cheng, having directed each soldier of the force to provide himself with a bundle of straw, laid close siege to Chih-khan, and sent two interpreters to the front to inform the Commandant that unless he capitulated the whole place would be set on fire This menace had the desired effect, as Nan ting (?) being terrified to a degree, surrendered, and the position [Fort Provintia] was at once occupied by the assailants

Here it is necessary to pause a moment in order to mention that on the occasion of Ho pin's feast, Prince Kwei had not the slightest idea but that the linguist's retirement was consequent on his having imbibed too freely Nay, not until the second day, when efforts to find him proved fruitless, could he be brought to believe that he had absconded Even then he continued to attribute his flight to the embezzlement which he had been guilty of, and could not believe that he would so far turn traitor as to guide an expedition whose ambition was to dispossess the Dutch of their settlements

To resume on the 18th a heavy gale sprang up, the waves breaking on shore with a roar which was at once deafening and appalling, and this state of affairs continued till midnight.

At daylight the Prince [Coyett] and his officers mounted the city wall to reconnoitre, and on looking seaward they observed a whale swimming to and fro with a human figure seated on his back The figure was clad in red garments and its locks were dishevelled

From Luh-urh-mun the fish started, and after indulging in a variety of gambols, finally passed Chih-khan city and disappeared The Prince and his staff stood staring at one another, until, finding their tongues, they concluded that they had either been in a trance or had seen a vision [99] Their ears were now greeted with the sound of heavy guns from the direction of Luh urh-mun, and on mounting a look out, they discerned through their glasses a whole fleet of vessels approaching with their ensigns and banners floating in the sun light

94 The fleet touched at Mâ Koung, Pescadores, on the 30th April 1661

95 Lou oul mun, the Gate of the Stag's Ear, the strait between Tai ouan and the mainland of Formosa, called also Lou k'eou, Mouth of the Stag

96 See Imbault-Huart, *op cit*, p 60.

97 (?) Leonard Campin, who was one of the Council at Tai ouan in 1661 (see Valentyn, *op cit*, p 50).

98 From this and the preceding references, "Kwen shen" seems to represent the district where Fort Zeelandia, the headquarters of the Dutch, was situated

99 See *ante*, Episode VII, Vol XLVIII, p 179, for a reference to this apparition

On seeing the vessels the Prince burst out laughing, and remarked that the Chinese in invading his position in this fashion must have little regard for their lives, and he at once gave orders for the batteries to be in readiness to treat the fleet to a broadside on its nearer approach Thus he expected to annihilate the invaders at one stroke

Whilst still chuckling to himself, the tactics of the leading vessel, which were being carefully followed by the rest, came under notice First she tacked to the north, then went about to the eastward, and again altered her course to the north, until finally she and her consorts came to an anchor without passing under the guns of the batteries The Prince turning to the staff observed that heretofore the channel which the Chinese fleet had come through was thoroughly impracticable and it was strange that they had not shoaled and come to utter grief Whilst pondering over these matters, he still gave the order to open fire, but owing to the long range, the firing was ineffectual His next move therefore, was to direct one of his subordinates, Li ying-san(?), to thoroughly man the Dutch vessels in port, and to proceed to dispute the advance of the enemy

By the time the Dutch troops were in order night was drawing on apace, and as the tide was flooding, Li-ying-san soon became aware that a whole fleet was investing Chih-khan [Sakkam], and that a landing party had been disposed on shore in fighting array At this juncture the Prince Kwei [Coyett], fearing lest his own position should be assailed, recalled the force he had sent on shipboard, and directed Li to advance *vid* Kwen-shin to the assistance of the Chih-khan garrison. On reaching San kwen shen, Li was met by Lang-ho ke who stated that the force he was advancing with was too small to be of any material avail, and who proceeded to report to the Prince that the enemy were such a soldier-like lot that before attacking them it would be advisable to call in, and hold in readiness, all auxiliaries

In reply, the Prince, after enquiring as to where the enemy had come from, called out all his infantry, and made preparation for marching on the morrow At daylight Cheng became aware from the bugling and drumming which was audible in the direction of An ping that the Dutch were about to advance, so, sending for his several Commanders, he informed them that the Dutch would rely principally on their artillery, and he disposed of his forces as follows —

500 infantry armed with muskets, and 200 heavy gingals[100] were formed into three divisions under a Commander, who had orders to march on Kwen-shen-wei and engage the Dutch as they advanced 500 shield bearers under another Commander were ordered to take up their position to the left of Kwen shen and to attack the enemy's flank when opportunity offered another body of troops manned some 20 small junks, and were directed, on observing the Dutch to have passed Tseih kwen shen and to be about to open fire, to wave their flags and shout vigorously, at the same time making a feint of attacking the city by heading their boats in its direction This proceeding it was hoped would be noticed by the Dutch force, and throwing them into a state of perturbation, would cause disorder in the ranks, thus rendering their defeat comparatively easy.

The above disposition of forces having been made, the balance of Cheng's force was drawn up as a reserve

In due course the Dutch force arrived at Tseih-kwen-shen-wei, and were about opening fire when they were horrified by noticing a movement amongst the junks, which appeared to betoken an attack on the An-ping position from the water. Whilst still in doubt as to what steps to take, the shield-bearing force commenced its flank attack, the result being that the Dutch gave way, and with a loss of half their numbers retreated on the stronghold whence they had issued [1]

100 Gingall, jingall, Hind *janjal*, a swivel or wallpiece, a word of uncertain origin (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s v Gingall).

1 The narrator seems to have drawn largely on his imagination for these details

To this close siege was now laid, but the defenders worked their guns so well, and by constant sallies inflicted such loss on the besiegers, that an advance, or an attempt at storming was impossible

Cheng continued to hold the only road which communicated with the fort, however, and he now, in order to protect his people, commenced the erection of earth works and of a battery

During the 8th moon the Dutch Prince organised two expeditions, the one being despatched in the direction of Chih-khan by water, the other against Kwen-shen by land In opposition to these Cheng commanded afloat in person, whilst the shore forces were handled by one of his generals, Hwang gan

The battle raged the whole day, until the Dutch, having lost one ship and three boats, retreated to the fort, which they continued to defend most stoutly

In the 11th moon the N E monsoon having now set in, Cheng ordered his subordinates Cheng-seuen and Cheng-chung to load some ten old boats with saltpetre and other inflammables, and to attempt the destruction of the Dutch ships, whilst a general attack from the shore was simultaneously made on the fort

In this engagement the Dutch lost three more ships and a number of men, which even caused Prince Kwei to be much cast down [2]

Taking advantage of the victory, Cheng sent a linguist named Li-chung into the Dutch lines with a message [3]

It was to the effect, that the position now held by Kwei yih was no Dutch possession, nor, owing to the distance from Holland, could he possibly hope to maintain a lasting occupation of it The neighbourhood had been originally occupied by an Imperialist garrison, and it was Cheng's firm intention to regain possession Having some pity for the defenders of the fort who had come from afar, he had no desire to injure them, and in consideration of the surrender of the treasury chest, stores, ammunition, &c, he was willing to afford them a loop hole for escape with their private effects and valuables

Failing acceptance of the terms now offered, it was his intention to renew the attack on the morrow from all sides Their vessels should then be burnt, their stronghold reduced, and their personal annihilation must follow

Prince Kwei-yih and his staff on receiving the above message were much moved, and offered to surrender if supplied with provisions for the homeward voyage

The linguist returning to Cheng gave the reply to the ultimatum, and the surrender was at once completed, the victors taking over, as per list, the contents of the government chest, the military stores, &c [4]

The surviving Dutchmen were then allowed to remove their personal effects on board ship, and on the 3rd of the 1st moon they took their departure for their native land

[Translation of a Chinese record concerning Coxenga or Koxinga (Cheng-cheng-kung) the celebrated Chinese pirate, by H E Hobson (*Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2nd Series, No XI, pp 34–40)]

2 There is some exaggeration here Of the four Dutch ships in the harbour, the *Hector* was burnt, the *Maria* escaped to Batavia and the two others retired, after sinking several junks, under the cannon of Fort Zeelandia (see Imbault Huart, *op cit*, p 60)

3 It was a protestant minister, Antonius Hambroek, whom Coxinga sent as an emissary, keeping his wife and two of his children as hostages Hambroek urged the garrison to fight to the last and returned to Coxinga to meet his death (see Valentyn, p 90, Imbault-Huart, pp 66 67)

4 This is not correct Emissaries were sent to Coxinga, offering to deliver up to him Fort Provintia in order to save the other buildings and Fort Zeelandia Coxinga replied by demanding the immediate evacuation of Formosa Provintia was thereupon surrendered, on the 4th May 1661, but the citadel of Zeelandia was defended vigorously and it was not until the 12th February 1662 that Coxinga was able to raise his standard on the Fort. (See Imbault Huart, pp 64—72)

(III)

CAPTAIN JOHN HALSEY FIGHTS FOUR ENGLISH SHIPS AND TAKES TWO OF THEM, 1707

Of the European pirates, one of the most humane was Captain John Halsey of the *Charles* Brigantine, who on the 7th November 1704, received a commission from Governor Cranstone of Rhode Island to cruise against the French on the Banks of Newfoundland This he considered good enough authority to cover attacks upon native shipping in the Indian Seas, and though at first he refrained from molesting European vessels, that scruple did not long hold good On the occasion described in the episode narrated below, we find the very unusual fact of a single pirate attacking a number of merchantmen, all apparently ready to defend themselves and to support each other Halsey's kindness to his prisoners is a matter of history, and the episode in question fully justifies Captain Johnson's eulogy —"He was brave in his person, courteous to all his prisoners, lived beloved and died regretted by his own people " (*History of the Pirates*, II, 118)

A comparison of Johnson's account of the fight with that given by Robert Adams, the East India Company's Chief at Calicut, is useful, as it shows that Johnson, however confused may be his chronology, was fairly accurate in regard to other details

The Records of the East India Company give further information about Captain Samuel Jago, whose ignominious flight gained him an unenviable notoriety on this occasion He was employed by the Court of Managers in England and was sent out by them in command of the *Bombay Frigate* (or *Merchant*), a ship expressly designed for the defence of Bombay and the neighbouring coast against the attacks of pirates By the Court's orders, Captain Jago proceeded first to Mocha to land a cargo There, it seems, he fell in with the *Rising Eagle*, *Essex*, *Mary* and *Unity*, all country ships from the Coromandel Coast, and together they were sailing towards Bombay when they encountered the pirate

Captain Jago reached Bombay on the 22nd August 1707 and apparently held his peace regarding his cowardly desertion of his consorts Even when Robert Adams' account of the affair was received two months later, no notice seems to have been taken of the conduct of Jago, who had meanwhile been sent to Kârwâr However, disaster was in store for him On the 11th November 1707 he and some of his crew returned to Bombay in the *Prosperous* and the *Union Frigate* He stated that he sailed from Kârwâr with the *Union* on the 27th October "The 28 about 11 Clock in the morning, seeing one Savajee [Marâtha] Boat hovering about them, Fired their Chase Gunn,[5] after which the Bombay Friggatt immediately blew up and Sunck, and ten English and about as many blacks lost, besides what since dyed, and others in a Languishing condition, and near Fifty burnt "

On the 9th December 1707 and 27th January 1708 letters were received from Fort St George containing "a warm Information and Complaint against Captain Jago for not engaging the Pyratt in his Passage from Mocha hither, but left four of their private Ships, two of which Seized by said Pyratts " Certificates by the supercargoes and commanders of the vessels were enclosed There is, however, no record of any action taken by the Bombay Government in the matter

Early in 1708 Captain Jago took the *Indian Frigate* to Persia, and on his return to Bombay in May of that year, he was permitted to embark in the *Aurangzeb* for Europe [6]

We have also some account of the subsequent fate of Halsey's crew who, after his death, settled in Madagascar, and survived, some of them at any rate, till 1719

[5] Chase guns fixed in the chase ports in the fore part and stern of vessels were known as bow chase (chasers) and stern chase guns Smyth, *Sailor's Word Book* defines Bow chasers as "two long chase-guns placed forward in the bow-ports to fire directly ahead "

[6] The particulars regarding Captain Samuel Jago are taken from the East India Company's Records, *Bombay Public Consultations*, Vol 2

When the *King George*, an East India Company's ship commanded by Captain Samuel Lewis, was at St. Mary's, Madagascar, in 1719, her Log, under date 23rd July (*Marine Records, India Office*), tells us that two Europeans, John Guernsey and Old Nick of Dover came to see the captain, who writes as follows —

"These I kept on board two nights and entertained them plentifully with liquor, in hopes to sound what might be gathered from them They faithfully promised me provisions speedily, but I found their tempers much alike (with a downcast eye, not able to look me in the face), very cautious of what they spoke till almost drunk, then they lay themselves open and tell of their loose way of living, bragging in their villainy as bravoes They acknowledge of their being in the brigantine [the *Charles*] that took [killed] Chamberlayne, and at the plundering of three Moors ships and bringing away a fourth, which lay sunk in their harbour This they called the *Fair Chance*, and they wanted but one lut more and then to go home, for they were aweary of their course of life Their number was now reduced to 17 with about 10 or 12 Mustees[7] and free negroes That they live separate on the other side upon the Main, some 20 or 30 miles asunder, each having a town to himself and not less than five or six hundred negroes[8] their vassalls, ready to serve 'em upon any expedition They do not appear to be in any wise concerned for their former ill actions, only in relation to Sir John Bennett,[9] whom they acknowledged they had not used well in taking his goods and money from him after a fair agreement Thus freely they would talk when warm with liquor, but always cautious when sober I likewise askt 'em why they did not accept of the King's pardon [1718] and go home in time. They told me that they believed it was a sham and would not trust to any unless they had the Great Seal to it Such impudence and ignorance possest them"

I —*Captain Johnson's Account*

Three days after, they spied the 4 ships, which they took at first for the trees of Babel Mandeb , at night they fell in with and kept them company till morning, the trumpets sounding on both sides all the time, for the Pyrate had two on board as well as the English When it was clear day, the four ships drew into a line, for they had haled the pyrate, who made no ceremony of owning who he was, by answering according to their manner," from the Seas"

The brigantine bore up till she had flung her garf [*sic*] One of the ships perceiving this, advised Captain Jago, who led the van in a ship of 24 guns and 70 men to give chase, for the pyrate was on the run, but a mate, who was acquainted with the way of working among the pyrates, answered he would find his mistake, and said he had seen many a warm day, but feared this would be the hottest The Brigantine turned up again, and coming astern, clapped the *Rising Eagle* aboard, a ship of 16 guns and the sternmost Tho' they entered their men, the *Rising Eagle* held them a warm dispute for three quarters of an hour, in which Captain Chamberlain's mate and several others were killed , the Purser was wounded, jumped overboard and drowned

In the mean while the other ships called to Captain Jago to board the pyrate, who bearing away to clap him on board, the pyrate gave him a shot, which raked him fore and aft and determined Captain Jago to get out of danger, for he ran away with all the sail he could pack, though he was fitted out to protect the coast against pyrates His example was followed by the rest, every one steering a different course , thus they became masters of the *Rising Eagle*.

I can't but take notice that the second mate of the *Rising Eagle*, after Quarters were called for, fired from out of the Forecastle and killed two of the pyrates, one of whom was the gunner's consort, who would have revenged his death by shooting the Mate, but several

7 *Mestiços*, Portuguese half castes.

8 *I e*, Malagasi

9 See *infra*, 2

Irish and Scots, together with one Thomas White, once a commander amongst the pyrates but then a private man, interposed and saved him, in regard that he was an Irishman

They examined the prisoners to know which was the ship came from Juffa [Juddah], for that had money on board, and having learned that it was the *Essex*, they gave chase, came up with her, hoisted the bloody flag at the mainmast head, fired one single gun, and she struck, though the *Essex* was fitted for close quarters, there were not on board the Brigantine above 20 hands, and the prize [the *Rising Eagle*] was astern so far that her topmast scarce appeared out of the water In chasing this ship they passed the other two who held the fly of their ensigns in their hands ready to strike When the ship had struck the Captain of her asked who commanded that Brigantine He was answered, "Captain Halsey" Asking again who was Quartermaster, he was told "Nathaniel North," to whom he called as he knew him very well North, learning his name was Punt, said, "Captain Thomas Punt, I am sorry you are fallen into our hands" He was civilly treated and nothing belonging to himself or the English gentlemen, who were passengers, touched, though they made bold to lay hands on £40,000 in money belonging to the ship They had about £10,000 in money out of the *Rising Eagle* They discharged the *Essex* and with the other prize and the brigantine, steered for Madagascar, where they arrived and shared their booty

[C JOHNSON, *History of the Pirates*, II, 114-115]

2 —*Robert Adams' Account, received per Captain Thomas Punt*

May it please Your Excellency, &c

Captain Gaywood being wind bound off this Port, have just time to write to your Excellency a few lines, Copies of our last being at Callicut, which were under 30th past, *via* Carwarr, per Pattamar, cannot send them Came from Callicut the 7th Instant to view this place, being advised of its miserable condition, which have found beyond expectation to be laid in no less than five places leavell with the Ground by the great Raines, so that are forced to make Bamboo hedges to keep the Cattell out

The following relation is the unhappy news received from Captain Punt, who [we] found here at our arrivall in the Ship *Essex*

They sailed from Mocho the beginning of August, in all 5 sail, *viz*, The *Bombay Merchant* from Europe, the *Eagle*, *Essex*, *Mary* and *Unity* from the Bay and Coast, when fell in with a Brigantine Pyrat They all drew up with an intention to fight The *Bombay Merchant* and *Eagle* gave him some broad sides, but so soon as boarded Captain Chamberlaine, the *Bombay Merchant* bore away, which put all the rest to shift for themselves Captain Chamberlaine, Captain Phillips and all the Stern Quarters were killed, but one French man who cried out quarters Mr French, Chief Mate, who was in the Fore Castle, not knowing what was done a baft, fired briskly on the Pyrats and killed 6 and wounded 20 of them, and did not yield up, but kept his arms in his hand till they promised him good quarters So soon as they got the *Eagle*, they forced the people to tell them which was the Judda Ship, and imediatly both Brigantine and ship made after her, and went by the others and came up with her and took her, the Passengers and People being so discouraged that they would not let the Captain make any resistance least they should put them all to the Sword, they coming up to them with the Bloody Flagg After this they detained both ships in their Company, designing for Socatora to take in Refreshments, but the *Essex* breaking her fore yard and springing her Foretopmast &c, not keeping them Company, Sir John Bennet and several of her people are left on board the Pyrat, and Mr French is on board Ship, who is gone to Callicut to see if he can get into the River, if not, to goe down to Cocheen, but since hear she is in Callicut River

[Letter from Robert Adams &c at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Surat, dated, 17th September, 1707 (*Factory Records*, Surat, Vol. 101)]

[THE END]

INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M A, B L, P R S CALCUTTA

(*Continued from page* 136)

(1)

The uses of the scheme of mandala and the seven constituents of a state

The scheme of a *mandala* of twelve states was, as we have just said, generally accepted, the needs of reference to particular states in a certain spacial or political correlation, or of description of particular political situations being ordinarily satisfied by the scheme All the twelve states composing the circle may not, in particular cases, be put to the necessity of siding with the one or the other of the warring parties, the activities being limited say to the second zone In this case, only a few states of the circle may be noted in calculations of strength or other such forecasts The list of excellences of the seven constituents of the state furnish the criterion by which those constituents of the required states in the circle have to be judged , and the group of qualities of a particular constituent in the list shows the points with regard to which the enquiries require to be instituted The final estimate shows the merit or deficiency of each constituent, and the total strength of the states, their weak and vulnerable points being exposed to view for the guidance of the inquirer It may be mentioned in this connection that the making of such estimates necessarily implies the agency of informants through whom accurate information as to the details of the constituents was procured The scheme of the *mandala*, and the analysis of the state into its

Their value for the practical politics of those days The courses of action

constituents with an enumeration of their excellences serving as criteria for estimates of strength of states, enabled a sovereign to take the course or courses of action to be detailed presently These courses were analysed into (1) *sandhi* (including alliances, treaty of peace etc), (2) *vigraha* (war), (3) *âsana* (halt), (4) *yâna* (attack), (5) *samśraya* (resigning oneself to another's protection), and (6) *dvaidhibhâva* (making alliance with one and fighting with another) They admit of certain combinations and include various sub-courses of action adopted in stated situations

Objects in view in inter state relations

(B) The six courses of action, including their combinations and sub-courses for particular inter-state situations, are the source of *vyâyâma* and *śama*, *i e* exertion to create means for the beginnings of undertakings, and exertion to ensure the enjoyment of results of undertakings. In addition to human exertion, there is scope for the operation of providential forces in the creation of the conditions in which a state may be at any particular moment The causes, therefore, that determine those conditions, are of two kinds, human (*mânusha*) and providential (*daiva*) The former lies in the pursuit of the right or wrong courses of action (*naya* and *apanaya*) and the latter in the favourable or unfavourable circumstances or forces of nature (*aya* and *anaya*) [21] The net result of the operation of the two sets of causes is the particular condition of the kingdom at any particular moment, *viz* deterioration (*kshaya*), stagnation (*sthâna*), or prosperity (*vriddhi*) [22] In other words, it is the aforesaid causes that bring about the weakness or vigour of each of the sovereign and resource-elements, upon which depends the total strength (*śakti*) of the state as well as the happiness of its citizens [*sukha* identified with *siddhi* (success)] [23] The prosperity of the state stands as the ideal, and though the immediate result of every undertaking may not be conducive to this ideal – and it is impossible that it should be so—the final aim of persons at the

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21 Those forces and their effects are dealt with in a subsequent section on the *vyasanas* (calamities)

22 *Kautiliya*, Bk VI, ch 2, pp 257, 258

23 *Ibid*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 259

helm of the state should be this and none other Hence, temporary deterioration, or stagnation of the state is permissible if the ultimate issue of the actions be gainful [24]

With reference to the central state, any other state may be superior (*jyâyân*), equal (*sama*), or inferior (*hîna*) in strength and prosperity Efforts should be directed by the above state towards the increase of its own strength in order that it might be superior to others in its *mandala*

It is mentioned in the *Kautiliya* that conformity with the advice of treatises on polity leads a self-controlled sovereign to greater and greater power and position, making him ultimately the ruler of the whole earth, while the reverse conduct on the part of even an emperor with dominion from sea to sea reduces him to miserable straits [25] The statement may at first sight sound too much laudatory of treatises on polity and the efficacy of their rules and recommendations, but, yet, on closer observation, it cannot be said to be without a foundation For, in those days, " jealous rivalry between two or more states, the awakening of ambition, craving for rich colonies, desire of a land-locked state for a sea-coast, endeavour of a hitherto minor state to become a world-power, ambition of dynasties or great politicians to extend and enlarge their influence beyond the boundaries of their own state, and innumerable other factors " were at work to create causes of war in the same way as they do at present These causes, numerous as they are, must have been more prolific than now in view of the then state of inter-statal relations regulated by comparatively fewer laws and provided with smaller facilities for the pacific cessation of hostilities by inter-statally constituted means [26] Hence, the outbreaks of hostilities were comparatively greater, furnishing opportunities to an aspiring sovereign for the extension of his territory or for other means of acquisitions The sovereign, to achieve the great results promised by the treatises on polity, must be endued with the qualities inculcated by their writers The onerous conditions made necessarily rare the existence of such sovereigns, but nevertheless there is no reason to deny that the recommendations of the writers had no merit by virtue of their applicability to the conditions of internal and inter-statal politics of those days

Attack on a state by another merely because the former is weak and the latter strong was not justified by practice, though of course, a pretext put forward as a real cause for war might have been picked up for the opening of hostilities Conflict must have preceded

[24] *Kautiliya*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 262

[25] *Ibid*, Bk VI, ch 1, p 257, Bk I, *vriddha samyoga*, p 11

[26] It should be noted that a state in calamities (*vyasana*) is called *yâtavya* (*lit* assailable, *i e* tottering) by *Kautiliya*, who includes it in the list of the various kinds of hostile states (*Kautiliya*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 258) This may lend colour to the supposition that a 'tottering' state was generally thought to be assailable by another state without any preceding conflict That such a supposition is baseless will be apparent from the following —

(1) Kautilya says that a state in calamities can be *protected* or easily attacked (*Kautiliya*, Bk VIII, ch 1, p 319)

(2) A state in calamities is mentioned by Kautilya as *yâtavya* with reference to another state on the assumption that ill will exists between the two parties Should they be friendly, the former would be protected instead of being attacked by the latter

(3) It is expressly laid down by Kautilya that writs (implying negotiation) are the root of peace and war between states [*Kautiliya*, Bk II (*sasanâdhikâra*), p 70, Kautilya tells us that he wrote the chapter on royal writs not merely in accordance with all the *sastras* (treatises on polity) but also the prevailing practices (*prayoga*) of the day *Ibid*, p 75]

(4) If *pratapa* means 'ultimatum' [see *Kautiliya*, Bk I (*duta pranidhih*) p 32,] then it is evidence of the existence of negotiation before the declaration of war Hence, it is not permissible to suppose that a state in calamities could be attacked by another state without any previous conflict It was preceding conflict alone that justified an attack A friendly state would, on the other hand, protect it in its sorry plight

war, and there is, as has been shown already, no ground to suppose otherwise This supposition is rendered firmer by the fact that there are means at the disposal of a very powerful sovereign to demand submission of other sovereigns far and near for reasons other than existing conflict These means were provided by the politico-religious ceremonials of *râjasûya* and *asvamedha*, which could be performed at will with the said political object in view But they could be utilized by those sovereigns alone, who had already become powerful enough to dare and defy the active oppositions that were sure to follow the celebration of the ceremonies, and served more as ways of asserting power already acquired than as those of acquiring the power itself The steps leading to world-power at the disposal of the humbler states aspiring to such power are thus described by Kautilya[27] —

I (1) The central state should, after subduing the 'enemy,' try to subdue the medium state, and when successful in this attempt, the super state

(2) The medium and super states being subjugated (by the first step), the central state should, in proportion to the increase of its power, subdue the other states within the first zone[28] When these states are brought under subjection, the states within the other zones[29] should be dealt with in the same way

(3) When the whole statal circle has been put under the sway of the central state (by the second step),[30] an *amitra* (enemy) [among the states faced next] should be squeezed,'[31] by a *satru*,[32] or a *satru* by a *mitra* (friend)

II Or a weak neighbouring state should be subdued, and then with double power, a second, and with triple power a third[33]

The processes involve a series of fights, but as the time occupied by them is not in any way limited, there is no reason to suppose that they necessarily imply disregard of such inter-state practices as attacking states without preceding conflict, or friendly states in

27 *Kautilya*, Bk XIII, ch 1, p 406

28 '*Raja prakritih*' in the text refers to '*râja prakritih*' (sovereign elements) within the first zone and not to the citizens of the states

29 "*Uttarah prakritih*" refers similarly to the sovereign elements in the other zones of the statal circle

30 The subjugation of the sovereign elements of the statal circle brings the central state face to face with other states, if any, which will be either friendly or hostile, and dealt with in the above process

31 The word used in the text is *sampîdana* which is thus explained in the *Kâmandakîya* sarga VIII, slk 58 *pîdana* is more serious than *kursana* (or *karshana*) The latter is effected by causing the emaciation of the treasure and army together with the death of the high ministers of state *Pîdana* being more serious than *karsana* includes acts much more oppressive Śankarârya explains it by "*mûla varja desa vilopanam*"

32 A *satru* is thus described by Kautilya "*ari-sampad-yuktah sâmantah śatruh*" (a neighbouring state endued with *ari sampats* is called *satru*) (*Kautiliya*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 258) The *ari sampats* (or *amitra sampats*) are those qualities that render a hostile state an easy victim to the central state and are thus enumerated 'Not born of a royal family, greedy, surrounded by mean persons, having disloyal subjects, unrighteous, silly, addicted to evil passions, devoid of energy, trusting to fate, indiscreet, inconsistent, coward, and injurious" (*Kautiliya*, Bk VI, ch 1, pp 256, 257) Owing to these disabilities, a *śatru* can be easily made an instrument in the hands of the central sovereign It is implied that the former is helped by the latter in the act of 'squeezing'

33 The first three *mârgas* (lit ways) are but links of a single process, one leading to the other The fourth *mârga* may be taken either as a link supplementary to the third (in which case, it cannot be called, strictly speaking, the fourth *mârga*) or as an independent second process standing apart from the first process composed of three links The words "*dvigunah*" and "*triguna*," unless they be taken as used loosely, favour the interpretation of the fourth *mârga* as an independent second process of conquering the world

The independent existence of friendly states was not perhaps regarded as a bar to world conquest, if the central state could subjugate the hostile ones and thereby extend his dominion over a large expanse of territory, say from sea to sea

disregard of friendship An aspiring king should abide the opportunities offered by dispute with other states but should not artificially stir them up to create the opportunities It cannot be asserted that no breaches of salutary practices conducive to inter-state peace occurred in ancient times An unruly, aggressive sovereign might have set them at naught but not without incurring the displeasure of the other states or even of his own subjects [34] Whether this displeasure could take shape in steps to bring to justice the infraction of the practices is another question The displeasure indicates the volume of opinion for the maintenance of the practices and can well be a reason for considering them as the prevailing ones

The legitimate inference, therefore, stands out to be that an aspiring sovereign should accumulate as much power as possible by a due application of the *śâstric* injunctions to his personal conduct as well as to his administration of the realm The increase of vigour of the resource-elements of the state should always be followed up by the pursuit of those measures that remove the obstructions retarding their progress and make them stout and healthy The steps suggested for the extension of territory and acquisition of power by conquests may lead one to infer that they imply treacherous attacks, without preceding conflict, on friendly states or on those in a miserable plight, but in the light of other evidences there does not appear to be any ground for such supposition The opportunities for war offered by the disputes that naturally came on were generally enough for the ambition of a royal aspirant able to utilize them fully Unjustified invasions of states merely to satisfy the earth hunger of the invader were condemned by the opinion of the sovereigns generally as well as of the citizens When a king was powerful enough, he could assert and proclaim his power by performing the *râjasûya* or the *aśvamedha* , but so long as he lacked this power he had to wait for opportunities, making most of those that actually did present themselves' The advice of the writers of treatises on polity is directed to this full utilization of opportunities, which is possible only by a previous accumulation of strength from careful and diligent internal administration of the realm and a regulation of inter-statal dealings in the light of their instructions and recommendations garnering the political wisdom of the past

The ' conquest of the earth ' may be the goal cherished by the sovereigns but the difficulties besetting it are enormous The lower the position of a monarch in the comity of states, the more onerous is his attempt to reach the goal Favourable circumstances play no mean part in the achievement of the object, as also the capacity of the aspirant and his adherents The task moreover cannot, except rarely, be accomplished by the labour of a single monarch in his life-time The various usurpations of the throne of comparatively larger kingdoms extended into ' world powers ' by the usurpers may tend to obscure this view of the question , but really the kingdoms acquired by the usurpers were not fabrics of their creation but of their predecessors Keeping these limitations in mind, we can well endorse the statement of the *Kauṭilya*, laudatory in a way of the injunctions of the works on polity

Âtmavâṁs=tv=alpadeśo=pi yuktaḥ prakṛtisampadâ
nayajñaḥ pṛithivîm kṛitsnâm jayaty=eva na hîyate [35]

[A self-controlled (king), with even a small territory, but versed in polity and possessed of the 'state-elements' in a flourishing condition, is sure to conquer the world and never decline in power]

The cour es of action (*shâd gunyam*)

Kautilya's discourse on the courses of action is not meant for the central state alone, but also for the other components of the *maṇḍala*, for advice is needed as much for the state centrally situated as for those in different situations Hence, two aspects of his advice

[34] See the *Kauṭiliya*, Bk VII, ch 13, p 300, where reference is made to the displeasure incurred by attacks on sovereigns righteous, or friendly

[35] *Kauṭiliya*, Bk VI, ch 2, p 257

are often noticeable on the one hand, for instance, he states the circumstances in which to make a treaty of peace with hostages while, on the other, he enumerates the means by which the hostages can escape from the territories to which they have been committed, similarly, he advises a powerful monarch as to when and whom to attack, recording as well the ways by which a weak or distressed monarch should defend himself against the attack, he offers his guidance in the same way to an invader by asking him to take proper precautions against a rear attack, directing at the same time a rear enemy as to when and whom to attack from behind Thus his advice is meant for the solution of problems arising from different inter-statal situations and has in view the welfare not of a single state in a particular situation in the *mandala* but of the other states in it as well

An analysis of the ways by which difficulties in inter statal situations could be tided over laid bare to the Hindu statesmen six courses of action,—*sandhi*, *vigraha*, *âsana*, *yâna*, *samśraya*, and *dvaidhîbhâva* A further analysis may reduce them to the first two, and according to Vâtavyâdhi, these two are taken as the fundamental courses, but the aforesaid six are generally recognized in view of their applicability to different conditions [36]

These six courses of action admit of combinations and imply many other measures which need not be named at present Let us treat of the first course first

SECTION II.

The different senses of *sandhi* in the *Kautilîya*

Sandhi in the sense of treaty of peace represents but one of its uses in the *Kautilîya* The other senses have to be carefully distinguished from the first in order to avoid a confusion The term bears in the *Kautilîya* the following meanings —

(1) It is *panabandha*, *i e*, a treaty of peace[36] concluding hostilities between the parties to the treaty

(2) It is a compact between powers in their efforts to have friendly state to help them in their needs [37]

(3) It is a compact between powers out on an expedition to divide among themselves the lands that might be acquired by each as the result of their combined efforts against a hostile state, [38]

(4) It is a compact to plant a colony [39]

(5) It is a compact to carry out particular works advantageous to the parties to the compact, such as building forts, exploiting mines, constructing trade routes [40]

(6) It is a settlement of differences between the king and his friend or servant [41]

It is the first signification alone that has to do with the treaty of peace The use of the second kind of compact will be realized when it is borne in mind that to secure a friendly state for help in difficulties, specially in war, was not an easy matter, for, as on the one hand, the combined request of two or more states was likely to be more mighty and persuasive than the request of a single state, so on the other, the compact was helpful in the dissension that might have ensued from the rejection of the request [42] The compact though termed a kind of *sandhi* was altogether different from the treaty of peace (*hîna-sandhi*), and might have been in certain cases dissociated from war The third compact had connection with but preceded the conclusion of the war in which the parties acted as friends, while the fourth and fifth need not have anything to do with war at all. The sixth would be devoid of any

36 *Kautiliya*, Bk. VII, ch 1, p 261

37 See *Ibid*, Bk VII, ch 9 (*mitra-sandhi*)

38 See *Ibid*, Bk VII, ch 10 (*bhûmi sandhi*)

39 See *Ibid*, Bk VII, ch 11 (*anavasita-sandhi*)

40 See *Ibid*, Bk VII, ch 12 (*karma sandhi*)

41 See *Ibid*, Bk VII, ch 6, pp 279, 280

42 *Cf* such cases in *Ibid*, Bk VII, ch 7

direct inter-statal bearing if the *mitra*[43] instead of signifying a friendly sovereign meant only a courtier or a personal friend of a particular king

(A) **Hîna sandhi**

(A) It is the *hîna-sandhis* alone that constitute the treaty of peace for bringing the hostilities between the belligerents to a close This is what we ordinarily mean by the term *sandhi* and will be dealt with at present, relegating the other kinds to subsequent sections

The *hîna sandhis*

A treaty of peace should be concluded by a sovereign in view of the fact that the continuance of hostilities will make him gradually weaker than his enemy[44] It is recommended to be made with states of superior or even equal power, for in the former case, the continuance of war is ruinous to the inferior state, and in the latter, to both Should a superior power reject an offer of peace, the inferior has no other alternative but to throw itself up to the mercy of the former or have recourse to the methods of defence recommended in '*âvaliyasam*'[45] If an offer of peace by a belligerent be rejected by another of equal strength, the former should wage war only so long as the latter sticks to it An unqualified submission made by an inferior state ought to put a stop to hostilities, for, as on the one hand, the state may grow in fury by further maltreatment, so on the other, it may be helped by the other powers of the statal circle taking pity on its miserable condition Should a state allied with other states against an enemy find that the states of the adjacent zone[46] naturally hostile to it will not attack (*n=opagachchhanti*) it, even if they are tempted, weakened, and oppressed by the enemy (trying to win them over to its side) or will not do so through fear of receiving blow for blow from the allied states (*pratyâdâna bhayat*), then the state in alliance, even if inferior to the enemy individually, should continue the war When again a state in war with another finds that the states of the adjacent zone will attack it, tempted, weakened, or oppressed by the latter, or through anxieties caused by the war waged next door, it should, even if individually superior to the enemy, make a treaty of peace in the first case, and remove the causes for anxiety to the aforesaid states in the second[47] If a belligerent sees that he is afflicted with calamities greater than those of his enemy, who will be able to remedy them easily and carry on the war effectively, the former though superior in strength should make peace with the latter[48]

The circumstances in which *sandhi* should be made

Kinds of *hîna sandhi* The various kinds of treaty of peace (*hîna-sandhi*)[49] are —

I. (1) *Âtmâmisha*[50] The defeated sovereign (henceforth abbreviated into DS) agrees to help the conqueror (henceforth abbreviated into C), by going over to him personally with a stipulated number or the flower of his troops A person of high rank is also given as a hostage

43 In the passage "*bhrityena mitrena va dosh ôpasritena* " *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 6, p 279

44 *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 1, p 261, *parasamâd=dhîyamânah samdadhita*

45 *I e*, Bk XII of the *Kautiliya*

46 *Para prakritaya =ari-prakritayah*, the reference being to the *râja prakritis* and not to the citizens of the state of the enemy

47 The text (*Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 3, p 267) has "*mânopayachchhanti*" which appears to be an error for *mâm=upagachchhanti*

48 For the texts of this paragraph, see *Kautiliya*, VII, ch 3, pp 266, 267

49 The treaty of peace is also called *sama* or *samâdhi* See *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 17, p 311

50 Corresponds to *Kâmandakîya*, sarga IX, ślk 16

(2) *Purushântara* The DS agrees to help the C by sending the aforesaid troops headed by his son and commander-in chief [51] This exempts the personal attendance of the DS and hence its name A woman is also given to the C as a hostage [52]

(3) *Adrishtapurusha* The DS agrees to help the C by sending the aforesaid troops headed either by himself or by somebody else In the latter case, the personal attendance of himself, his son or his commander in-chief is exempted [53]

The above three kinds of treaty form the class of *sandhis* called *dand-opanata, danda* (army) being the chief subject-matter of their stipulations

II (1) *Parikraya* The DS gives up his treasure to the C as the price of setting free the rest of the state elements [54]

(2) *Skandhopaneya* The indemnity is paid in instalments [55]

(3) *Upagraha* By it, according to Kâmandaka, peace is purchased by the surrender of the entire kingdom to the C [56]

(4) *Suvarna* Its foundation lies in friendship and mutual confidence Hence, it is called Golden [57]

(5) *Kapâla* This form of treaty is of a nature reverse to that of the Golden Under this, a very large indemnity has to be paid to the C According to the *Kâmandakîya,*[58] the two parties to the treaty are of equal strength, and the peace concluded between them does not produce mutual confidence rendering it the reverse of the Golden [59]

The five forms [60] of treaty constitute the class called *koś-opanata, i e*, having *kośa* (treasure) as the chief subject-matter of their terms

III (1) *Ádishta* The DS cedes a part of his territory to the C

(2) *Uchchhinna* It requires the DS to cede to the C all the rich lands in his territory except his capital [61] The C intends by this form of treaty to bring misery upon his enemy (*para*)

(3) *Apakraya* [62] The DS releases his dominion by giving up the products of his lands to the C

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51 Corresponds to *Kâmandakiya*, IX, 13

52 The *śloka* in the *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 3, p 268, is as follows —

' *Mukhyastr bandhanam kuryât purvayoh paschime tvarim,*
Sâdhayed=gudham=ity=ete dandopanata-sandhayah "

I have taken *mukhya* and *stri* separately in view of the fact that *mukhyas* are stated to have been given as hostages at *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 17, p 312 *Arim gudham sâdhayet* refers perhaps to the over reaching of the other party by the subsequent secret deliverance of hostages from the C s custody (see *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 17, pp 313, 314) If this meaning be accepted, *paschime* should be taken in the sense of ' subsequently " instead of as referring to the third treaty, in spite of the juxtaposition which at first sight appears to exist between this word and *purvayoh*

53 Corresponds to *Kâmandakîya*, IX, 14

54 Corresponds to *Ibid* , IX, 17

55 Corresponds to *Ibid* , IX, 19 (*skandhaskandhena* means, according to Śankarârya, *khanda-khandena*)

56 Corresponds to *Ibid* , IX, 16 The *Kautiliya* is not so clear on this point, but says nothing that contradicts the above definition

57 Corresponds to *Ibid* , IX, 8

58 *Ibid* , IX, 5 Sankarârya accounts for the name of the treaty by stating that as the two skull-bones (*kapâla*) of a man appearing similar to each other from a distance show points of dissimilarity when observed closely, so the two belligerents though agreeing so far as to be parties to the *sandhi* really differ from each other owing to the lurking suspicion of each for the other

59 *Ibid* , IX, 15

60 *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 3, p 269, last sloka

61 ' *Atta sârânâm* ' in the text (*Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 3, p 269) if taken to signify 'denuded of resources,' renders the meaning of the passage opposite to that given above '*Atta*' may mean 'seized' and '*âttasârânâm* from *âttah sârah yayâ tasam*' may be interpreted as 'possessed of resources This meaning is in accord with that of the *Kamandakiya*, IX, 18

62 Pandit R Shama Sastri s English rendering of the text puts the term as *avakraya*

(4) *Paribhûshana* [63] The DS has to pay more than his own lands produce

These four forms of treaty are termed *deśopanata*, the cession of territory (*deśa*) being their special feature

Kautilya and Kâmandaka

Kautilya mentions in all twelve kinds of *hîna-sandhis* of which three belong to the first class, five to the second, and four to the third Barring slight differences of meaning and taking into account the similarity of names of the treaties, all the *hîna-sandhis* of the *Kautilîya* are found in the *Kâmandakîya* with the exception of *avakraya* alone As the latter has sixteen altogether, these five, *viz*, *upahâra*, *santana*, *upanyasa*, *pratîkâra* and *samyoga* have no equivalents in the former Of these, the last two appear rather to be alliances and not forms of treaty of peace at all, *pratîkâra* corresponding with alliances like the *bhûmi sandhi* and *samyoga* with alliances like the *karma-sandhi* of the *Kautilîya*

(*To be continued*)

BOOK-NOTICE

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES by JADUNATH SARKAR, M A, Indian Educational Service M C Sarkar & Co Calcutta, 1920

This new historical study by Mr Sarkar has come out at an opportune time, and I have no hesitation in saying also in an opportune manner It relates to a second birth struggle, as it were, of a nation that subsequently achieved great things, and is at the present day of much importance in the land it occupies, and also to a struggle between peoples dwelling in two totally different atmospheres of religion, thought and emotional feeling, and consequently attached strongly to separate sympathies It is therefore practically impossible for writers belonging to either party to look at the historical events or the actions of the historical personages concerned without some feeling of partisanship peeping out in any accounts they may severally give of them A Hindu will involuntarily lean towards Shivaji and his Marathas, a Muhammadan towards Bijapur and Aurangzeb I may at once therefore say that the great merit of this book by a Hindu lies in the fact that he has tried to be fair, tried to get at the original documents and to relate nothing that cannot in his judgment be supported by the most reliable authorities open to him Throughout he gives his authorities in such a way that they can be verified The book is indeed history treated in the right way and in the right spirit

It was inevitable that in former uncritical times Muhammadan historians should give a version of Shivaji and his doings from their point of view only, and that the outpourings of the Maratha bards and the statements of the *bakhars* should take a similar line from the Hindu side of the story It is inevitable also that current patriotic emotions should colour present day *rechauffées* of the old writers, and so perpetuate false and partisan history Indeed, one can quite appreciate the national feeling on the part of the Marathas that prompts the modern desire to whitewash Shivaji and blacken Afzal Khan, who was his first foe, and, after all is said and done, his most important opponent But in view of the crucial part that these two antagonists played in the revolution of Modern Indian History it is well worth while to combat legend and get at the truth as nearly as may be after 250 years This is what I think Mr Sarkar has tried to do Consequently, I propose to examine closely the story as he tells it, and to confine myself to the events on which the whole of Shivaji's great career depended I make no apology for an examination at length, as so very much has depended on two points the murder of Chandra Rao More and the assassination of Afzal Khan (Abdu'llah Bhatari)

Mr Sarkar, who places Shivaji's birth on or about 6th April 1627 (p 23), tells us (p 22) that "Shahji Bhonsla, a captain of mercenaries, belonged to a Maratha family that had migrated from Daulatabad and entered the service of Ahmadnagar Some of his kinsmen had joined the Mughals with their retainers and risen to high rank early in Shah Jahan's reign Shivaji, the second son of Shahji was born in the hill fort of Shivner, which towers over the city of Junnar, in the extreme north of the Puna district His mother Jija Bai (a daughter of the aristocratic Lukhji Jadav of Sindkhed) had prayed to the local goddess, Shiva Bai, for the good of her expected child, and named him after that deity"

On pp 23 24 we are told that "We know from the contemporary Persian histories that Shahji led a roving life, subject to frequent change of place and enemy attacks, during much of the period 1630 to 1636 Under these circumstances he would naturally have left his wife and infant son for safety in a stronghold like Shivner But in reality, he seems to have deserted both"

[63] The *Kâmandakîya* of Trivendrum Sanskrit Series has *paradûshana* in the place of *paribhûshana*

We thus get a clear view of Shivaji's origin and upbringing —the son of a wandering commander of Hindu soldiers of fortune, in general conflict with the Muhammadan powers of the day, left in the mountains of the Western Ghats to grow up as best he might, without any literary education[1] and the knowledge that such brings with it, and the hard and practical surroundings of a highland peasantry A boy of natural strength and ability would grow up self reliant and self seeking in such circumstances

In October, 1636, when Shivaji was ten and a half years old, his father made peace with the Mughals, but had to cede Shivner He, however, "retained his ancestral jagir of Puna and Supa" (p 26) Shivaji and his mother were accordingly moved to Puna, and Dadaji Kohnddev, an experienced *kulkarni*, or land steward, was appointed guardian Dadaji was an effective administrator, and until his death in 1647, Shivaji grew up under his tutelage, becoming his own master at the age of 20 Dadaji (p 35) was " a man of methodical habits, leading a sober blameless and hum drum life, but quite incapable of lofty ideals, daring ambition or far off vision Shivaji's love of adventure and in dependence appeared to his guardian as the sign of an untutored and wayward spirit, which would ruin his life's chances" The other strong influence on his character is thus described (pp 33 34) — "Young Shivaji wandered over the hills and forests of the Sahyadri range, and along the mazes of the river valleys, thus hardening himself to a life of privation and strenuous exertion, as well as getting a first hand knowledge of the country and its people. During his residence at Puna his plastic mind was profoundly influenced by the readings from the Hindu epics and sacred books given by his guardian and other Brahmans, and still more by the teaching of his mother The deeply religious, almost ascetic, life that Jija Bai led amidst neglect and solitude imparted by its example, even more than by her precepts, a stoical earnestness mingled with religious fervour to the character of Shiva He began to love independence and loathe a life of servile luxury in the pay of some Muslim king It is, however, extremely doubtful if at this time he conceived any general design of freeing his brother Hindus from the insults and out rages to which they were often subjected by the dominant Muslim population An independent sovereignty for himself he certainly coveted, but he never posed as the liberator of the Hindus in general, at all events not till long afterwards"

Shivaji was now his father's representative in his *jagir*, and at once took matters in hand him self on the opportunity offering of self aggrandise ment by the illness and consequent incapacity of the Bijapur monarch, Muhammad Adil Shah He took the Bijapur fort of Torna by a trick and managed to retain it by bribery at Court (p 38), and by similar means annexed Supa, Chakan, Kondana and Purandhar, and so on, even from his own relatives (pp 38—41) Kalian, Bhimri and Rairi (afterwards his capital as Rajgarh), and a number of places in the Thana and Kolaba dis tricts and in the Northern Konkan followed into his possession by raids or attacks, seemingly un-provoked (pp 41—43)[2] Al this by 1648 when he was about 21 He was then drawn up with a round turn by the imprisonment of his father in that year at Jinji across the Peninsula by the Bijapur authorities (pp 44—47) This brought about a crisis in Shivaji's affairs and induced him to negotiate with the Mughal Emperor, and even after the release of Shahji in 1649, it kept him quiet till 1655, spending the interval in consolidating his gains, which can hardly be said to have been well gotten (pp 46—50) Shivaji was now 28

Then comes the crucial event of the murder of Chandra Rao More in the year 1655 Here is Mr Sarkar's version (pp 51—54) 'A Maratha family named More had received a grant of the State of Javli [Satara District] from the first Sultan of Bijapur early in the 16th century, and made the claim good by their sword For eight generations they conquered the petty chieftains around and amassed a vast treasure by plunder They kept 12,000 infantry, mostly sturdy hillmen of the same class as the Mavles, and succeeded in getting possession of the entire district and parts of Konkan The head of the family bore the hereditary title of Chandra Rao, conferred by a Bijapur king in recognition of the founder's personal strength and courage The younger sons enjoyed appanages in the neighbouring villages Eighth in descent from the founder was Krishnaji Baji, who succeeded to the lordship of Javli about 1652

"The State of Javli, by its situation, barred the path of Shivaji's ambition in the south and south-west As he frankly said to Raghunath Ballal Korde, 'Unless Chandra Rao is killed, the kingdom cannot be secured None but you can do this deed. I send you to him as envoy' The Brahman entered into the conspiracy, and went to Javli, attended by an escort of 125 picked men, on a pretended proposal of marriage between Shiva and Chandra Rao's daughter

"On the first day the envoy made a show of opening marriage negotiations Finding out that Chandra Rao was fond of drink and usually lived in a careless unguarded manner, Raghunath wrote to his master to come to the neighbourhood in force, in readiness to take advantage of the murder immediately after it was committed The second interview with Chandra Rao was held in a private chamber Raghunath talked for some time on the endless details of a Hindu marriage treaty, and then drew his dagger all of a sudden and stabbed Chandra Rao, who was despatched by a Maratha soldier The assassins promptly rushed

[1] It has not been proved that he could read or write (p 30)

[2] In this, however, he merely followed a very old Indian custom, Hindu and Muhammadan

out of the gate, cut their way through the alarmed and confused guards, beat back the small and hurriedly organised band of pursuers and gained a chosen place of hiding in the forest

"Shivaji had kept himself ready to follow up his agent's crime, according to later accounts he had arrived at Mahableshwar with an army on the plea of a pilgrimage Immediately on hearing of the murder of the Mores, he arrived and assaulted Javli The leaderless garrison defended themselves for six hours and were then overcome Chandra Rao's two sons and entire family were made prisoners But his kinsman and manager Hanumant Rao More, rallied the partisans of the house and held a neighbouring village in force, menacing Shivaji's new conquest Shiva found that 'unless he murdered Hanumant, the thorn would not be removed from Javli' So, he sent a Maratha officer of his household named Shambhuji Kavji with a pretended message to Hanumant Rao, who was then stabbed to death at a private interview (about October 1655) The whole kingdom of Javli now passed into Shivaji's possession and he was free to invade South Konkan with ease or extend his dominion southwards into the Kolhapur district

"The acquisition of Javli was the result of deliberate murder and organised treachery on the part of Shivaji His power was then in its infancy and he could not afford to be scrupulous in the choice of the means of strengthening himself

"The only redeeming feature of this dark episode in his life is that the crime was not aggravated by hypocrisy All his old Hindu biographers are agreed that it was an act of murder for personal gain and not a human sacrifice needed in the cause of religion Even Shivaji never pretended that the murder of the three Mores was prompted by a desire to found a 'Hindu *swaraj*'"

To this remark I would like to add, as an onlooker, that the story shows Shivaji in 1655 in the light of a man cunning, intriguing, tricky, without scruple, and capable of going to any length to gain his ends, and it prepares us for the story four years later of Afzal Khan

Mr Sarkar goes on to say (pp 54 55) "Some Maratha writers have recently 'discovered' what they vaguely call 'an old chronicle,'—written nobody knows when or by whom, preserved nobody knows where, and transmitted nobody knows how,—which asserts that Chandra Rao had tried to seize Shiva by treachery and hand him over to the vengeance of Bijapur, and that he had at first been pardoned by the latter and had then conspired with Baji Ghorpade to imprison Shivaji Unfortunately for the credibility of such convenient 'discoveries,' none of the genuine old histories of Shiva could anticipate that this line of defence would be adopted by the twentieth century admirers of the national hero, they have called the murder a murder."

Now let us see what are the authorities on which Mr Sarkar relies for his version They are given on pp 500—502

(1) *Shiva chhatrapati chen Charitra* by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (*Sabhasad Bakhar*) 1694.
(2) *Shiva-chhatrapati chen Sapta prakaran atmak Charitra* by Malhar Ram Rao, Chitnis 2nd ed, 1894
(3) *Shiva digvijay* Ed or published by P R Nandurbarkar and L K Dandekar 1895
(4) *Shrimant Maharaj Bhonsle yanchi Bakhar* of Shedgaon, published by V L Bhabe 1917

The second and fourth Mr Sarkar describes as valueless (pp 501, 502) He has not a much higher opinion of the third "but the kernel of the book is some lost Marathi work composed about 1760—1775, and containing, among many loose traditions, a few facts the truth of which we know from contemporary Factory Records" Of the first he has not a high opinion, "but [it is] the most valuable Marathi account of Shivaji and our only source of information from the Maratha side All later biographies in the same language may be dismissed, as they have copied this *Sabhasad Bakhar* at places word for word" Evidently Mr Sarkar has gone as far back as he could for the facts of the story of Shivaji's relations with the More family and has given us the best source available, unsatisfactory though that is When Mr Kincaid, replying to criticism on his and Rao Bahadur Parasnis' *History of the Marathas* in the *Times Literary Supplement*, August 14, 1919, states "we acquitted Shivaji of guilt in connection with Chandra Rao's death," he has no such authority to support him, and the probabilities are against him in view of Shivaji's general character and story.

In 1656, when Shivaji was still under 30, there came the great crisis in his and indeed in Maratha history He had much enlarged his kingdom and commanded a considerable army, said by Sabhasad, writing from memory, to be some 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, while he held about 40 forts In that year Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur died, and Shivaji began "to prepare for the invasion of Bijapur" (p 58) He entered into negotiations with Multafat Khan, the Mughal Governor of Ahmadnagar, and also with Aurangzeb himself at Aurungabad all against the Bijapur kingdom (p 59) But in the end he sided for the time being with Bijapur, his officers raiding Mughal territory right up to Aurangabad (p 60), while he himself captured Junnar This roused the wrath of Aurangzeb, then besieging Bidar Shivaji's escapades resulted in his own discomfiture for a time, for Aurangzeb was no fool when it came to organising a campaign or protecting his frontiers In the end Shivaji had to make his peace by 1658 Then commenced "the War of Succession which kept Aurangzeb busy for the next two years, 1658-1659," and freed Shivaji from all fear of the Mughals (pp 58—67)

By 1659 Khawas Khan was administering the Bijapur Kingdom with ability and vigour for the

virtual ruler, the Queen Mother Bari Sahiba, and it became necessary to crush Shivaji if possible (pp 67 68) But "the command of the expedition against him went a begging at the Bijapur Court, till Afzal Khan accepted it" (p 68) However, when the push came, he did not feel strong enough (he had no more troops at his command than had Shivaji) to openly attack the rebels "Indeed, he was instructed by the Dowager Queen to effect the capture or murder of Shivaji by 'pretending friendship' with him and offering to secure his pardon from Adil Shah" (p 69) "He planned to effect his purpose by a combination of 'fright fulness' and diplomacy From Bijapur the expedition marched due north to Tuljapur, one of the holiest shrines in Maharashtra and the seat of Bhavani, the guardian goddess of the house of Bhonsla Afzal's strategy was either to make a sweep round Shiva's line of southern fortresses and penetrate to Puna through the exposed eastern flank of the Maratha kingdom, or to provoke Shiva, by a gross outrage on his faith, into coming out of his fastnesses and meeting the Bijapuri army in the open At Tuljapur he ordered the stone image of Bhavani to be broken and pounded into dust in a hand mill" (p 70) In addition, he plotted to win over Maratha chiefs, and continued his 'fright fulness' by further acts of sacrilege (p 70) While he was proceeding in this manner, Afzal Khan "sent his land steward Krishnaji Bhaskar to Shivaji with a very alluring message, saying, 'Your father has long been a great friend of mine, and you are, therefore, no stranger to me Come and see me, and I shall use my influence to make Adil Shah confirm your possession of Konkan and the forts you now hold I shall secure for you further distinctions and military equipment from our Government If you wish to attend the Court, you will be welcomed Or, if you want to be excused personal attendance there, you will be exempted" (p 71)

Shivaji was now much perplexed and his followers seriously alarmed, tales of Afzal Khan's strength and ruthlessness having reached the Maratha camp "This was the most critical moment in the career of Shivaji," but he appealed to his men's sense of honour and they resolved on war (pp 72 73)

To get a clear view of Shivaji's subsequent actions and of the story of his murder of Afzal Khan a long quotation from Mr Sarkar's book is necessary (pp. 74—79) —

"Then came Afzal's envoy, Krishnaji Bhaskar, with the invitation to a parley Shiva treated him with respect, and at night met him in secrecy and solemnly appealed to him as a Hindu and a priest to tell him of the Khan's real intentions. Krishnaji yielded so far as to hint that the Khan seemed to harbour some plan of mischief Shivaji then sent the envoy back with Gopinath Pant, his own agent, agreeing to Afzal's proposal of an interview, provided that the Khan gave him a solemn assurance of safety Gopinath's real mission was to find out the strength of Afzal's army and other useful information about it and learn for himself what the Khan's real aim was Through Gopinath Shiva vowed that no harm would be done to Afzal during the interview, and Afzal, on his part, gave similar assurances of his honesty of purpose But Gopinath learnt by a liberal use of bribes that Afzal's officers were convinced that 'he had so arranged matters that Shiva would be arrested at the interview, as he was too cunning to be caught by open fight' On his return, Gopinath told it all to Shiva and urged him to anticipate the treacherous attack on himself by murdering Afzal at a lonely meeting and then surprising his army

"Shiva, taking the hint from Gopinath, feigned terror and refused to visit Wai, unless the Khan met him nearer home and personally promised him safety and future protection Afzal agreed to make this concession By Shiva's orders a path was cut through the dense forest all the way from Wai to Pratapgarh and food and drink were kept ready for the Bijapur army at various points of it By way of the Radtondi pass (below 'Bombay Point' of the Mahabaleshwar plateau), Afzal Khan marched to Par, a village lying one mile below Pratapgarh on the south, and his men encamped there in scattered groups, deep down in the valley near every pool of water at the source of the Koyna

"Gopinath was sent up the hill to report the Khan's arrival The meeting was arranged to take place next day The place chosen for the interview was the crest of an eminence, below the fort of Pratapgarh, and overlooking the valley of the Koyna On both sides of the forest path leading up the hillside to the pavilion picked soldiers were posted in ambush at intervals by Shivaji Here he erected tents and set up a richly decorated canopy with gorgeous carpets and cushions worthy of a royal guest Then he prepared himself for the meeting Under his tunic he wore a coat of chain armour and below his turban he placed a steel cap for the protection of the skull What offensive arms he had, nobody could see, but concealed in his left hand was a set of steel claws (*baghnakh*) fastened to the fingers by a pair of rings, and up his right sleeve lay hidden a thin sharp dagger called the scorpion (*bichwa*) His companions were only two, but both men of extraordinary courage and agility,—Jiv Mahala, an expert swordsman, and Shambhuji Kavji, the murderer of Hanumant Rao More Each of them carried two swords and a shield.

"As the party was about to descend from the fort a saintly female figure appeared in their midst It was Jija Bai Shiva bowed to his mother She blessed him saying, 'Victory be yours!' and solemnly charged his companions to keep him safe, they vowed obedience Then they walked down to the foot of the fort and waited.

"Meanwhile Afzal Khan had started from his camp at Par, with a strong escort of more than a thousand musketeers Gopinath objected to it,

saying that such a display of force would scare away Shiva from the interview, and that the Khan should, therefore, take with himself only two bodyguards, exactly as Shiva had done So, he left his troops some distance behind and made his way up the hillpath in a *palki*, accompanied by two soldiers and a famous swordsman named Sayyid Banda, as well as the two Brahman envoys, Gopinath and Krishnaji Arrived in the tent, Afzal Khan angrily remarked on its princely furniture and decorations as far above the proper style of a jagirdar's son But Gopinath soothed him by saying that all these rich things would soon go to the Bijapur palace as the first fruits of Shiva's submission

"Messengers were sent to hurry up Shiva, who was waiting below the fort He advanced slowly, then halted on seeing Sayyid Banda, and sent to demand that the man should be removed from the tent This was done, and at last Shivaji entered the pavilion On each side four men were present,—the principal, two armed retainers and an envoy But Shiva was seemingly unarmed, like a rebel who had come to surrender, while the Khan had his sword by his side

"The attendants stood below Shiva mounted the raised platform and bowed to Afzal The Khan rose from his seat, advanced a few steps, and opened his arms to receive Shiva in his embrace The short slim Maratha only came up to the shoulders of his opponent Suddenly Afzal tightened his clasp, and held Shiva's neck in his left arm with an iron grip, while with his right hand he drew his long straight bladed dagger and struck at the side of Shiva The hidden armour rendered the blow harmless Shiva groaned in agony as he felt himself being strangled But in a moment he recovered from the surprise, passed his left arm round the Khan's waist and tore his bowels open with a blow of the steel claws Then with the right hand he drove the *bichwa* into Afzal's side The wounded man relaxed his hold, and Shivaji wrested himself free, jumped down from the platform, and ran towards his own men outside

"The Khan cried out, 'Treachery! Murder! Help! Help!' The attendants ran up from both sides Sayyid Banda faced Shiva with his long straight sword and cut his turban in twain, making a deep dint in the steel cap beneath Shiva quickly took a rapier from Jiv Mahala and began to parry But Jiv Mahala came round with his other sword, hacked off the right arm of the Sayyid, and then killed him

"Meanwhile the bearers had placed the wounded Khan in his *palki*, and started for his camp But Shambuji Kavji slashed at their legs, made them drop the *palki*, and then cut off Afzal's head, which he carried in triumph to Shiva"

The story is continued thus "Freed from danger, Shivaji and his two comrades then made their way to the summit of Pratapgarh, and fired a cannon This was the signal for which his troops were waiting in their ambush in the valleys below The carnage in the Bijapuri army was terrible . 3,000 men were killed according to the report that reached the English factory at Rajapur a few days later . A grand review was held by Shivaji below Pratapgarh" (pp 79—82)

What is the impression caused by such a story? What can the only impression be? Here we have two unscrupulous foes each capable of any act to gain the object in view—in this case the other's destruction, whether by crafty diplomacy or direct murder The most astute won It reminds one of the answer given by a millionaire when asked how he managed to amass his fortune in the face of so many able opponents —'I suppose I was the best business man' This view is not only in accordance with the facts stated, but also in accord with the mediæval spirit of the time and place in which they lived, and of the condition in which they both had attained their high position in life

For the crowning act of the tragedy—the meeting with Afzal Khan—Mr Sarkar's authorities are the fundamental *Sabhasad Bakhar* of 1694 and the three unreliable accounts above mentioned the *Tarikh i Shivaji*, a Persian MS, "the work of a Hindu based on Maratha tradition" (p 505), *i e*, on the same Maratha source as the *Shiva digvijay*, and so of doubtful value Mirza Muhammad Kazim's *Alamgir namah*, Bhimsen Burhanpuri's *Nuskha i Dilkasha*, Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, *Rajapur Factory Records*, of the highest value for the facts they state, Fryer, the *Powadas*, Marathi ballads, collected by H A Acworth and S T. Shaligram, 2nd (really 3rd) ed, 1911, "mostly legendary and of a much later date than Shivaji's life time The Afzal Khan ballad is probably the oldest, and belonged to Shambhuji's reign touches only two incidents of Shivaji's life" (p 503).

It will be seen therefore that Mr Sarkar has again gone impartially to the best, as well as to the unreliable sources available on both sides—Marathi and Muhammadan

I have now a suggestion to make to Mr Sarkar These two acts by which Shivaji commenced his great career as a ruler of men, and the circumstances leading up to and attending them, are so important that it is worth while to collate them and relate them in full, and since he is able to approach the subject with the necessary detachment, has access to the best information and the linguistic knowledge and capacity to use them, I hope he will undertake the task The pages of this *Journal* will always be open to him for the purpose and such resources as I possess for verifying facts and statements will be placed at his disposal

I must add that the book has no index, which is a serious defect in a work of research and particularly annoying to the present writer, as he has shortly to deal with the MS of an Englishman's wanderings in India covering Rajapur in Shivaji's time Mr Sarkar's references will therefore be of value to him, but they will not be easy to use

R. C. TEMPLE.

Bhadrâ—It is evidently the Yarkand river on which the town of Yarkand is situated it is also called Zarafshan (*Vishnu P*, Bk II, ch 2) It is one of the four rivers into which the Ganges is said to have divided itself (*Bhâgavata P*, V, 17)

Bhadrakarṇa—1 Karnapura or Karnâli, on the south bank of the Nerbada It contains one of the celebrated shrines of Mahâdeva (*Mahâ-Śiva-Purâna*, Pt 1, ch 15, and *Mahâbhârata*, Vana P, ch 84) *See* **Eraṇḍî** 2 A sacred *hrada* (lake or reservoir) in Trinetreśvara or modern Than in **Kathiawad** (*q v*) (*Kûrma P*, **I**, 34, *Skanda P*, Prabhâsa Kh, Arbuda, ch 8)

Bhadrâvatî—Bhatala, ten miles north of Warora in the district of Chanda, Central Provinces Bhandak, in the same district and 18 miles north-west of Chanda town, is also traditionally the ancient Bhadrâvatî It was the capital of Yuvanâśva of the *Jaimini-Bhârata* Cunningham has identified Bhadrâvatî with Bhilsa (*Bhilsa Topes*, p 364, *JASB*, 1847, p 745) Bhari, an old place near Pind Dadan Khan in the district of Jhelum in the Punjab, also claims the honour of being the ancient Bhadrâvatî it contains many ruins (*JASB*, XIX, p 537) The *Padma-Purâna* (Uttara, ch 30) places Bhadrâvatî on the banks of the Sarasvatî In the *Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch 6, Bhadrâvatî is said to be 20 Yojans distant from Hastinâpura Ptolemy's Bardaotis has been identified with Bhadrâvatî he places it to the east of the Vindhya range (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p 162), and it has been considered to be identical with Bhârhut (*Arch S Rep*, XXI, p 92)

Bhadrika—Same as **Bhaddiya** (*Kalpasûtra*, ch vi) Mahâvîra spent here two Pajjusanas

Bhâganagara—Hyderabad in the Deccan.

Bhâgaprastha—Bagpat, thirty miles to the west of Mirat, one of the five *Prasthas* or villages said to have been demanded by Yudhishthira from Duryodhana (*see* **Pâṇiprastha**) It is situated on the bank of the Jamuna in the district of Mirat

Bhâgîrathî—Same as **Gaṅgâ** (*Harivamśa*, I, ch 15)

Bhâgvatî—The river Bâgmati in Nepal Baggumudâ of the Buddhists (*Chullavagga*, Pt XI, ch 1)

Bhaktapura—Bhâtgâon, the former capital of Nepal It was also called Bhagatapattana Narendra Deva, king of this place, is said to have brought Avalokiteśvara or Simhanâtha Lokeśvara (Padmapâni) from Putalakâ-parvata in Assam to the city of Lalitapattan in Nepal to ward off the bad effect of a drought of twelve years The celebrated Shad akshari (six-lettered) Mantra "*Om Mani padme hum*" so commonly used in Tibet is an invocation of Padmapâni it means "The mystic triform Deity is in him of the Jewel and the Lotus," *i e* in Padmapâni who bears in either hand a Jewel and a Lotus, the lotus being a favourite type of creative power with the Buddhists

Bhalânasaḥ—Bolan (pass) It is mentiond in the *Rigveda* (Macdonell and Keith *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol II, p 99)

Bhallâṭa—A country situated by the side of Suktimâna mountain it was conquered by Bhîma (*Mbh*, Sabhâ, ch 30) It is also mentioned in the *Kalki-Purâṇa* as being conquered by Kalki Bhallâta is perhaps a corruption of Bhar-râshtra The name does not appear in the other *Purânas*

Bharadvâja-âśrama—In Prayâga or Allahabad, the hermitage of Rishi Bharadvâja was situated (*Râmâyana*, Ayodhya K, ch 54). The image of the Rishi is worshipped in a temple built on the site of his hermitage at Colonelganj The hermitage was visited by Râmachandra on his way to the Dandakâraṇya

Bharahut—In the Central Provinces, 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad and nine miles to the south-east of the Sutna railway station, celebrated for its *stûpa* said to belong to 250 B C

Bhâratavarsha—India India (Intu of Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled in India from 629 to 645 A D), is a corruption of **Sindhu** (*q v*) or Sapta Sindhu (Hafta Hendu of the *Vendidad*, I, 73) It was named after a king called Bharata (*Linga P*, Pûrva Bhâga, ch 47, *Brahma P*, ch 13), and before Bharata, it was called Himâhva-varsha (*Brahmânda P*, Pûrva, ch 33, śloka 55) and Haimavata-varsha (*Linga P*, Pt I, ch 49) In the Pauranic period, Bhâratavarsha was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the ocean, on the east by the country of the Kirâtas and on the west by the country of the Yavanas (*Vishnu P*, II, ch 3, *Mârkandeya P*, ch 57) Bhâratavarsha represents a political conception of India, being under one king, whereas Jambudvîpa represents a geographical conception

Bhârgava—Western Assam, the country of the Bhars or Bhors (*Brahmânda P*, ch 49)

Bhârgavî—A small river near Puri in Orissa was called Dandabhângâ from the fact that Nityânanda broke at Kamalapura on the bank of this river the Danda or ascetic stick of Chaitanya and threw the broken pieces into the stream (*Chaitanya-charitâmrita*, II) It was also called Bhâgî

Bharttri-sthâna—Same as **Svâmi-tîrtha** (*Padma P*, Svarga, ch 19)

Bharu—The name of a kingdom of which Bharukachchha was a seaport, *see* **Bharukachchha**

Bharukachchha—Baroach, the Barygaza of the Greeks (*Vinaya*, III, 38) Bali Râjâ attended by his priest Śukrâchârya performed a sacrifice at this place, when he was deprived of his kingdom by Vishnu in the shape of a dwarf, Vâmana, (*Matsya P*, ch 114) Sarvavarmâ Âchârya, the author of the Kâtantra or *Kalâpa Vyâkarana* and contemporary of Râjâ Sâtavâhana of Pratishthâna was a resident of Bharukachchha (*Kathâ-sarit-Sâgara*, Pt I, ch 6) The Jaina temple of Śakunikâvihâra was constructed by Âmrabhata in the reign of Kumârapala, king of Pattana, in the 12th century Bharukachchha was also called Bhrigupura (Tawney *Prabandhachintâmani*, p 136) In the *Suppâraka Jâtaka* (*Jâtaka*, Cam ed, iv, p. 86), Bharukachchha is said to be a seaport town in the kingdom of Bharu

Bhâsa—Perhaps it is the Bhâsnâth hill, a spur of the Brahmayoni hill in Gaya *see* **Gayâ** [*Anugîtâ*, (*SBE*,) vol VIII, p 346].

Bhâskara-kshetra—Prayâga, *see* **Prâyâga** (Raghunandana's *Prâyaśchitta-tattvam*, Gargâ-Mâhâtmya).

Bhautika Lingas—For the five Bhautika or elementary images of Mahâdeva, *see* **Chidambaram.**

Bhavânînagara—Same as **Tuljâbhavânî.**

Bhîmâ—Same as **Vidarbha** (*Devî P*, ch 46)

Bhîmanagara—Kangra.

Bhîmapura—1 Vidarbhanagara or Kundinapura, the capital of Vidarbha (*see* **Kundinapura**). 2 Same as **Dâkinî** (*Brihat-Śiva P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 3).

Bhîmarathâ—Same as **Bhîmarathî** (*Mârkandeya P.*, ch 57).

Bhîmarathî—The river Bhîmâ which joins the Krishnâ (*Garuda P*, I, 55)

Bhîmâsthâna—Takht-i-Bhai, 28 miles to the north-east of Peshawar and eight miles to the north west of Mardan, containing the Yoni-tîrtha and the celebrated temple of Bhîmâ Devî described by Hiuen Tsiang, the temple was situated on an isolated mountain at the end of the range of hills which separates the Yusufzai from the Luncoan valley It was visited by Yudhishthira as a place of pilgrimage, and it is also mentioned in the *Padma P*, Svarga-Kh, ch 11, *Mahâbhârata*, Vana P, ch 82).

Bhogavardhana-matha—Same as **Govarddhana-matha**

Bhoja—*See* **Bhojapura** (*Padma P*, Svarga, ch 3)

Bhojakata-pura—The second capital of Vidarbha, founded by Rukmi, the brother of Rukminî who was the consort of Krishna It was near the Nerbada (*Harivamśa*, ch 117). Bhojakatapura, or in its contracted form Bhojapura, may be identified with Bhojapura, which is six miles to the south-east of Bhilsa (Vidisa) in the kingdom of Bhopal containing many Buddhist topes called Pipaliya Bijoli Topes. Ancient Vidarbha, according to General Cunningham, included the whole kingdom of Bhopal on the north of the Nerbada (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 363). The Bhojas ruled over Vidarbha and are mentioned in one of Asoka's Edicts (see Dr Bhandarkar's *Hist of the Dekkan*, III) In the Chammak Copperplate inscription of Pravarasena II of the Vâkâtaka dynasty, Bhojakata is described as a kingdom which coincides with Berar or ancient Vidarbha, and Chammak, *i e*, the village Charmânka of the inscription, four miles south-west of Elichpur in the Amraoti district, is mentioned as being situated in the Bhojakata kingdom (*Corp Ins Ind*, III, 236, *JRAS*, 1914, p 321) For further particulars, *see* **Bhojapur** (1) in Part II of this work

Bhojapâla—Bhopal in Central India, which is a contraction of Bhojapâla or Bhoja's Dam which was constructed during the reign of Râjâ Bhoja of Dhar to hold up the city lakes (Knowles-Foster's *Veiled Princess*, *Ind Ant*, XVII, 348).

Bhojapura—1 Mathurâ was the capital of the Bhojas (*Bhâgavata*, Pt. I, ch 10). 2 Near Dumraon in the district of Shâhâbâd in Bengal (*see* **Bhojapur** in Pt II of this work) 3 Same as **Bhojakatapura** It contains the temple of Bhojeśvara Mahâdeva and a Jaina temple (*JASB*, 1839, p 814) The temple of Bhojeśvara was built in the 11th century A D For further particulars regarding the temple and dam, see *JASB*, 1847, p 740, *Ind Ant*, XXVII, 348 Bhoja is mentioned in the *Brahmânda-Purâna* as a country in the Vindhya range It is the Stagabaza (or Tataka-Bhoja or tank of Bhoja) of Ptolemy 4 On the right bank of the Ganges, 30 or 35 miles from Kânyakubja or Kanauj (*Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 189)

Bhota—*See* **Bhotânga**

Bhotânga—Bhotan Bhota according to Lassen is the modern Tibet (*Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 124) According to the *Târâ Tantra*, Bhota extends from Kasmîr to the west of Kâmarûpa and to the south of Manasa-sarovara.

Bhotânta—Same as **Bhotânga** (*JRAS*, 1863, p 71)

Bhrigu-âśrama—1 Balia in the United Provinces, said to have been the capital of Râjâ Bali. Bâwan, six miles west of Hardoi in Oudh, also claims the honour of being the capital of Bali Râjâ, who was deprived of his kingdom by Vishnu in his

Vâmana-avatâra. Bhrigu Rishi once performed asceticism at Balia; there is a temple dedicated to the Rishi, which is frequented by pilgrims. Balia was once situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Saraju; it was called Bâgrâsan, being a corruption of Bhrigu-âśrama. Bhrigu Rishi "is said to have held Dadri or Dardara on the banks of the Ganges, where he performed his ceremonies on the spot called Bhrigu-âśrama or Bhadrason (Bagerassan, Rennell)"—Martin's *Eastern India*, II, p. 340. It was also called Dadri-kshetra. Hence the fair there held every year is called Dadri-melâ. *See* **Dharmâranya** 2. 2. Baroach was also the hermitage of this Rishi.

Bhrigu-kachchha—Same as **Bharukachchha**, which is a corruption of Bhrigukshetra, as it was the residence of Bhrigu Rishi (*Bhâgavata P.*, Pt. 2, ch. viii, *Skanda P.*, Revâ Kh., ch. 182).

Bhrigukshetra—Same as **Bharukachchha**.

Bhrigupatana—A celebrated place of pilgrimage near Kedarnâth in Garwal.

Bhrigupura—Same as **Bharukachchha** (Tawney: *Prabandhachintâmani*, p. 136). It contains a temple of the twentieth Jaina Tîrthankara Suvrata.

Bhrigu-tîrtha—Bherâghât, containing the temple of Chaunshat Yoginîs, 12 miles to the west of Jabbalpur, on the Nerbada between the Marble Rocks; it is a famous place of pilgrimage (*Padma P.*, Svarga-Kh., ch. 9, *Matsya P.*, ch. 192).

Bhrigu-tunga—1. A mountain in Nepal on the eastern bank of the Gandak, which was the hermitage of Bhrigu (*Varâha P.*, ch. 146). 2. According to Nîlakantha, the celebrated commentator of the *Mahâbhârata*, it is the Tunganâtha mountain (see his commentary on v. 2, ch. 216, Âdi Parva, *Mahâbhârata*) which is one of the Pañcha-Kedâras (*see* **Pañcha-Kedâra**).

Bhujaganagara—Same as **Uragapura** (*Pavanadûta*, v. 10).

Bhûrisreshthika—Bhûrsut, once an important place of a Pargana in the sub-division of Arambâg in the district of Hooghly in Bengal (*Prabodhachandrodaya Nâtaka*, my "Notes on the District of Hooghly" in *JASB.*, 1910, p. 599).

Bhuskhâra—Bokhara: it was conquered by Lalitâditya, king of Kâśmîr, who ascended the throne in 697 A.D., and reigned for about 37 years (*Râjataranginî*, Bk. IV). The Khanat of Bokhara is bounded on the east by the Khanat of Khokand called Fergana by the ancients and also by the mountain of Badakshan, on the south by the Oxus, on the west and north by the Great Desert (Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*). It was called Sogdiana.

Bibhândaka-âśrama—Same as *Rishyaśringa-âśrama*.

Bichhi—Bitha, ten miles south-west of Allahabad, the name being found by Sir John Marshall in a seal-die at the place; in a sealing, it is called Vichhigrâma, *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 127). *See* **Bitabhaya-pattana**.

Bidarbha—Berar, Khandesh, part of the Nizam's territory and part of the Central Provinces, the kingdom of Bhîshmaka whose daughter Rukminî was married to Krishna. Its principal towns were Kundinanagara and Bhojakatapura. Kundinanagara (Bidarbhanagara), its capital, was evidently Bidar. Bhojakatapura was Bhojapura, six miles south-east of Bhilsa in the kingdom of Bhopal. The Bhojas of the *Purânas* lived in Vidarbha. In ancient times, the country of Vidarbha included the kingdom of Bhopal and Bhilsa to the north of the Nerbada (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 363). *See* **Bhojakatapura** and **Kundinapura**.

Bidarbhanadi—The Pain Gangâ

Bidarbhanagara—Same as **Kundinapura**

Bidaspes—The river Jhelum in the Punjab

Bidegha—Same as **Bideha** (*Śatapatha-Brâhmana* I, 4, 1, 14)

Bideha—Tirhut, the kingdom of Râjâ Janaka, whose daughter Sîtâ was married to Râmachandra Mithilâ was the name of both Videha and its capital Janakpur in the district of Darbhanga, was the capital of Râjâ Janaka Benares afterwards became the capital of Bideha (Sir Monier Monier-Williams' *Modern India*, p 131) About a mile to the north of Sitâmârhi, there is a tank which is pointed out as the place where the new-born Sîtâ was found by Janaka while he was ploughing the land Panaurâ, three miles south west of Sîtâmârhi, also claims the honour of being the birth-place of Sîtâ About six miles from Janakpur is a place called Dhenukâ, (now overgrown with jungle) where Ramachandra is said to have broken the bow of Hara Sîtâ is said to have been married at Sîtâmârhi Bideha was bounded on the east by the river Kausikî (Kusi), on the west by the river Gandaka, on the north by the Himalaya, and on the south by the Ganges It was the country of the Vajjis at the time of Buddha (*see* **Baisâlî**)

Bidisâ—1 Bhilsa, in Malwa in the kingdom of Bhopal, on the river Betwa or Vetravatî, about 26 miles to the north-east of Bhopal By partitioning his kingdom, Râmachandra gave Bidisâ to Śatrughna's son Śatrughâti (*Râmâyana*, Uttara, ch 121) It was the capital of ancient Dasârna mentioned in the *Meghadûta* (Pt I, v 25) of Kâlidâsa It is called Baidiśa-deśa in the *Devî-Purâna* (ch 76) and the *Râmâyana* Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra, the first king of the Sunga dynasty, who reigned in Magadha in the second and third quarters of the second century B C, was the viceroy of his father at Bidisâ or Bhilsâ (Kâlidâsa's *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, Act V) Agnimitra, however, has been described as the king, and his father as his general The topes, known by the name of Bhilsa Topes, consist of five distinct groups, all situated on low sandy hills, *viz*, (1) Sanchi topes, five and a half miles south-west of Bhilsa, (2) Sonâri topes, six miles to the south-west of Sanchi, (3) Satdhâra topes, three miles from Sonâri, (4) Bhojpur topes, six miles to the south south-east of Bhilsa, and Andher, nine miles to the east south-east of Bhilsa They belong to a period ranging from 250 B C to 78 A D. (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p 7) 2 The river Bidisâ has been identified with the river Bes or Besali which falls into the Betwa at Besnagar or Bhilsa (Wilson's *Vishnu P*, Vol II, 150)

Bidyânagara—1 Bijayanagar on the river Tungabhadrâ, 36 miles north-west of Bellari, formerly the metropolis of the Brahmanical kingdom of Bijayanagar called also Karnâta It is locally called Hampi It was founded by Sangama of the Yâdava dynasty about 1320 A D According to the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* (see *JASB*, 1838, p 174) it is said to have been founded by Narasingha Rayer, father of Krishna Rayer Bukka and Harihara were the third and fourth kings from Sangama For the genealogy of the Yâdava dynasty, see *Ep Ind*, vol. III, pp 21, 22, 114 and 223 It contains the celebrated temple of Vithoba (Meadows Taylor's *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, p. 65) and also of Virûpâksha

Mahâdeva The power of the Bijayanagara kingdom was destroyed at the battle of Talikot on the bank of the Krishnâ in 1565 Sâyanâchârya, the celebrated commentator of the Vedas and brother of Mâdhavâchârya, was the minister of Sangamarâja II, the son of Kamparâja, brother of Bukka Rai, king of Bijayanagara (*Ep Ind* , vol III, p 23) 2 Bijayanagara (*see* **Padmâvatî**) at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pârâ in Malwa 3 Râjamahendri on the Godâvarî (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. V) At this place, Chaitanya met Râmânanda Râya, who governed this place under Râjâ Pratâparudra Deva of Orissa (*Chaitanya-charitâmrita*, Madhyama, ch 8)

Bijayanagara—Vizianagram in the Madras Presidency, visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya Bhâgavata, Anta-kh* , ch iii)

Bijayapura—It is said to be situated on the Ganges and was the capital of Lakshmana Sena (*Pavanadûta*, v 36) Hence Bijayapura was identical with Lakhnauti or Gauda which was also situated on the Ganges (*see* **Lakshmanâvatî** and **Gaur** in Pt II) It was perhaps called Bijayapura from Ballâla's father Vijaya Sena who conquered Bengal *See* **Ballâlapurî** But Vijayapura has been identified with Bijayanagara on the Ganges near Godâgâri, in Varendra or Barind, in the district of Malda in the Rajshahi Division of Bengal The Senas, after subverting the Pâla kingdom, are believed to have made Bijayanagara their capital and subsequently removed to Lakshmanâvatî, which was afterwards called Gaud (*JRAS* , 1914, p 101)

Bijiavada—Bezvada on the river Krishna It was the capital of the Eastern Châlukyas

Bikramapura—Same as **Ballâlapurî**. It was situated in Banga in the kingdom of Pundra vardhana (*Edilpur Copperplate Inscription of Keśava Sena*, Ânanda Bhatta's *Ballâla-charitam*, Uttara Kh , ch 1)

Bikramaśilâ-vihâra—The name of this celebrated monastery is found in many Buddhist works General Cunningham suggests the identification of Bikramaśilâ with Silao, three miles from Bargaon (ancient Nâlandâ) in the sub division Bihar of the district of Patna (*Arch S Rep* , vol VIII, p. 83) and six miles to the north of Râjgir The river Pañchâna flowed by its side before It has a very large mound of earth which is being very gradually encroached upon by the cultivators and which is perhaps the remains of a monastery But it appears from Buddhist works that Bikramaśilâ-vihâra was founded by king Dharmapâla in the middle of the eighth century A D , on the top of a hill on the right bank of the Ganges in Bihar it was a celebrated seat of Buddhist learning hence Cunningham's identification does not seem to be correct Its identification with the Jahngira hill at Sultanganj in the district of Bhagalpur by Dr Satischandra Vidyâbhûshana [*Bhâratî* (Vaiśâkha) 1315] does not also appear to be correct, as there are no remains of Buddhism on that hill it is essentially a Hindu place of worship and the place is too small for such a celebrated Buddhist monastery But the Bikramaśilâ-vihâra may be safely identified with Pâtharghâtâ, four miles to the north of Kahalgâon (Colgong) and 24 miles to the east of Champâ near Bhagalpur in the province of Bihar (see my "Notes on Ancient Anga or the District of Bhagalpur," in *JASB* , X, 1914, p 342) It is the Śilâ-sangama of *Chorapañchâśikâ* by Chora Kavi (Francklin's *Site of Ancient Palibothra*), which is evidently a corruption of Bikramaśilâ sanghârâma The place abounds with Buddhist remains, excavations and rock-cut caves of the Buddhist period The statues of Buddha, Maitreya, and Avalokiteśvara, some of which were removed to the

"Hill House" of Colgong by Mr Barnes and which may still be found there, were beautifully sculptured and can bear comparison with the beautiful sculptures of the Nâlandâ monastery As the monastery was founded in the eighth century it has not been mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Champâ in the seventh century, though he refers to the excavations which had evidently been done by the Hindus Srîbaddha Jñânapâda was the head of the monastery at the time of Dharmapâla It had six gates, and the six gate-keepers were Pandits of India, and no one could enter the monastery without defeating these Pandits in argument. Bikramaśilâ was destroyed by Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1203 (see Kern · *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p 133) The Hindu Universities of Mithilâ and Nadîâ were established after its destruction *See* **Durvâsâ-âśrama** (see my "Bikramasilâ Monastery" in *JASB*, 1909, p 1) On the top of the hill is the temple of Bateśvaranâtha Mahâdeva which is celebrated in this part of the country, established perhaps after the destruction of the monastery

Binâ—1 The river Krishnâ, the Tynna of Ptolemy 2 Almorah in Kumaun It is also called Benwâ

Binasana-tirtha—The spot in the great sandy desert in the district of Sirhind (Patiala) where the river Sarasvatî loses itself after taking a westerly course from Thaneswar *See* **Sarasvatî.**

Binaśinî—The river Banas in Gujarat on which Disa is situated (*Brihadjyotishârnava*).

Binâyaka-kshetra—Three or four miles from Dhanmandal above the Bhuvanesvar railway station on the top of a mountain in Orissa

Binayaka tirthas—There are eight places sacred to Vinâyaka or Ganeśa 1 Moreśvara, six miles from Jajuri, a station of the South Marhatta Railway 2 Ballâla, forty-six miles by boat from Bombay, it contains the temple of Vinâyaka named Maruda 3 Lenâdri, fifty miles from the Teligaon station of the G I P Railway 4 Sidhatek, on the river Bhîmâ, ten miles from the Diksal station of the G I P Railway 5 Ojhar containing the temple of Vinâyaka Bighneśvara 6 Sthevara called also Theura 7. Rañjanagrâma 8 Mahâda The last three are on the G I. P Railway *See* **Ashtavinâyaka.**

Bindhyâchala—1 The Vindhya range The celebrated temple of Vindubâsinî (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, VII, 30) is situated on a part of the hills near Mirzapur It is one of the stations of the E I. Railway. The temple of the eight-armed Yogamâyâ, which is one of the 52 Pîthas, where the toe of Satî's left foot is said to have fallen, is at a short distance from the temple of Vindubâsinî (see *Siva P*, IV, Pt I, ch. 21) Yogamâyâ, after warning Kamsa, king of Mathurâ, of the birth of his destroyer, came back to the hills, and took her abode at the site of the temple of Vindubâsinî (*Skanda P*, Revâ Kh, ch 55) It was, and is still a celebrated place of pilgrimage mentioned in the *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara* (I, ch. 2) The town of Bindhyâchala was included within the circuit of the ancient city of Pampâpura (Fuhrer's *M A I*) The fight between Durgâ and the two brothers Sumbha and Niśumbha took place at Vindhyâchala (*Vâmana P*, ch 55) *See* **Chandapura** The goddess Vindubâsinî was widely worshipped in the seventh century, and her shrine was considered as one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage (*Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*, chs. 52, 54) 2 Another Bindhyâchala has been identified by Mr. Pargiter with the hills and plateau of South Mysore (*Râmâyâna*, Kishk, ch. 48, *JRAS.*, 1894, p 261).

Bindhyâ-pâda Parvata—The Satpura range from which rise the Tâptî and other rivers (*Varâha P*, ch 85) It lies between the Nerbada and the Tâptî It is the Mount Sardonys of Ptolemy containing mines of cornelian, Sardian being a species of cornelian (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*) On a spur of the Satpura range is a colossal rock-cut Jaina image of the Digambara sect called Bawangaj, about 73 feet in height on the Nerbada in the district of Burwani, about 100 miles from Indore (*JASB*, XVII, p 918) *See* **Sravaṇa-Belgola**

Bindhyâṭavî—Portions of Khandesh and Aurangabad, which lie on the south of the western extremity of the Vindhya range, including Nasik

Bindubâsinî—The celebrated place of pilgrimage in the district of Mirzapur in the U P *See* **Vindhyâchala** (*Vâmana P*, ch 45)

Bindu-sara—1 A sacred pool situated on the Rudra-Himalaya, two miles south of Gangotri, where Bhagîratha is said to have performed asceticism for bringing down the goddess Gangâ from heaven (*Râmâyana*, I, 43, and *Matsya P*, ch 121) In the *Brahmâṇda-Purâna* (ch 51), this tank is said to be situated at the foot of the Gauda Parvata on the north of the Kailâsa range, which is called Mainâka-Parvata in the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ, ch 3) 2 In Sitpur (Siddhapura in Gujarat) north west of Ahmedabad it was the hermitage of Kardama Rishi and birth-place of Kapila (*Bhâgavata P*, Skanda III) *See* **Siddhapura.** 3. A sacred tank called Bindusâgara and also Gosâgara at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa (*Padma P.*) Mahâdeva caused the water of this tank to rise from Pâtâla by means of his Triśûla (trident) in order to quench the thirst of Bhagavatî when she was fatigued with her fight with the two demons of Bhuvaneśvara, named Kîrtti and Bâsa (*Bhuvaneśvara-Mâhâtmya*).

Bingara—Ahmednagar, seventy-one miles from Poona, which was founded by Ahmed Nizam Shah in 1494.

Binîtapura—Katak in Orissa (*Ep Ind*, vol III, pp 323—359, *JASB.*, 1905, p 1)

Bipâsâ—The Bias, the Hypasis of the Greeks The origin of the name of this river is related in the *Mahâbhârata* (Âdi, ch. 179). Rishi Vaśishtha, being weary of life on account of the death of his sons killed by Viśvâmitra, tied his hands and feet with chords, and threw himself into the river, which afraid of killing a Brâhmana, burst the bonds (*pâśa*) and came to the shore The hot springs and village of Vasishtha Muni are situated opposite to Monali (*JASB*, vol XVII, p 209)

Birajâ-kshetra—A country which stretches for ten miles around Jâjpur on the bank of the river Baitaranî in Orissa (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana P, ch 85, *Brahma P.*, ch 42) It is also called Gadâ-kshetra, sacred to the Śâktas (*Kapila-samhitâ*)

Birâṭa—The country of Jaipur The town of Birâta or Bairât, 105 miles to the south of Delhi and 40 miles to the north of Jaipur (Cunningham, *Arch S Rep*, II, p 244) was the ancient capital of Jaipur or Matsyadeśa It was the capital of Virâta Râjâ, king of the Matsya-deśa, where the five Pândavas lived in secrecy for one year It is a mistake to identify Birâta with Dinajpur whereat Kântanagara, Virâṭa's Uttara-gogriha (northern cowshed) is shown, the Dakshina-gogriha (southern cowshed) being shown at Midnapur. This identification is not countenanced by the *Mahâbhârata*, which relates that Yudhishthira selected a kingdom in the neighbourhood of Hastinâpura as his place of concealment, from which he could watch the movements of his enemy Duryodhana, (*Mbh*, Virâṭa, ch. 1, and Sabhâ, ch 30). *See* **Matsyadeśa** The Pându hill at Bairâta, which has a cave called Bhîmaguphâ, contains an inscription of Aśoka (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 1, p 22).

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

BY LIEUT-COLONEL T W HAIG, C S I, C.M.G, C B E

(*Continued from p* 128)

XIX—THE CHARACTER OF AHMAD NIZAM SHAH

Ahmad Niẓâm Shâh was exceedingly chaste and continent When riding through the city and the bazaars, he never glanced either to the right hand or to the left One of his intimate companions one day asked him why he never looked around him on these occasions The king replied that as he and his troops passed by, crowds of people, both men and women, assembled to see them pass, and lined the doors and walls, and crowded the streets and market-places He could not look upon them without seeing somebody upon whom it was not proper to gaze, and as to let his glance rest on such a one would be unpleasing to the Creator, he thought fit to refrain from looking about him

Ahmad Niẓâm Shâh was also noted for his austerity and piety Once in the early days of his reign, while he was yet a young man, and at the age when the lusts of the flesh are predominant and most violent, he led an army against the fort of Râwîl and took it Among the captives who fell into the hands of the royal army, was a most beautiful young woman whom Masnad-i-'Alî Malik Naṣîr-ul Mulk, on hearing of her beauty, summoned before himself On seeing her, he considered that such a being should adorn none but the royal *haram*, and wrote to the king, proposing to send her to the *haram* The king replied, commanding him to do so When the king retired to his bedchamber in order to go in unto her, the woman came before him with blandishments and coquetry, but the king, before retiring, asked her whether she had a husband, or a mother, or a father The woman replied that her husband and her parents were living, and the king at once extinguished the fire of lust and bade the woman be comforted, for he would send for her husband and her parents and hand her over to them In this case it may be said that Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh's chastity and continence excelled those of Joseph, for Zulaikhâ, being the wife of Joseph's master, was not lawful to him, whereas this woman being a captive taken in war, was lawful to Ahmad Niẓâm Shâh On the following day Masnad-i-'Âlî Malik Naṣîr-ul-Mulk came to pay his respects to the king and would have congratulated him on his enjoyment, but the king told him of what had passed, and of his promise to the woman. In accordance with the royal commands, the woman's husband and parents were produced and, after they had been royally entertained, the king handed the woman over to her husband

One of Ahmad Niẓâm Shâh's wise customs was this If by chance in the day of battle he saw one of his men behave in a cowardly manner and turn his back on the enemy, he would send for him and ask him, kindly and gently, why he had behaved so When the coward, in halting phrases, excused himself, the king would give him a quid of betel and allow him to depart to his post When the fight was over, and those who had distinguished themselves, were brought up to receive robes of honour and royal favours, the king would first enquire for the coward and, when he had been found, would confer on him a robe of honour and other favours, and would afterwards bestow rewards on the brave One day one of the king's more intimate associates made so bold as to say that it was not understood why the king thus gave to a coward precedence of those who had borne the burden and heat of the day, and had acquitted themselves valiantly The king replied that the reason for this practice would be made known to him later. Shortly afterwards it so happened that the king's army was engaged with the troops of the enemy, and the man who had on a former occasion

fled from the battle, now charged the enemy more valiantly than the bravest of the army. The king, turning towards the courtier who had objected to his kindly treatment of the coward, said, 'Now the reason for my kindness to men of this class is apparent, and you know that to convert the cowards of the army into brave men by this device is wise policy.'

Another of the king's wise actions may be mentioned here. Dalpat Rai, a Brâhman officer in the army, was jealous of Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Nâṣir ul-Mulk, as is often the case with officers whose sole aim and object is the acquisition of wealth, and who cannot bear to see anybody more prosperous than themselves. Dalpat Rai, prompted by his evil passions, forged a memorandum, purporting to be in the handwriting of Masnad-i-'Âlî, in order to show that Masnad-i-'Âlî received large sums as bribes from the officers and governors of countries on the borders of the king's dominions. Spies reported this matter to Masnad-i 'Âlî and he, without thought of denying the charge, said, 'Dalpat Rai does not know the truth of this matter. Those who have given and he who has received the bribe must necessarily know more about the matter than Dalpat Rai.' He then drew up, as a counterblast to Dalpat Rai's memorandum, another memorandum shewing that he had received double the amounts mentioned in Dalpat Rai's memorandum. On the day on which the king held his court, Dalpat Rai came forward and presented to him his memorandum. The king turned to Masnad-i 'Âlî and asked him to explain the accusation which had been brought against him by Dalpat Rai. Masnad-i 'Âlî, after praying for the king's long life and prosperity, said, 'What can Dalpat Rai know of my outgoings and incomings?' and placed in the king's hand the memorandum which he had himself prepared. The king, on reading this memorandum, found that the sums mentioned therein were greater than the sums mentioned in Dalpat Rai's memorandum. Masnad-i 'Âlî then said, 'All this money belongs to your majesty, and I have saved it against this day.' The king then tore up both memoranda and cast them from him and said, 'Men enter the service of kings for the sake of acquiring worldly treasure, not for the sake of laying up treasure in heaven, and as long as Masnad-i-'Âlî Nâṣir ul Mulk is not convicted of treachery in the royal service, nor of extortion from the kingdom and its subjects, I shall be thankful and not displeased if the Sultâns of neighbouring countries send him gifts and presents for the sake of establishing and confirming mutual feelings of friendliness and averting strife, for this will show that God has favoured my servants with the opportunity of acquiring from others the means of power, and has so implanted in the hearts of all men the fear of me that they are willing to ingratiate themselves with my servants by sending them gifts and by comporting themselves with proper humility towards them.' The king then turned to Dalpat Rai and said to him, 'Henceforth do not dare to be guilty of such conduct, or to allow your envy to lead you into acts of enmity against my loyal servants, or you will incur my royal wrath. It is the part of faithful servants to live with one another in peace and amity, having for their object the furtherance of their lord's affairs and not their own personal and selfish ends, which they should put aside, in order that they may receive the rewards due to faithful service.'

Another of the merciful and clement practices of the king was the following. If any person was accused of an offence and the case came before the royal court of justice, the king would ask the prisoner whether he were guilty of the offence charged against him, or not. The object of the question was that the prisoner might deny his guilt and so be freed from imprisonment. If the guilty person divined the object of the question and denied the guilt, he was set at liberty, but if he confessed his guilt, the king, in his mercy and clemency and

in the desire of supporting the panel, would say '*mundâsâ pathara band*,'[56] that is to say, 'Tie your turban again" in order that that person might realize the object of the question and thus escape punishment

The following are the names of some of the officers of state, the *amîrs*, and the *vazîrs* of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh —

(1) Malik Nasîr ul-Mulk Gujarâtî, *Vakîl* and *Pîshva*[57]
(2) Dalpat Rai, *vazîr* of the Government
(3) Qâzî Khvând-i-Majlisî } *Vazîrs*
(4) Ustâd Khvâja bin Dabîr } *Vazîrs*
(5) Kâmil Khân
(6) Zarîf-ul-Mulk the Afghân
(7) Jalâl Rûmî Khân
(8) Kadam Khân
(9) Munîr Khân
(10) Fûlâd Khân
(11) Malik Râja Dastur-ul-Mulk
(12) Sayyid Mu'izz-ud-dîn

XX—THE ACCESSION OF AL-MU'AYYAD MIN'INDI-'LLÂH ABU-L-MUZAFFAR BURHÂN NIZAM SHÂH TO THE THRONE OF SOVEREIGNTY, AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF HIS REIGN

When the king Al-Musta'ân bi-'inâyati-'llâh Abûl Muzaffar Ahmad Shâh (*bin* Muhammad Shâh *bin* Humâyûn Shâh Bahmanî) having cleared the land of his enemies and given fresh lustre to Islâm, died in A H 911 (A D 1505-06), his son, Abû'l Muzaffar Burhân Nizâm Shâh in the same year, *viz*, A H 911,[58] adorned with his person the crown and throne of sovereignty, and caused both the currency and the *khutbah* of the Dakan to run in his name In his reign the wolf herded the sheep and the hawk guarded the pigeon

It is well known that the events in the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh were so numerous that they cannot easily be narrated, for, according to the best-known accounts, the king reigned for nearly fifty years, and of all those years there was not one in which his armies did not go forth to fight against his enemies, and as no historian has hitherto attempted to give a detailed and systematic account of his reign and many discrepancies are to be found between the accounts of those who lived in that fortunate reign, or shortly after it, especially with regard to the sequence of events, the author of this history trusts that he will not be severely censured for any errors or discrepancies that may appear in his account

Burhân Nizâm Shâh, at the time of his accession, was not quite seven years of age, and Mukammal Khân, who had held the office of *vakîl* and *pîshva* since the reign of the late king, Ahmad Shâh Bahrî, took the whole administration of the army and the state into his own

56 An expression taken from either Marâthî or Hindi Firishta draws largely on this account of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's character

57 This office was characteristic of the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Dakan and Sivaji followed the example of the Muhammadan kings The powers attached to the officer were much greater than those of an ordinary minister

58 Firishta (ii, 198) gives the chronogram نعمی هاوید for the accession of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I This gives the date 914 (A D 1508 09)

hands and governed the kingdom almost as an independent king. His son, Jamâl ud-dîn, who had received the title of 'Azîz-ul Mulk, had drunk from the cup of place and pomp until he was drunk with power and pride and so enmeshed in the lusts to which youth is prone, that he paid regard to none but himself. Owing to the power of the regent and his son, a party of the *amîrs* and chief men of the Dakan, moved by envy and the desire of stirring up strife, conspired to raise to the throne the king's younger brother, who was known as Râjajî, but since God had decreed the kingdom to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, the plot failed.

When the opponents of the Government realized that it was useless to attempt to reverse the Divine decrees, they submitted and made obeisance at the gate of the royal court.

XXI.—An account of the causes of the quarrel which occurred between Burhân Nizâm Shâh at the beginning of his reign, and Shaikh 'Ala-ud-dîn 'Imâd-ul-Mulk.

A.D. 1510-11. Early in the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, the *amîrs*, the officers of state and the subjects generally were discontented, owing to the great power enjoyed by Mukammal Khân and the pride and arrogance of his son 'Azîz-ul-Mulk. 'Azîz ul-Mulk plunged into all sorts of immorality and wanton pastimes and used oppressively to violate men's honour, and this tyranny was unbearable to the men of the Dakan, so that a great outcry arose against him. Some of the *amîrs*, such as Rûmî Khân, Qadam Khân, Munîr Khân, and others, feared that he entertained designs against them, owing to the part which they had played in the attempt to raise Râjajî to the throne, and for this slight cause, making 'Azîz-ul-Mulk's enormities their excuse, left the court and took refuge with 'Imâd-ul-Mulk in Berar, where they made every effort to stir up strife. They persuaded 'Imâd-ul-Mulk that the rule of Mukammal Khân and his son, during the king's minority, were hateful to the people, and that the conquest of the country would be an easy matter, adding that it was not the part of a wise king to let slip an opportunity of this nature and give his enemies time. 'Imâd-ul-Mulk was beguiled by their words and was proud of the strength of his army. He collected his troops from all quarters of his country and marched towards Ahmadnagar.

When the news of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk's movements reached the king, he ordered Mukammal Khân to send swift messengers to all parts of the kingdom to summon the army, and to send the royal tents on towards Berar. These orders were carried out. The *amîrs* and officers were summoned with their troops, and the royal tents were sent forward towards Berar. When the army was assembled at the capital it marched rapidly towards the town of Rânûbarî,[59] where it encamped.

'Imâd-ul-Mulk also marched from the direction of Berar towards Rânûbarî and encamped over against the royal army.

On the following day, when the sun rose, the two armies were drawn up in battle array, facing one another.

Mukammal Khân divided the royal army into two divisions. The duty of one was to guard and protect the king, and the command of this division was given to Miyân Kâlâ

[59] Firishta (ii, 199) has Rânurî. From the similarity of the names as written in the Persian script, the site of the battle was probably Râhûrî situated in 19°22′ N. and 74°40′ E. Sayyid 'Alî's account of this campaign does not differ materially from that given by Firishta, but Firishta blames Mukammal Khân and his son 'Azîz ul Mulk for having by their hostility driven the *amîrs* from Ahmadnagar. The *amîrs* took with them 8,000 horse. The battle of Râhûrî was fought in A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510-11) and the victory of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army was even more complete than Sayyid 'Alî represents it to be. 'Alâ ud dîn 'Imâd Shâh was so closely pursued through Berar that he fled to Burhânpûr, and it was 'Âdil Khân III of Khândesh that made peace between the belligerents.

Azhdar Khân As the king was too young to be able to manage a charger, Azhdar took him in front of him, and tied a sash round the king's waist and his own, lest the horse should become restive on hearing the noise of battle and unseat the king The duty of the other division was to attack the enemy

'Imâd ul-Mulk also divided his army into two divisions, and appointed one to repel the attack of the second division of the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, while he led the other division against the division appointed to guard the person of the king

The royal army marched out of the town of Rânûbarî and met the enemy, and a fierce battle was fought While the battle was in progress, two of the fiercest of the king's elephants, named Barkhurdâr and Buzurgwâr, were taken by their *mahouts* to a river which ran near the field of battle in order that they might be watered At the river they met and fought and, so fighting, being beyond the control of their drivers, moved in the direction of the enemy When the royal troops saw that two of the king's own elephants were going towards the enemy, they charged after them, fearing lest they might be seized by the enemy It fortunately happened at this moment that 'Imâd-ul-Mulk was informed that the *amîrs* of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who had joined themselves to him, were deserting him and joining the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh When 'Imâd-ul-Mulk heard this news and at the same time saw the bravest of the royal troops charging his army, he lost heart and fled, halting not until he had reached the midst of his own country The victorious army pursued the enemy and slew very many of them, taking also large quantities of spoil, horses, elephants, arms and tents It is said that on that day the army of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk was utterly dispersed and fled into all parts of the country, so that most of their horses and elephants fell into the hands of the country people by whom they were brought and presented to the king

After this victory the king returned to Ahmadnagar

XXII AN ACCOUNT OF THE DOMINATION OF 'AZÎZ-UL-MULK, OF THE GENERAL MISCHIEF CAUSED BY HIS ELEVATION TO THE OFFICES OF VAKÎL AND PÎSHVÂ, OF HIS AMBITIOUS DESIGNS FOR DEPOSING THE KING, AND OF HIS PUNISHMENT

A short time after the defeat of the army of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and the extinguishing of the fire of war, Mukammal Khân, who had been *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, since the reign of his late majesty Sultân Ahmad Bahri, departed this life After his death the king bestowed the offices of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* on his son, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, who had some hereditary claim to them 'Azîz-ul Mulk, who had an evil disposition, soon raised the standard of strife and turbulence, and the banner of tyranny and injustice, and got all power in the administration of the state into his own hands, ruling like an independent king, while to the king was left nothing but the name of a king

When 'Azîz-ul-Mulk had thus seized all power, pride and folly established themselves in his disposition, and he conceived in his base heart the design of still further extending his power and of rebelling against the king Moreover, he devoted the whole of his attention to undermining the foundation of the kingdom, and excluded from the royal service most of those who had been in close attendance upon the throne, and the king's old servants, and admitted to the king's presence nobody except three wet nurses who had nursed the king and brought him up, and three eunuchs who had been in the service of his late majesty He also tried to overthrow the state altogether, and one day put some deadly poison into some milk of which the king was extremely fond, and sent it to the king The king's nurses,

however, were on their guard and would not allow the king to drink the milk. They gave a little of it to a beast, in order to test it, and the moment that the beast drank it, it died. Then they thanked God, Who had spared the young king's life, and distributed alms to poor and holy men by way of a thankoffering. Thus 'Azîz-ul-Mulk forgot his duty of loyalty to the king, and became an ungrateful rebel. When a man of base nature attains worldly power, the blackness of his heart and the baseness of his nature become manifest in his acts.

The king's loyal servants, and those who were near his throne, wearied of the dominance and disloyalty of 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, and consulted together as to how this enemy of the faith and the state could be overthrown, asking assistance in the matter from all loyal servants of the king. At this time Dânayya Chisan Jîvû,[60] who was governor of the fort of Antûr, came to court to pay his respects, and had an audience of the king. When he ascertained the course of 'Azîz-ul-Mulk's conduct and his ingratitude and disobedience, he represented to the king that he had formed a design for overthrowing 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, and would disclose it if he had the king's leave. The king, by the mouth of one of his faithful servants, asked what the nature of his plan was, and he replied that he would return to his fort and there feign to rebel, in order that 'Azîz-ul-Mulk might be sent in person to quell the rebellion and the king might be relieved of his presence. Dânayya continued saying that he would fight against 'Azîz-ul-Mulk as the king's enemy and would do his utmost to remove him, and to relieve the king from his dominance. The king highly approved of this plan and gave Dânayya leave to depart, urging him to use his best endeavours to put 'Azîz-ul-Mulk out of the way. Dânayya, in accordance with the royal command, returned to Antûr, and there set up the standard of rebellion. When news of this rebellion was brought to 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, who trusted none of the *amîrs* of the Dakan, sent his brother, Jahângîr Khân, to crush the rebellion, and Jahângîr Khân, with a numerous army, of the strength of which he was very proud, marched for Antûr and encamped before the fort. When Dânayya heard of the approach of Jahângîr Khân he closed the fort against him, withdrew his men from the walls and bastions, and made no sign of offering resistance. Jahângîr Khân attributed this conduct to Dânayya's pusillanimity and was emboldened to attack the fort, and with great assurance ordered his troops to attack the fort on all sides at once. The defenders waited until Jahângîr Khân's troops had advanced to within a short distance of the walls, and then poured in upon them a deadly fire of artillery and musketry. The army of Jahângîr Khân was broken; many were slain, and some fled. The sons of Jaya Singhji came forth from the fort with their brave army and pursued the fugitives like messengers of death. Jahângîr Khân had the ill fortune to be taken prisoner by Dânayya's troops, but the rest of his army escaped, though with great difficulty. Dânayya ordered that Jahângîr Khân should be paraded through his army on an ass, like a thief, as an example to all disloyal men, and that he should then be punished for his ill deeds, that all men might know that this was the reward of treason.

When 'Azîz-ul-Mulk heard that his brother's nose had been cut off, he raved like a madman, and went to the king and reported the matter to him, saying that if the king treated this matter lightly and did not set forth in person to put down Dânayya's rebellion, it would gain head and would soon be beyond repression.

The king, seeing no way out of the difficulty, ordered his army to assemble at the capital and sent his tents forward. 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, inflamed with pride, ordered the army to assemble from far and near, and the king set out with his troops towards the fort of Antûr.

60 *Sic*. The correct name is Jaya Singhjî, which was Dânayya's father's name, following his own, as is usual in the Dakan. The sons of Jaya Singhjî, mentioned later, were evidently Dânayya and his brothers.

Antûr was situated in 20° 27′ N and 75° 5′ E not far from the spot where the frontiers of Ahmadnagar, [B]erar, and Khândesh met.

In the course of the march, the king's loyal servants, seizing a favourable opportunity, advised the king to issue to the *amîrs* who had fled from the court for fear of 'Azîz-ul Mulk and had taken refuge with 'Imâd-ul-Mulk in Berar, a safe conduct to court, in order that by their aid he might be freed from the domination of disloyal and ungrateful subjects. The king acted on this advice and sent a safe conduct to the *amîrs* who, by great good fortune, joined the royal camp from that direction before the army reached Antûr, and, before they had even paid their respects to the king, entered 'Azîz ul-Mulk's tent, seized him, and blinded him with a red hot iron, thus freeing the world from the strife and confusion caused by that chief of the lords of oppression and injustice. They then went on to the king's presence and had the honour of making their obeisance. They were honoured with robes of honour, golden girdles, and other marks of the royal favour, in order that it might be made clear to the world that loyalty and obedience are rewarded and disloyalty and ingratitude punished.

After the blinding of 'Azîz ul Mulk, the king appointed no other person to the office of *pîshwâ*, but, in spite of his tender age, which was no more than twelve years, took the whole administration of the kingdom into his own hands and so apportioned his time that every moment was devoted to some affair of importance, and he never, for a long time, varied this arrangement. Like the sun, he never rested by day from attending to the wants of the humble and, like his own wakeful fortune, he scarcely slept at night for employment in the affairs of his subjects.

Meanwhile Mîr Rukn ud dîn, who was a faithful and pious man, was *vazîr* of the kingdom of the Dakan. Shaikh Ja'far and Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad Shîrvâna, who were companions of Mîr Rukn ud dîn, having been admitted to the king's presence by the favour of the Mîr, were appointed to be his companions.

Since, however, the dealings of Mîr Rukn ud dîn with the king's subjects were not marked by justice and equity, complaints of him reached the royal threshold and he had been *vazîr* for a short time only, when the office was taken from him and given to Shaikh Ja'far.[61]

XXIII. AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARFARE BETWEEN BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH AND 'IMÂD UL-MULK, AND OF THE DEFEAT OF 'IMÂD UL MULK IN THE LAST BATTLE AND HIS FLIGHT TO GUJARÂT.

After 'Imâd ul Mulk had fled before the royal troops in the battle which took place in the neighbourhood of the town of Rânûbarî, and had lost most of his elephants, horses and munitions of war, he was constantly overwhelmed with shame at the thought of the disgrace which had befallen him, and was again preparing for war in the hope that he might be able to retrieve his honour. He collected a large army of capable troops and marched for Berar with the object of making war on Burhân Nizâm Shâh.

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61 The death of Mukammal Khân shortly after the battle of Râhûrî, the appointment of his son 'Azîz-ul Mulk as *pîshwâ* and Dânayya's feigned rebellion in Antûr are not mentioned by Firishta, who says that Mukammal Khân was still in power in A.H. 924 (A.D. 1518) after the capture of Pâthri by Burhân Nizâm Shâh, when the king was seventeen years of age. Burhân, after his return to Ahmadnagar, became enamoured of a courtesan named Âmana or Amina, and was so infatuated with her that he married her and made her the chief lady of his seraglio. She led him into evil courses and taught him to drink wine, so that he neglected his royal duties and spent his time in riotous living. Mukammal Khân, now an old man, tendered his resignation of his office on the ground that the king had reached years of discretion. His resignation was accepted and Shaikh Ja'far the Dakanî was appointed *vakîl* and *pîshwâ*. Mukammal Khân's son, perhaps 'Azîz ul Mulk, was made an *amîr*, but there is no mention of his being appointed to any particular office. Mukammal Khân lived henceforth in retirement, only occasionally attending at court (F. ii, 200, 201.)

It is impossible to reconcile these two accounts, but it is more probable that a youth of seventeen should give way to sensuality than that a boy of twelve should administer and rule a kingdom.

Spies reported to Burhân Nizâm Shâh the approach of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk with a large army, and the king immediately issued orders for the assembling of his forces, and the troops assembled at the capital The king then summoned his *amirs* and the officers of his army and took counsel with them regarding the means of repelling the invader Their reply was a request to be led against the enemy The king highly approved their decision and set out with his forces to meet 'Imâd-ul-Mulk

The king and his army marched from the capital and met 'Imâd-ul-Mulk in the neighbourhood of the town of Borgâon,[62] where a desperate battle took place The Yamanî sword rested not from scattering heads, and Death's executioner stayed not a moment from cutting off hope of life, until the earth was clad in robes like those of the 'Abbâsîs Large numbers were slain on both sides and victory declared for neither Each commander drew off his forces and made for his own country

After the lapse of a short time, the two armies again marched against each other and met near the Deonatî river, where a battle was fought The officers who specially distinguished themselves on the Nizâm Shâhî side were, 'Âlam Khân, Rumi Khan, Qadam Khân, Munir Khân, 'Umdat-ul Mulk, Khairât Khân, Fûlâd Khân, Miyan Raja, Dânayya Rui Rai, and others

The battle raged till sunset, when both armies retired to their own camps, and on the following day the two kings, neither having gained the victory, retired to their own countries

In this warfare the great *amîrs* of the kingdom of the Dakan, who were usually in attendance on the king, were Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân and 'Ain ul Mulk, who were of the number of his servants

XXIV—AN ACCOUNT OF HIS MAJESTY'S THIRD CAMPAIGN AGAINST 'IMAD-UL-MULK ('ALA-UD-DÎN 'IMAD SHÂH)

Since the king had twice taken the field against the enemy, and had on neither occasion been victorious, he was inflamed with the spirit of emulation and with jealousy of his foe, and set himself to improve the condition of his army and to increase its strength He then set out with a large army against 'Alâ ud dîn 'Imâd Shâh of Berar

When 'Imâd-ul-Mulk heard of the king's approach, he spared no efforts to collect his army, and, having collected a very numerous and valiant force, marched to meet the king

The two armies met in the neighbourhood of the village of Vâlorân, where they encamped over against one another and threw out outposts for their protection during the night On the following day they were drawn up in battle array against each other, and the battle began The fight was fierce and bloody At length victory declared for the king and the army of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk fled from the field, the king's troops pursuing them with great slaughter

62 Borgâon and Bargâon (Wadgâon) are common village names in Berar and I have not been able to identify the Deonati river, mentioned lower down, but the village of Valoran, mentioned in the following chapter, is Vâlor, situated in 19° 29′ N and 76° 36′ E Firishta mentions neither of these campaigns against 'Alâ ud din 'Imâd Shah, and according to him the first hostilities between Ahmadnagar and Berar, after the battle of Râhurî, were those which resulted in the annexation of Pathri by Burhan Nizam Shâh I in 1518 From Sayyid 'Ali's mention, in his account of what he calls the third campaign of 'Ala ud din 'Imâd Shâh's flight to Gujarât, it is obvious that he has confounded the first and second capture of Pathri In 1526 27, as will be hereafter noted, 'Alâ ud din recaptured Pâthri and Burhan then allied himself with 'Alî Burîd of Bîdar and not only captured Pâthri a second time but drove 'Ala ud din and his ally, Muhammad Shâh Fâruqî I of Khândesh, through Berar in such sorry plight that they were constrained to appeal for help to Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât

All 'Imâd-ul-Mulk's elephants, horses, arms, tents and camp equipage, and those of his army, both small and great, fell into the hands of the royal troops 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, with great difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, contrived to escape, but was so overcome with shame, that instead of returning to Elichpûr, which was his capital, he made his way to Gujarât

The king, when the pursuit had been pressed to the utmost, dismounted and took his seat on a mound in the neighbourhood, while his army presented before him the spoil which had been captured from the enemy, and congratulated him on the victory which had been gained The king caused all this most abundant spoil, except the elephants, which are the perquisite of royalty, to be divided among his army

XXV —AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESS OF PÂTHRÎ

After the defeat of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, the king marched towards Pâthrî, which is one of the greatest and strongest fortresses of Berar, and which he straightly besieged The royal army surrounded the fortress and opened their batteries against it The besieged made some efforts to defend the fort, but since they were, at the outset, overcome by fear of the besiegers, these efforts were of little avail When the royal army saw that the spirit of the garrison was already broken, they stormed the fort, pouring into the ditch and mounting the ramparts Some thus scaled the ramparts and bastions while others entered the fort by means of mines which they had run under its walls, and thus, by God's help, they captured this strong fortress and put the whole garrison, without exception, to the sword They then proceeded to plunder all the goods in the fort and to make captives of the children, women and men (other than those of the garrison, who had been slain), and took possession not only of their persons, but of all their property, and destroyed their dwellings

After Pâthrî had been captured, the king commanded that the fortress should be razed to the ground, and annexed the district dependent on the fortress, leaving a force there to occupy and protect it

Some historians have said that the fort of Pâthrî was not destroyed as soon as it was captured, but that some time elapsed before the king ordered it to be destroyed It would however seem that fate decreed that that fortress should be twice destroyed, and nobody has hitherto attempted to rebuild it

Muhammad Ghûrî, who had shewn great valour in the capture of the fortress and had distinguished himself above all his fellows, was honoured with the title of Kâmil Khân, and appointed to the government of the conquered district, and the king then returned to his capital, where he administered justice and caused peace and contentment to reign throughout the Dakan

Meanwhile, however, Shaikh Ja'far's power had increased beyond all reasonable limits and complaints of his misconduct were laid before the throne The king therefore issued an order depriving him of the government and of the office of *vazîr*, and, since he had observed in Kânhû Narsi, a Brahman of Shaikh Ja'far's, who had entered the royal service through Shaikh Ja'far's interest, signs of ability and fidelity, he appointed this Brahman to the vacant post of minister Kânhû Narsi held the post of minister for a long time and performed his duty faithfully and well During his tenure of the office, thirty strong fortresses were, in consequence of the plans matured by him, captured by the royal troops I cannot, without

being tedious, turn aside from my narrative at this point, to describe the capture of these forts or even to give a list of their names, but they will be mentioned, please God, in the summary of the events of this fortunate reign, which I shall give at the conclusion of this record [63]

XXVI —ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF SHAH TAHIR IN THE DAKAN

At this time the learned pious, and eloquent *Shî'ah* sage, Shâh Tâhir, who had formerly been highly honoured by Shâh Ismâ'îl *bin* Haidar, Safavî,[64] was slandered by some persons at Shâh Ismâ'îl's court, and was advised by Mîrzâ Shâh Husain Isfahânî to leave Persia Shâh Tâhir, accordingly, taking with him his family and dependents, left Kâshân,[65] that abode of true believers, in A H 926 (A D 1520) for Hindûstân He travelled speedily to the shores of the Indian Ocean and sailed from the island of Jarûn[66] in a ship bound for the port of Goa It said that that holy man, after having his Friday prayers, embarked, and by God's blessing and help was enabled to say his prayers on the following Friday in the port of Goa, and this was one of the signs of the heavenly blessings which sprang from the visit of that holy man to Hindustan On arriving in India, he wrote a letter, dated in the early days of Jamâdî-ul Avval, A H 926 (April 19, 1520) to one of his friends, informing him of the voyage which he had undertaken, and of his safe arrival in Goa

As soon as the news of Shâh Tâhir's flight became known, the Shâh of Persia sent horsemen after him with instructions to turn him back wherever they should find him, but since it was God's purpose that the Dakan should profit by the presence of that holy man, he had embarked on his voyage to India before the Shâh's messengers came up with him The Shâh soon became aware that the reports which he had heard against Shâh Tâhir were the fabrications of ill-disposed men and repented of having acted on them He set himself to make amends to Shâh Tâhir, but was overtaken by death before he could carry his designs into effect His son and successor, Shâh Tahmâsb,[67] did his best to make amends to Tâhir, as will be seen from the *farmâns* which he issued to him

After landing at Goa, Shâh Tâhir went to Bîjâpûr but, finding that the conditions of life in that city did not suit him, he went to Gulbarga, which was formerly the capital (of the Dakan) under the name of Ahsanâbâd After having rested for some time in that city, he formed the design of performing the pilgrimage, and, having set out thence, reached the

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63 This account of the Pâthrî campaign seems to have been utilized by Firishta (ii, 200), though he does not mention the source of his information Firishta, however, recites Burhân Nizâm Shâh's reasons for desiring to possess Pâthri, which Sayyid 'Ali naturally omits Burhan's great grandfather, Bhairava, had been *kulkarnî* or *patuâri* of Pâthrî but had fled to Vijayanagar to escape persecution After the establishment of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty those of their relations who had remained in Vijayanagar ceturned to their old home Mukammal Khân, by Burhân's orders, wrote to 'Alâ ud din 'Imâd Shâh and begged him to cede to Burhân the *pargana* of Pâthrî, offering in exchange another *pargana* more valuable than Pâthrî 'Alâ ud din refused to exchange Pâthri and, knowing the consequences of his refusal, fortified the town Mukammal Khân protested against the establishment of a fortress so near the frontier but 'Alâ ud din completed the work and returned to his capital The army of Ahmadnagar was assembled on the pretext that Burhân wished to tour in the hills above Daulatâbâd, and a forced march was made on Pâthrî, which was carried by storm, as described

Pâthrî is situated in 19° 15′ N and 76° 27′ E

64 Shâh Ismâ'îl (1502—1524), founder of the Safavî dynasty

65 The well known town in Persia, about 90 miles north of Isfahân

66 There is no island of this name in the Persian Gulf Sayyid 'Alî probably means to say that he came to the Persian Gulf *viâ* Jahrum, in Fârs, about 90 miles south-east of Shirâz

67 Shâh Tahmâsb I (1524—1576), son and successor of Ismâ'il I

town of Purenda which was on his way Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, who was at that time governor of the fort and town of Purenda, on hearing of the holy man's arrival, made haste to wait on him, and he represented to him that as the rainy season was in progress and travelling was very difficult, he would do well to honour Purenda by staying there for some time Shâh Tâhir accepted this invitation and remained in Purenda in comfort during that rainy season, employing his time in imparting religious instruction

Meanwhile, Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad Shîrvânî, one of the learned men of that age and a companion of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, came from the capital to Purenda on an embassy to Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, and, on learning of Shâh Tâhir's presence in the town, waited on him, and daily thereafter attended his lectures, profiting much by the religious instruction which he received When the period of his embassy had expired, he returned to the capital and acquainted the king with the perfections of Shâh Tâhir When the king heard of his learning and piety, he sent a *farmân* to Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, the contents of which were communicated to Shâh Tâhir, who took offence, because a separate *farmân* had not been issued to him, and excused himself from attending at court As, however, the king's desire to see Shâh Tâhir increased daily, he sent Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad Shîrvânî again to Purenda with a letter addressed to Shâh Tâhir, in which he gave utterance to his great desire of seeing him Shâh Tâhir, on perusing this letter, set out at once for the capital in the months of the year —[68] On his arrival at Ahmadnagar he paid his respects to the king, who found that what he heard fell, in truth, far short of the holy man's perfections, and honoured Shâh Tâhir exceedingly

(*To be continued*)

INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

(I)

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M A, B L, P R S, CALCUTTA

(*Continued from page* 152)

Solemn affirmation or oath in treaties of peace Hostages

Treaties of peace depending for their strength upon the solemn affirmation or oath of the parties were looked upon by some as mutable, but when accompanied by *pratibhû*[64] or *pratigraha*,[65] as immutable Kautilya is of opinion that the solemn affirmation or oath made the treaties as much immutable as could be done by any safeguards simultaneously for the purposes of this and the next world The taking of hostages only added to their strength on their worldly side[66]

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68 Blank in the original The year should be either 927 or 928 (A D 1521 or 1522)

Firishta (ii, 213) gives a long account of the descent and antecedents of Shâh Tâhir, who claimed descent from the Fâtimid Caliphs of Egypt His family had been settled in Khund, a village in the Qazvin province of northern Persia and on the borders of Gilân, for 300 years Shâh Ismâ'il I was jealous of Shâh Tâhir owing to his illustrious descent and his reputation for sanctity and learning, and lent a ready ear to the accusation that Tâhir was a leader of the Ismâ'ili heretics A warrant for his execution was about to be issued when he escaped, owing to the timely warning given to him by Mirzâ Shâh Husain Isfahânî, *nâzir* of the *divân* of Shâh Ismâ'il

64 *Pratibhû* means the giving of great ascetics or nobles as hostages (*Kautilya*, Bk VII, ch 17, p 312)

65 In *pratigraha*, the hostage given by the party suing for peace is a near blood relation (*Ibid*)

66 *Kautilya*, Bk VII, ch 17, p 311

In making a *solemn affirmation*, the parties only uttered the words ' samhitâssmah " (we are united), while they took *oaths* by fire, water, plough, wall (say, of a fort), clod of earth, shoulder of an elephant, horse-back, seat of a chariot, weapons, precious stone, seed of plant, fragrant substance, *rasa*,[67] gold coin, or bullion, saying this formula on the occasion " let it or these (naming the thing or things by which the oath is administered) desert and kill me if I transgress the oath "[68]

The kings of yore who put so much faith in affirmations used to enter into treaties of peace with the simple formula ' we are united " In case of breach of this affirmation, they took the oath , and when this oath was contravened, the hostages were demanded

Discrimination in the selection of the hostage

Much discrimination had to be used by both the parties in the selection of the hostage, for a good deal depended upon the place occupied by him in the love or religious susceptibilities of the giver or his subjects It was the interest of the giver to make over the person for whom he cared least or who would prove troublous or ruinous to the taker, while the latter tried to have one to whom an injury, conditioned by a breach of the treaty, would affect the tenderest sentiments of the former or his people

Keeping these points in view, Kautilya dilates on the subject, which may be summarized as follows —Advantageous to the giver are the undermentioned hostages (1) a great ascetic or noble, able to trouble or ruin the foe , (2) a corrupt son , (3) a daughter , (4) a baseborn son , (5) a son devoid of *mantra śakti* (who does not follow, or has not at his disposal wise advisers) , (6) a son devoid of *utsâha-śakti*[69] (*i e* , capacity for the three kinds of hostilities), (7) a son unskilful in the use of weapons[70] and (8) one of many sons A king parting with his only son as hostage is unable, as a rule, to risk a breach of the treaty Should there be no chance of a second son being born to him, he should rather give himself up as hostage, installing his son on the throne [71]

The breach of the treaty, whether justified

In ancient inter-state relations, it was the power possessed by a state that determined, to a great extent, its conduct towards the other states A sovereign submitting to a humiliating treaty of peace might have, sometime after the exhaustion of the war, recouped his power so much as to be superior to the other sovereign to whom he was bound by the treaty under which he was smarting In such a case, the contrivance resorted to was to secure the escape of the hostage from the custody of the other party The matter was so managed that outwardly the hostage appeared to escape of his own free will[72] and without any help from his pledger although secret agents in the pay of the latter might actually assist in the matter The escape of the hostage unsettled the existing treaty, and gave rise to conditions in which

67 As it signifies a variety of substances,—mercury, poison, milk, &c , it is not clear which of them is meant

68 *Ibid* , Bk VII, ch 17, p 312

69 Kautilya explains '*utsâha śakti*' by '*vikrama bala*' and '*vikrama*' by *prakâśa yuddha, kûta yuddha* and *tûshnîm yuddha* (*Kautilya*, Bk VII, ch 2, p 259 , and ch 6, p 278)

70 Kautilya distinguishes the relative superiority or inferiority of sons by virtue of their nobility of extraction (on the mother's side), wisdom (from *mantra śakti*), bravery (from *utsâha śakti*), skilfulness in the use of weapons, and such other qualities The last passage at p 312 appears to be corrupt, and the significance of the expression '*lupta dâyâda santânatvât*' as also its consistency with the last passage as it stands, are not evident (See *Kautilya*, Bk VII, ch 17, pp 312, 313)

71 *Kautilya*, Bk VII, ch 17, pp 312, 313

72 Although I have spoken of the hostage as masculine the above remarks might also apply to female hostages

the fresh demands of the pledgee might be either rejected point blank or refused on various grounds This would lead to friction but as the circumstances are changed inasmuch as the aggrieved party has become inferior in power to the other,[73] he is not likely to declare a war specially as there is no direct proof of the pledger's assistance in the escape of the hostage The act is in view of the latter's secret implication in it, really wrongful but concealed under a garb of innocence, and turned to advantage by a shuffling of what to an inferior state would have been brought home as its duty The only argument that might be adduced in favour of the breach of the treaty is with reference to the exceptional cases in which, for instance, the very existence or the necessary development of the state bound by the treaty are hampered by its terms The ground for the breach would then be this, that the latter are the primary duties of the state and, any obligations that hinder their fulfilment must be considered null and void [74]

The dodges for the deliverance of the hostage

The hostage in effecting his escape took to various dodges and utilized the help provided by secret agents The dodges were not always of a mild type but included, if needed, violent means that made light of losses of human life for achieving the end in view A study of the *Kautilîya* leads to the inference that sacrifices of human lives caused through secret agents for state ends in inter-statal discords, in measures against sedition within the state or against enmity personally to the king and his own were not generally regarded as obstacles at which the state would stick, the interests of the kingdom and the monarch and their self-preservation being regarded as justifying the application of the means The artifices used by and for the hostage for his deliverance were —

(1) Spies (*satrinah*) serving in the neighbourhood in the guise of artisans and craftsmen may remove the hostage surreptitiously through a tunnel constructed at night

(2) Spies disguised as actors, dancers, singers, players of musical instruments, buffoons bards, acrobats, jugglers, etc , may take service under the enemy and secure for themselves the privilege of free ingress, stay, or egress They will also serve the hostage who may escape at night in the guise of one of these people Women spies may also do the same, and the hostage dressed like one of them with a characteristic article in hand may effect his escape

(3) The hostage may be concealed amidst commodities, clothes, vessels, boxes, beds, seats, and articles of luxury, and removed by spies serving the enemy as *sûdas*[75] (those who cook pulses or vegetables), *ârâlikas*[76] (those who boil rice), bathers, shampooers, spreaders of bed-clothes, barbers (*kalpaka*), toilet-makers, or drawers of water

This reminds one of the memorable artifice by which Sivaji made his escape from Aurangzeb's custody

73 The text has "abhyuchchîyamânah samâdhi moksham kârayet" (*Kautilîya*, Bk VII, ch 17, p 313)

74 *Cf* Dr L Oppenheim's *International Law*, Vol I, p 550

75 *Sûda* according to the *Vâchaspatya* is the same as *supa kartâ* Nilakantha in his comments on the *Mahâbhârata*, Virâta Parva, ch 2, slk 9, states that a *sûpakâra* is one who cooks pulses like *mudga* (phaseolus mungo) According to others quoted by him, *sûpakartâ* may also be one who cooks vegetables

As explained by the scholiast in connection with the above passage, an *ârâlika* may mean (1) one who plays with or disciplines an infuriated elephant, or (2) one who boils rice (This passage " ârâliko'nna pâki syât, sûpakartâ tu sâkakrit " is quoted as his authority)

76 These spies are named at p 21 of the *Kautilya*, Bk I (*gûḍhapurusha pranidhi*)

(4) The hostage may hold communion with Varuna at the entrance of a tunnel, or in a reservoir of water, accompanied with nocturnal *upahâra*, (oblations, or religious services consisting of laughter, song, dance, muttering *huduk*, adoration and pious ejaculation),[77] and flee away at the opportune moment [78] Spies in the guise of traders divert the attention of the sentinels by selling them fruits and cooked food

(5) The hostage may give the sentinels food and drink mixed with poisonous preparation of *madana* plant[79] on the occasions of offerings to the gods, *Srâddhas*, or sacrificial rites,[80] and when the sentinels are under its influence he may flee away

(6) The sentinels may be incited to set fire to buildings with valuable articles, or spies disguised as citizens, bards, physicians, or vendors of cakes may do the same The sentinels may be persuaded to set on fire the stores of commercial articles, or spies disguised as traders may do so In the tumult, the hostage may escape To avert the chance of being pursued, the house occupied by the hostage may be set on fire and a dead body (procured previously) may be cast into the flames The hostage may escape by making a breach in the wall, or through an air passage (*vâta surungâ*)

(7) The hostage may escape at night in the disguise of a carrier of glassware, pitchers, or other commodities

(8) He may enter the hermitages of the Shavelings (*mundas*) and the Braided-haired (*jatilas*)[81] and escape thence in the guise of one of these hermits

He may also disguise himself as one suffering from a deforming disease, as a forester, or the like, and flee away

(9) He may be removed as a corpse by spies, or may himself follow, as a widowed wife, a corpse carried by the spies as if to the crematorium

(10) He may at night fall upon the sentinels with a concealed sword and run away with the secret agents stationed in the neighbourhood

Spies in the apparel of foresters would misdirect the pursuers The hostage may conceal himself under the enclosure of a cart driven along the way The pursuers being near, he may hide himself in a bush When there is no bush at hand, he may leave on both sides of the way gold coins or poisoned articles of food for the pursuers If captured, he will apply to the captors conciliation and other means (bribery, dissension, and chastisement), or serve them with poisoned food In case a corpse, supposed to be that of the hostage, had been put in as a dodge at the place where the aforesaid worship of Varuna was held, or at the house (set on fire) where the hostage stayed, the giver of the hostage may accuse of murder the sovereign who held him [82]

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77 Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*

78 Cf *Kautiliya*, Bk XIII, ch 1, p 393 The expression '*varuna yoga*' bears the implication that it is a trick by which the enemy is overreached

79 For *madana yoga*, see *Kautiliya*, Bk XIV, ch 1, p 410

80 The Sanskrit word is '*pravahana*' which seems to be mistakenly put for '*prahavana*' Pandit R Śyâma Śâstri translates it by "sacrificial rite," implying that the word should be "*prahavana*" There seem to be other instances of confusion between the two words in the *Kautiliya*, e g at p 401 (Bk XIII, ch 3)

81 For these classes of hermits, see Dr Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p 145

82 For the above information about the dodges, see *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 17, pp 313—315.

Self submitter

(B) Of the several kinds of treaty of peace, the first three have been found to form a group called *Dandopanata Sandhis*, *danda* (army) being the chief subject-matter of their stipulations The *dandopanata* of the *Kautilîya*, Bk. VII, chs 15, 16 appears to be a much more helpless sovereign than one who is compelled to sue for a treaty of peace in any of the above three forms If the disparity in power between a sovereign and his invader be very great and the former sees no other means of saving himself except by throwing himself upon the latter's mercy, he becomes *dandopanata* This self-submitter owes several obligations to the *dandopanâyin* (henceforth to be termed 'dominator ') These obligations do not appear to be part and parcel of the three *dandopanata* treaties of peace, which points to the inference that the position of a self-submitter is not the outcome of those treaties but is rather caused by self submission before any fight takes place between him and the invader, who afterwards becomes the dominator

The obligations of the self submitter

For one who had enjoyed independence, the position of a self-submitter was no doubt humiliating He had to demean himself towards his dominator rather like a government servant in the conventional ways, discharging his duties faithfully, but adapting himself to the moods of his master to continue in the latter's good graces [83] He had, when ordered by the dominator or with his permission, to engage in the construction of forts or other works, invite (other kings), celebrate marriages, hold the installation ceremonies of a son, capture elephants for sale, perform sacrifices, march against foes, or start on excursions for amusement [84] He could not enter into alliance with any kings[85] staying in his kingdom or secretly punish those who had backed out from such alliances [86] If the citizens in his kingdom were wicked, he could not exchange it for lands with righteous people from another king, punish the wicked with secret punishments, or accept lands offered by a friendly king, without the aforesaid permission Interviews with the chief councillor, royal priest, commander-in-chief, or heir-apparent without the knowledge of the dominator were prohibited [87] It was incumbent on the self submitter to help the dominator to the utmost of his capacity and always express his readiness to do so On the occasions of invocations of blessings on the dominator before the gods, he should promptly cause the ceremony to be observed in

83 "Lavdha samsrayah samay-âchârivad bhartari varteta " *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 15, p 308, referring to *Ibid*, Bk V, ch 5 (*samayâchârikam*), p 250

84 Some of the items enumerated above may be on behalf of the dominator The construction of forts, for instance, may be for the defence of the dominator's kingdom, while several of the remaining items may be intended for him as well

85 The word in the text is *prakriti* The reference is to *râja prakriti* For a parallel use of the word, see the heading "*prakritînâm sâmavâyika viparimarsah*" in which "*prakritinâm*" means "*râja-prakritinâm*" (*Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 5, p 272)

86 For the treatment of the *apasritas*, see *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 6, pp 278—280 where *apasîrna kriyâ* has been dealt with

87 There has been an omission of a negative particle in the Sanskrit passage for this sentence (*Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 15, p 308)

his territory He had to dissociate himself from people hostile to the dominator[88] and hold his territory virtually as the latter's "warehouse" [89]

It seems from the above evidence that the self-submitter was allowed to live in his own territory but had to go over, when needed, to that of the dominator or elsewhere and stay there so long as the work in hand or the dominator's desire compelled his stay It is to such stay that the advice embodied in the *Kautiliya*[90] applies The advice is that when he saw the dominator suffering from a fatal disease, or his (dominator's) kingdom from internal troubles, when the latter's enemies were growing (in number or prosperity) or his allies unwilling or unable to support him, creating thereby opportunities for the self-submitter to ameliorate his condition, then he (self-submitter) might, under some believable (*sambhâvya*) pretence of a disease or performance of some religious rites, leave the dominator's kingdom If already in his own state, he might not, in view of the aforesaid opportunities, come to the dominator suffering as above, or coming nearer, he might strike at the vulnerable points[91] of the dominator's state [92]

Self submitter's means of deliverance

Just as the self submitter owed a number of obligations to the dominator, so the latter also did to the former The dominator's obligations to the devoted submitter were —

The obligations of the dominator

(1) To help him to the best of his (dominator's) power in return for help received,

(2) To give him wealth and honour,

(3) To help him in calamities,

(4) To grant him interviews whenever asked and accede to his requests,

(5) To avoid using insulting, offensive, contemptuous, and harshly loud language towards him,

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88 For the above information regarding self submitter see *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 15, p 308

The *śloka* at p 308 of the *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 15, is

Samyukta valavatsevî viruddha sankitâdibhih,

varteta dand opanato bhartary = evamavasthitah

The self submitter should be united with (*samyukta*) those who fear to mix with people opposed to the dominator (*viruddha-śankitâdibhih*) Mallinatha quotes this passage from the *Kautiliya* in connection with his comments on *Ragghuvamsa* sarga 17, slk 81 The passage quoted by him shows some variations but the meaning remains unaltered

Durvalo valavatsevî viruddhâchchhankitâdibhih,

varteta dand opanato bhartary evam = avasthitah

89 The king who has no other alternative than self-submission, is asked by the *Kautiliya* (Bk VII, ch 15, p 308) to greet the envoy of the invader thus "This (i e this kingdom) is the king's (using of course appropriate expressions such as "His Majesty's) warehouse, it belongs to the queen and the princes (using appropriate epithets as before), the existence of this kingdom depends upon the words of the queen and the princes, I am but their reflector"

90 *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 2, p 265

91 The word in the text is '*chhidra*' Śankarârya, in connection with *Kâmandakiya*, VIII, 65, interprets this term by '*rakshâ-śaithilya*'

92 *Kautiliya*, Bk VII, ch 2, p 265

(6) To show him fatherly kindness, and ask him to feel secure from fear ;

(7) Not to lay claim to lands or moveable properties of the submitter deceased, or put to death or injure his wife and children, to allow his distant relations to enjoy their belongings, and his son to succeed to his father's office after the latter's death.

It is only such treatment as above that can ensure the devotion of the submitter and his heirs to the dominator and his heirs through generations. Humane treatment of the submitter was required by the opinion, not merely of the sovereigns of the time but also of the people. A warning in the *Kautilīya*, for this reason, especially cautions the dominator against the transgression of the last obligation, which happens to be the most important. Breach of this obligation, says the *Kautilīya*, agitates the whole statal circle to actions for the destruction of the dominator, and even excites his own ministers living within his dominion to attempt his life or deprive him of his kingdom.

A recalcitrant submitter however lost claim to the above treatment. He could be punished by the dominator secretly or openly, his guilt being made public in the latter case. If the open punishment put the dominator to the risk of rousing his enemies and of giving them a handle wherewith to work against him, he should have recourse to the secret means dwelt on in the *Kautilīya* in its chapter *Dāndakarmikam*.[93]

[93] *Kautilīya*, Bk. V, ch. 1.

Kautilīya, Bk. VII, ch. 16 (pp. 309-311), headed *Dand opanāyivrittam* begins rather obscurely with directions to the self submitter ordered by the dominator to start on a military expedition, as well as with advice as to the use of the four means of conciliation (*sāma*), bribery (*dāna*), dissension (*bheda*), and open assault (*danda*). A classification of the self submitters comes in next, the basis of classification being the nature of help given by him to the dominator.

The classes are thus named :—

(1) *chitra bhoga*
(2) *mahābhoga*
(3) *sarvabhoga*
(4) *ekatobhogin*
(5) *ubhayatobhogin*, and
(6) *sarvatobhogin*

In the first three classes, the help rendered by the self submitter consists in giving the dominator men and wealth, while in the last three, it accrues from the self submitter remedying the evil arising to the dominator from his enemies or from the friends of those enemies. The passage bearing on *ubhayatobhogin* (p. 310) is corrupt, for unlike the preceding and the succeeding sentences relating to *ekatobhogin* and *sarvatobhogin* respectively, it has the verb "*upakaroti*" instead of "*pratikaroti*".

The paragraph at p. 310, immediately following the above passages, is also intended for the guidance of the self submitter. Should he have to encounter a rear enemy, or other hostile parties conciliable by gifts of lands during the aforesaid military expedition carried on under the orders of the dominator, the lands given them for the purpose should be such as might put them to trouble or offer them minimum of military or other advantages of which they might be in need. The paragraph has also in view cases in which gifts of lands are to be made to parties like "*apavāhita*," and "*gatapratyāgata*." The gift of land to the dominator (*bhartri*) alone is advised to be of advantage to the dominator, inasmuch as the land should be free from people inimical to him.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

BY HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI M A

1 Pârijâta and Govardhana

THE Daulatâbâd plates of the Râshṭrakûṭa Śankaragana[1] after referring to Krishnarâja I say 'His son was king Govindarâja who like Hari snatched away the glory of *Śrî Pârijâta* and supported *Govardhana*' The Paurânic allusion is clear enough But the references in the case of king Govinda are not so certain Professor D R Bhandarkar who edited the plates, has suggested the identification of Govardhana with the province of the same name mentioned in several Nâsik Cave inscriptions But the identification of Pârijâta is yet uncertain I propose to identify it with *Pârichâta* (= Pâriyâtra=the Western Vindhya [2]) mentioned in the Nâsik *praśasti* of Gautamîputra Śâtakarni [3] The change of 'j' into 'ch' is not unusual in southern India For instance the Western Ganga king 'Râjamalla' was also called 'Râchamalla'[4]

2 Supratishṭhâhâra

This name occurs in the Poona plates of the Vâkâṭaka Queen Prabhavatî Guptâ, edited by Prof Pâthak and Mr Dikshit [5] The editors do not make any suggestion regarding the identification of the place In the *Kathâsarit-sâgara*[6] mention is made of a city named Supratishthita in Pratishṭhâna (modern Paiṭhan), which was the ancestral home of Gunâdhya There can be no doubt that Supratishṭhâhâra was the district (*âhâra*) round the city of Supratishṭhita The inclusion of this district within the Vâkâṭaka territory proves that the Vâkâṭakas were not merely a dynasty of Berar but ruled over a considerable part of Mahârâshṭra As the dynasty lasted from about A D 300 to 500,[7] it is no longer correct to say that "for some three centuries after the extinction of the Andhra dynasty, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country," i e Mahârâshṭra

3 Vira and Vardhana

The Deopârâ inscription[8] records that Vijayasêna impetuously assailed the lord of Gauda, put down the prince of Kâmarûpa defeated Kalinga and imprisoned four kings, namely, Nânya, Vîra, Râghava and Vardhana Nânya has been correctly identified with Nânyadeva of Tirhut, who lived in A D 1097 and afterwards established the Karnâṭaka dynasty in the valley of Nepâl Râghava is the Kalinga prince of that name, who reigned about A D 1156 [9] Vîra and Vardhana have, however, not been satisfactorily identified Dr Smith suggests that Vîra was a Râjâ of Kâmarûpa Unfortunately the evidence of Sandhyâkara Nandî's *Râmacharita* has not been utilised In the long list of princes who helped Râmapâla to recover Varendrî we find the following names

1 Vîraguna of Kôṭâṭavî [10]
2 Vardhana of Kausâmbî
3 Vijayarâja of Nidrâvala

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, p 193

[2] 'Pârijâta' may also refer to the Pâriyâtra country mentioned by Bâna (Cowell and Thomas, *Harshacharita*, pp 210-211)

[3] *Ep Ind*, VIII, p 60

[4] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p 12

[5] *Ep Ind*, XV, p 39

[6] Tawney's translation, p 32.

[7] V A. Smith, "The Vâkâṭaka dynasty of Berar," *JRAS*, 1914, pp 317—328

[8] *Ep. Ind*, I, pp 307—311

[9] V A Smith, *The Early History of India*, 1914, p 419

[10] *Mem ASB*, III, pp 36 37.

Let us try to ascertain the date of these princes We learn from the Tirumalai Rock Inscription[11] of Râjendra Chola I that Mahîpâla I was reigning in or about A D 1025 The Sârnâth inscription gives a date for him in A D 1026[12] His son Nayapâla ruled for at least 15 years (as we know from the Krishnadvârikâ temple inscription)[13] Nayapâla s son Vigrahapâla III could not therefore have come to the throne before A D 1026+15=A D 1041 He ruled for at least 13 years (see the Âmagâchhi Grant[14]) i e up to at least A D 1054 After him came his sons Mahîpâla II and Surapâla II, and the Kaivartas Divvoka, Rudoka and Bhima and finally Râmapala who ruled for at least 42 years[15] It is obvious that Râmapâla reigned towards the close of the eleventh century and early in the twelfth century The princes Vîra, Vardhana and Vijaya who helped him must have flourished about the same time

We learn from the Naihâti Grant[16] of Vallâla Sêna that his ancestors were ruling in South-west Bengal (Râdhâ)[17] long before the establishment of their paramount sovereignty by Vijayasêna s victory over the Pâla king of Gauda We know further from the Deopârâ inscription that Vijayasêna was a contemporary of Nânyadeva who flourished about A D 1097 There can be no objection in identifying him with Vijayarâja of the Râmacharita who lived about the same time and ruled over a principality in the Gauda empire[18] If this identification be correct, then Vîra and Vardhana must be Vîraguna of Kotâṭavi and Vardhana of Kausâmbî It seems reasonable to conclude that during the weak rule of the sons of Râmapâla, the kinglets of the Gauda Empire who helped Râmapâla to regain his throne, engaged in a struggle for supremacy[19] in which Vîra, Vardhana, the râjâ of Kâmarûpa and the lord of Gauda himself became worsted, and Vijayasêna established the supremacy of his own family

The conqueror s authority was probably next challenged by Nânya and Râghava, the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms of Mithilâ and Kalinga, who were also defeated and imprisoned

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MISCELLANEA

CORPORATE LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA

I am thankful to Mr R Shamasastry for having kindly reviewed my book *Corporate Life in Ancient India* in the February issue of this *Journal* and recommended it to the public in rather flattering terms I may be permitted, however to offer some remarks in reply to his specific objection to the title of my book, and my inference from and translation of, some Sanskrit passages contained therein

Mr Shamasastry thinks that "'Self governing Institutions in Ancient India' would have been a more suggestive and attractive title" This very point has been discussed at some length by Mr Pargiter in the course of his review of my book along with another dealing with the same subject but entitled *Local Government in Ancient India* Mr Pargiter thinks that the title of my book describes its scope rightly, while the other has assumed too ambitious a title, for the title "Local Government" may hold good for large popular councils where they existed, but certainly does not apply to all the other corporate activities, social, economic and religious I do not, of course, mean that Mr Pargiter's opinion finally decides the matter, but I quote his statement as

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11 *Ep Ind*, IX, pp 229—232

12 Smith, *Early History of India*, 1914, p 399

13 *Gauḍalekhamâlâ*, p 115

14 *Op cit*, p 122

15 *Mem ASB*, V, p 92

16 *Ep Ind*, XIV, pp 156—163.

17 *Praudhâm Râḍhâm-akalitacharaiṁ-bhûshayanto-nubhâvaiḥ*

18 The identification was first suggested by Mr N N Vasu

19 The Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva, minister and general of Kumârapâla, son and successor of Ramapâla, refers to wars and rebellions in South Bengal and Kâmarûpa (see *Gauḍalekhamâlâ*, p 128 *et seq*) Vijayasena's principality lay in South west Bengal Viraguṇa's principality also lay in the south (cf *Mem ASB*, V, p. 89)

it clearly expresses my point of view in the matter I fully endorse Mr Shamasastry's view that the title he suggests would have been more attractive, but while writing the book, the sense of historical accuracy has always weighed with me more than any ideas of currying favour with the public

As regards the wrong translation of certain Sanskrit passages, Mr Shamasastry does not quote any specific instance, but refers to pages 16 17 22 and 89 of my book Pages 16 17 contain three Sanskrit passages, of none of which I have offered any translation Page 22 again contains three Sanskrit passages There is no translation of the first of these, while that of the second is mainly based on that given in *SBE*, Vol XXXIII p 348, with slight modifications such as the substitution of 'guild' for 'company' as an English equivalent of the word *śreṇî*, to which I believe no exception can be taken The third is a simple prose passage which offers no difficulty at all There is no translation of any Sanskrit passage on p 89, but it appears that Mr Shamasastry demurs to the interpretation of the word *vairâjya* as denoting a non monarchical form of government and takes it to mean foreign rule on the authority of a passage in *Arthaśâstra*, p 323 It must be remembered, however, in the first place, that the responsibility for the particular interpretation attaches to Mr Jayaswal and not to me as it is clearly stated in the text that "the term *vairâjya* which has been explained by Mr Jayaswal a 'King-less states' has been taken by Messrs Macdonell and Keith as denoting some form of royal authority" In the second place, the use of the term *vairâjya* in a particular sense in *Arthaśâstra* is no decisive argument against taking it in a quite different sense in an earlier text like *Aitareya Brâhmana*, specially when the later sense is hardly applicable to the earlier text Any one who reads the particular passage quoted on p 89 of my book will probably find it difficult to offer any consistent interpretation of it, if the word *vairâjya* is taken in the sense of a foreign rule, as Mr Shamasastry proposes

Then, as regards wrong inference Mr Shamasastry thinks that the expression *viśâm pati* does not at all imply the importance of the popular element in the government as inferred by me But as I have already pointed out in the text, the substitution of the expression 'king of the French' for the old 'king of France' indicated a considerable difference in the importance of popular element in the government, and there is no reason why similar implications may not be inferred from similar phrases in the Vedic literature It is true that such expression is apt, in course of time, to be converted into stereotyped designation of the king, but it is not unreasonable to assume that, to begin with, it actually corresponded to some real political notion

Mr Shamasastry thinks that there is no reference in the Cow-hymn, quoted on p 45, to any assembly, as stated by me He has apparently overlooked verse 15 of the hymn which contains the word *samiti* Both Bloomfield and Whitney have rendered it by 'assembly,' and their translations are given in my book the passage in question being put in italics (p 46, 11 10 11) It is just possible however, that Mr Shamasastry takes the word *samiti* in the passage in a different sense But, even then, in view of the undeniable fact that *samiti* is used in other hymns in the sense of assembly and has been rendered as such in the passage in question by scholars like Whitney and Bloomfield it appears to me to be somewhat dogmatic to assert that 'there is no reference in the Cow hymn to any assembly

Mr Shamasastry observes that the word *sabhâ* was in many places used in the sense of a gambling rather than a political meeting" But I have stated this on p 17, paragraph 6

Mr Shamasastry observes that in noticing the corporate activities in religious life I have confined my attention only to the Buddhistic and omitted the Brahmanic and other communities This is not a quite correct statement of facts On pp 123 24 I have drawn prominent attention to the fact that religious corporations existed before Buddha's time and have cited evidence to show that religious corporations were already a well known factor of society in Buddha's time, and the celebrated *samgha* of the latter was not a new creation but merely a development upon the existing institutions I have again pointed out on p 142 that other religious communities too led corporate lives, and have referred to a number of such corporations on pp 123, 124 and 142 It is true that I selected Buddhist *samgha* alone for detailed description, but for this I have assigned reasons on pp 124 and 142

Lastly Mr Shamasastry remarks that my description of the evolution of caste is somewhat confused for want of a clear chronological analysis of the subject I do not wish to meet such a general charge and shall therefore content myself by merely pointing out that I have arranged the texts bearing upon caste according to distinct literary periods and have fully discussed their chronological order in the Introduction

In conclusion I beg to submit that although it is unusual for an author to reply to the criticism of his book, it becomes necessary in the present case as the points involved are mainly of scholarly interest and also of general importance to the students of Indian history Besides, I have a good precedent in the reply of the late Dr V. A Smith to Prof Sten Konow's review of his *Early History of India* in this *Journal* (1918, pp 178, 371)

R C Majumdar

sister-in-law, (s) 1 husband's elder sister, or elder brother's wife chânola 2 wife's sister, or husband's (or wife's) brother's wife (a) if one's senior mâmola (b) if one's junior âkà-bā pail (da) [If not a parent these would be addressed by their name] 3 husband's younger sister, or husband's (or wife's) younger brother's wife ō tin (da) *See* **brother-in-law** and App viii

sit, (v i) 1 seat one's self âkà-dôi (ke) *See* **arrive** The inference being that on arrival one (that is the body) sits down 2. sit leaning on one's arm ara chomi (ke), ara chôngali (ke) 3 sit still ig-ñu (ke) 4 sit up from recumbent position *See* **rise** 5 sit in assembly âkà-kōra (ke) 6 sit on one's heels *See* **squat** 7. sit cross-legged. *See* **cross-legged**

situation, (s) *See* **position, place**

sixth, (s and adj) *See* App iii

size, (s) rêtebiba (da) (adj) of the same size, equal âkà-pâra (da) [plur akat para (da)] Our two bows are of the same size *meta kârama l'ikpōr akat-pâra (da)*

skate, (s) ray-fish pêtema (da), chir (da), gerengdi (da), gûm (da), ñîp (da), bedi (da), gôldi (da), tōlo (da), kôwil (da) These are varieties of the Ray family

skeleton, (s) tâ-ûma (da), tâla-chōrokto (da) *See* **bone, whole**

sketch, (v t) any pattern, etc ig-ngâta (ke) (s) *See* **drawing, picture.**

skewer, (s) châm (da)

skilful, (adj) *See* **expert**

skill, (s) in handiwork ông-yôma (da)

skin, (v t) peel dôch (ke), doich (ke) *See* **peel** and **shed** (s) êd (da) [in construc êj (da), aij (da)] with p p âkà, ông, etc according to part of the body referred to The skin of your hand (or foot), ngông êj (da) black skin pûtung'aij (da)

skinny, (adj) wanting flesh ab-pâkad (da) *See* **thin**

skull, (s) cranium ôt chêta (da) *See* Ex at **disinter** Bia is carrying two skulls to day *bia lawai chêta l'ikpōr tâbike*

sky, (s) 1. mōro (da) 2 clear, cloudless mōro bêringa (da) 3 overcast mōro ela-dîlnga (da)

slack, (adj) loose, of a bow-string, etc ig-yâragap (da)

slacken, (v t) loosen (let out) of a rope, etc lōr (ke) (v i) 1 of a rope, bow-string, etc oyu-tōl (ke) 2. of a current akan yâda-kîni (ke)

slander, (v t) defame eb âtedi (ke)

slap, (v t) 1 pedi (ke), prefix, ig, ab, etc according to part of person referred to Lipa slapped my face *lipa d'igpedire* 2 slap the hollow between the thighs (women seated mark time for dancers in this manner to an accompaniment of singing) ab pûr (ke) 3 slap the thigh and shout, as women in token of pleasure *See* **shout** 4 slap one's self ad-pedi (ke) (s) cuff pedi (da)

slash, (v t) gash ôt-pōlo (ke), ig-rêli (ke)

slaughter, (v t) 1. slay for food âkà-chōl (ke). *See* **cut up food** 2 s (a) a pig âkà-jaiñ (ke) *See* Ex at **order** (b) a turtle îdal o jêrali (ke), îdal-o-dût (ke) Turtles are slaughtered by piercing one of the eyes with a skewer or pointed arrow, the first word refers to only one turtle, the second to more than one

sleep, (v i) 1. mâmi (ke) We slept all day *meda bôdo dôga mâmire* 2. sleep soundly ârla-l'igrîta (ke) Being sound asleep (*lit* owing to my sleeping soundly) I did not hear the thunder *ârla-d'igrîtanga l'edâre pûluga-la-gōrawanga len d'âkà-tegi-l'îdainga-ba (da).* 3. sleep lightly, doze ig-ñgûm (ke) 4. go to sleep î-dêge (ke) *See* **nod**

sleeping-mat, (s) parepa (da) *See* App xiii

sleepless, (adj) ê-kaich nga (da).

sleepy, (adj) drowsy ig ârlanga (da), i-dêgenga (da) We are sleepy *mitig'âr-langa (da)*

slice, (v t) ig-pûku (ke), kôbat (ke), ig-waia (ke), ig râg (ke) (s) ik-pûku (da) *See* **ear** and **Ex** at **name**

slide, (v t) î gâlya (ke) (v i) glide iji galat (ke)

slight, (v t) by declining to notice • ig (or i)-tem (ke)

slightly, (adv) in a small degree yabā (da)

sling, baby- (s) *See* **baby-sling** and App xiii

slip, (v t) **1** en galat (ke) **2.** give one the slip tûlaiña (ke) *See* **elude** (v i) **1.** slide down, as a landslip pâdla (ke) **2** slide off iji-pòlokîni (ke), ara pejili (ke).

slippery, (adj) (ot-) gâldim (da). *See* **polish** and **smooth**

slit, (v t) split (âkà-) târali (ke) *See* **split** (v i) tear *See* **tear** (v i)

slop, (s) raij (da), rais (da) *See* **hiss**

slope, (s) paleta (da), lêchenga (da)

slothful, (adj) *See* **indolent, idle**

slow, (adj) in motion or performance dôdonga (da), â mainga (da) (excl) How slow you are ! *badi-kai'a* !

slowly, (adv) dôdo len, dôdo ya tardily ig-nîlya (da)

slug, (s) bûtu (da)

sluggard, (s) âr-gînnga (da), âr-têninga (da)

slumber, (v i) doze . ig-ñgûm(ke)

sly, (adj) *See* **cunning**

smack, (v t and s) *See* **slap**

small, (adj) **1.** in size, of animals or inanimate objects kêtia (da), kêtima (da) [When referring to humans " ab " is prefixed] **2.** in quantity yabā (da), bā (da) **3** very small, small indeed (of any object) ûba-yabā (da) (s) a small piece î-dûgap (da) *See* **bit** (exclam) How small it is ! **(a)** man speaking ai chutai !, **(b)** woman speaking wada-chutai !

smaller, (adj) **1.** in size tek-(ab)kêtia (da) Bira is smaller than Wologa *wôloga tek bîr'abkêtia (da)* 2 in quantity *See* **less**

smallest, (adj) **1.** in size (tek)-(ab)kêtia l'iglī (da) Punga is the smallest (man) in my village *dia bâraij len pûng' abkêtia-l iglā (da)* **2.** in quantity *See* **least**

smart, (v i) yâro (ke) From bathing in sea water the jungle dweller (*i e* one living in the interior) is smarting all over. *râta len lûdganga l'edâre eremtâga yaroke*

smash, (v t) *See* **break** and **shatter**

smear, (v t) the person with any oily substance or honey ab lêñe (ke) *See* **daub,** and **paint**

smell, (v t) perceive by the nose tûm (ke), ôt au-l'ig-lōti (ke) *See* **smell,** (s) and **admit** **2.** (v i) have odour ōto-àu (ke) (s) **1** odour (generic term) ôt àu (da) **2** s of fruit ôt galarîa (da) **3.** s of fruit or flower ig-gala (da) **4** s of cooked meat or fish ôt ngàu (da) **5** s of yolba fibre, from which turtle nets and lines are made ûn-yôlba (da) [It is regarded as useless for one who has just been engaged in killing a pig, turtle, etc or in using yolba fibre to attempt to hunt or fish, as these animals, especially turtles, possess a keen scent] **6** s of one's hands after slaughtering a pig or turtle ta-galanga (da). **7.** s of one's person due to perspiration, especially when smeared with koiob ôt galanga (da) **8.** s of one's person after catching a pig, turtle, fish, etc ôt-chîni (da) **9** agreeable smell ôt-àu-bêringa (da) **10** disagreeable smell ôt àu-jābag (da)

smile, (v i) ōko-moichri (ke), ōko-mûchri (ke), kêmria (ke)

smite, (v t) *See* **strike, kill**

smoke, (v t) . mō'la l'en-ôyu (ke) (v i) 1 of a fire or volcano mō'la-ôyu (ke), mō'la-tûpu (ke) 2 s tobacco tûpu (ke), ôyu (ke) (s) 1 mō'la (da) [Compare with words for string, egg and straight] 2. column of smoke wûludanga (da) (p p) blinded by smoke iji-mûjure

smooth, (v t) 1. lingati (ke) 2 s a planed surface pûlau (ke) (adj) 1. s of a calm sea lîa (da) 2. s of a plain surface lingiriya (da) 3. s of a polished surface gêligma (da) *See* **polish**

smother, (v t and v i) *See* **suffocate**

smut, (s) *See* **soot**

snail, (s) êrem-ōla (da)

snake, (s) jôbo (da)

snap, (v t) 1. break short tōp (ke), tōpati (ke) 2. snap a bowstring against the bow chîrana (ke) 3 snatch *See* **snatch** 4. try to bite, as a dog ig-kârap (ke) (v i) 1 owing to strain ôyun têmar-tōp (ke) 2. owing to force applied with the teeth iji-kârap (ke)

snatch, (v t) jûr-baring'i (ke)

sneer, (v i) express contempt by a sneer or sniff iji ingri (ke)

sneeze, (v i) chîba (ke) (s) chîba (da)

sniff, (v i) 1. as when smelling . nû-ruch (ke) 2. when expressing contempt *See* **sneer**

snivel, (v i) run at the nose ig-ñîlib-l'âkà-nat (ke) (s) from the nose . ig-ñîlib (da)

snore, (v i) gōrawa (ke)

snout, (s) ig-chōronga (da)

snuffle, (v i) breathe hard through the nose ōko-ōròija (ke)

so, (adv) 1. thus, in this way . kîan-âri (da), in that way ekâra (da), kîan-ûba (da) I stitch so (in this way), but he in that way *dô kîanâri jâtke, dôna ôl ekâra (da)* 2. on account of this or that, consequently kîan chá (da), ñgâ (da) *See* Ex at **carry** (correl) chá (da) *See* Ex at **as** and App I. 3 so (or this) much kîan, kîan-wai (da) so big (*lit* this-much-big), indicating by means of the hand *kîanwai-dôga* (*da*) so small *kîanwai-kêtia* (*da*) 4 so (or this) many kîan-chaia (da) 5 so much (correl) ûchu-tûn (da) *See* **as much** (rel) in App I As much honey as you give me, so much resin will I give you *kâ-tûn âja ngô den mân ûchu-tûn im dô ngen mân* (*ke*) 6 so many (correl) ûchichâ-tûn (da) *See* **as many** (rel) in App I. 7 extremely bōtaba The water is so cold *îna wai rîtipa bōtaba* *See* **very** 8 (Phr) Just so ! *ûba* (*da*), *kichikan-ûba* (*da*) ! *See* **of course** Is it so ? *an ûba* (*da*) ? So it is ! *an a-keta !*

soak, (v t) ig-yôp (ke) (perf ig-yôbre) as wood or jack-fruit seeds to *soften* them (v i) ōto pî (ke)

soar, (v i) fly aloft î-tâj (ke) *See* **ascend**

sob, (v i) ōnaba (ke), nōrot (ke)

sociable, (adj) ig-lōringa (da)

socket, (s) of pig-arrow or harpoon âkà-chânga (da) *See* **spear**

soft, (adj) 1. of cotton, sponge, wax, etc ôt-yôb (da) 2. of flesh ab-yôb (da), takes prefix of part of body referred to *See* App II

soften, (v t) . . yôp (ke)

softly, (adv) *See* **quietly**

soil, (v t) gûj (ke), lada (ke) (s) 1. ground, earth gara (da) 2 mould . pâ (da) 3 stony s el-ôt tâ (da)

sojourn, (v i) poli (ke), pâli (ke)

sole, (s) of foot ông-elma (da) *See* App II

sole, (adj) *See* **alone** and **only**

solely, (adv.) *See* **only**

solemn, (adj) ab (or ōko)-mûku-ringa (da)

solen vagina, (s) . jûruwin-l'âka-bang (da)

solitary, (adj) *See* **alone, lonely,** and **only**

solid, (adj) not hollow âr lûa-ba (da)

some, (adj) of indeterminate quantity ûtan-ârek (da), âiek (da) Give me some food *ûtan-ârek yât den â*

some, (pron) certain persons known or unknown . ed-îkpōi (da) Some like hunting pigs, but (some) others prefer harpooning turtles *ed-îkpōr ût'-len yâmalike, dôna ōkot-tōrobûya yâdi-lôbinga-len i-târ bûi* (*ke*) some of us . med'îkpōi (*lit* we two) some of you . . . nged îkpōi (*lit* you two) some of them . ed-îkpōr (*lit* they two) The day before yesterday some of us jungle-dwellers, squatting ourselves in the canoe, went with the coast-men in order to see them harpoon turtles *târdîlêa med' îkpōr êremtâqa, ôdam len arat-ûchu-blanga bêdig, âryōto l'ôtot-paichalen yâdi-dût-yâte l'itig-bâdignga l'eb âkangaire* Some of them died, but the remainder (the others) recovered *ed-îkpōr oko-lire, dôna arat-dilu tigbôire*

some-body, (s) some one . ûchin (da) See ! somebody is coming this way *wai gêlib ! ûchin kach ònke*

somehow, (adv) in some way or other ûchin-ârek (da) Do it somehow *ngôl ûchin-ârek òiyoke*

some more, (adj) additional (of anything) ôt-ñâ (da)

some other, (adj) . ōko-tōro bûya (da) Bia took some other bow *bîa kârama l'ōko-tōro-bûya enire.*

something, (s) mîn (da) He is in the habit of giving me something when he pays me a visit here *kârin ar-lôinga len ôl ōko-jaranga den mîn mânke*

some one *See* **somebody**

some time or other, at (adv) (a) in the indefinite past âchin-baiya (b) in the future â-rêringa (len), târôlo (-len), ñgâtek At some time or other God lit a fire at Barren Island (there is a volcano there) *âchin-baiya pûluga mōla-târchōna len châpa l'ōko-jôire* The modern name of this island is taili-châpa (*lit* stone-fuel)

sometimes, (adv) (a) in the past âchin-ya (b) in the future ñgâtek-ñgâtek He was sometimes indolent *ôl âchinya ab-wêlab l'edâre* We will sometimes visit your encampment *ñgâtek ñgâtek ngîa bâraij len marat lôi* (*ke*)

somewhere, (adv) **1.** kâtin-êr-len, ôt-êra len **2.** somewhere there, thereabout ûchum (da), ûchumen (da) It is not with me, it is somewhere there *d'ôt paichalen yāba* (*da*), *ûchumen* (*da*) **3** somewhere or other ûchum âiek He is hunting turtles somewhere or other *ôl ûchum-âiek yâdi lôbike* **4.** somewhere near . ûchum-ya-pâlen

son, (s) **1.** under three years of age ōta (da), (lit *testes*) **2.** over three years of age (**a**) in relation to the *father* ar-ôdire, ar-ôdi-yâte (da) *See* **beget** (**b**) in relation to the *mother* ab êtire, ab-êti-yâte (da), ab-wêjire, ab-wêji-yâte (da) His (honorific) son and her (honorific) daughter are coming tomorrow morning with my father and younger brother *liltiya mai (a)-l'arôdire chân(a) l'abêti-yâte-pail d'ab-maiola d'âka-kâm itik onke* Whose sons are returning to their homes today ? *miji arat-ôdire kawai uîj* (*ke*) ? *See* App vii and viii

son-in-law, (s) ōtōmiya (da) *See* App viii for terms denoting relationships

song, (s) râmid (da) (in construc râmit), râmit-pâkita (da) Wologa's song *uôlog'ia râmit (da)*

soon, (adv) **1.** shortly *See* **by and by, presently, later on** **2.** as soon as (whenever, at such time as) rel . kîan-êrûbalik *See* Ex at **time** and App i

soot, (s) bûbut (da)

sore, (adj) châinnga (da), yednga (da) with prefix ab, ig, etc according to part of the body which is in pain *See* **pain** and **painful** (s) . chûm (da)

sorrowful *See* **sad**

sorry, (adj) kûk-l'âr-tōinga (da) The child is sorry that you are sick *ng' abyednga l'edâre abliga kûkl'ârtōrnga* (*da*)

sort, (v t) separate into lots, assort ôt-nân (ke) (s) sort, kind, description tâg (da) What sort ? also what sort of sport have you had ? *michiba tâgre* ? [Note —"tâg" is frequently inserted after the base of a verb in order to modify its meaning Ex to paddle tâpa (ke) to paddle in some sort of way tâpa-tâg (ke) to play ijâj (ke) to have some sort of game ijâjag-tâg (ke) *See* also Ex at **close**, **emerge**, **lull**, **sport** and **use**, (Phr) out of sorts *ad-jābag tâgnga* (*da*), *ab-yednga-tâgnga* (*da*) *See* Ex at **reply**

soul, (s) seat of life ôt-yôlo (da) *See* **paradise, purgatory, reflection,** and Ex at **assume**

sound, (v t) measure (with bamboo, etc) depth of water jûru-tal (ke) (s) **1** (generic term) tegi (da) **2** s of voice (human or animal), also of gun-fire âkà-tegi (da) **3.** s of thumping, as of heel on sounding-board during a dance ôt-tegi (da) **4.** s of stamping on the ground el-ôt-tegi (da) **5.** rumbling s as of thunder, s of a falling rock, tree, and also of footsteps âr-tegi (da) **6.** s of surf âkà-yeng (da), âkà-yenge (da) *See* **breakers** **7.** s of metal when struck, as iron on an anvil or a bell, etc ar-tanga (da) **8.** s of rain yûm-tâ-l i-tegi (da) **9.** s of falling water, as of a cascade âr-yâlangar (da), âr chôrcharingi (da) **10.** s of rustling of leaves or that caused by one's movements ig-chârbaringi (da) with special reference to the wearers of the "bod," "tâ-chōnga" and "tōgo chōnga" *See* App xiii **11.** s of a slap or blow ôt-tâ chokîni (da) **12.** s of crunching hard food, as nuts, crackling, etc ôt-kât walingi (da) **13.** s caused by singeing hair or feathers, etc ôt-êr-êchanga (da) **14** s of bamboo cracking in the fire, or any explosive sound tûchunga (da) (adj) without defect ôt-gôro-jim (da)

sounding-board, (used to mark time in dancing) pûkuta-(l'ôt-)yemnga (da) *See* App xiii

soundly, sleep. *See* **sleep**

soup, (s) ab (-dama)-raij (da). turtle-soup yâdi-l'ab raij (da).

sour, make or cause to become (v t) ig-mâka (ke) (v i) be or become iji-mâka (ke) (adj) ig-mâka-nga (da) of unripe fruit tirípa (da) *See* **unripe**

sourness, (s) ig-mâka-yôma (da) *See* **quality**

source, (s) *See* **spring**

south, (s) el iglā (da) south-west wind dêria (da) south-west monsoon gûmul-tâ (da)

sow, (v t) seed yât-bûguk (ke) *lit* food-bury

sow, (s) female pig rôgo (da) *See* **pig** **2.** that has had one or more litters. rôgo chân-châu (da) **3.** of unusual bulk rôgo-l'ông-chûin (da) **4** barren rôgo-lûga (da).

space, (s) **1.** area, tract, place êr (da) in construc sometimes el, *see* **Andaman Islands** cramped, narrow space êr-chôpaua (da)

spacious *See* **roomy**

spade, (s) gara-jêrlanga (da). This term is applied to the "wōlo" (*see* **adze,** when used for scooping earth *See* App xiii

span, (v t) measure with the extended hand ōko-dûgap (ke) (s) space between outstretched thumb and little finger ōko-dûgap (da)

spare, (v t) **1** bestow, allow ar-lôda (ke) (reflex) *See* Ex at **much** As you have no yolba fibre I will (therefore) spare you all this *ngôt-paichalen yôlba yāba l'edâre kianchâ dô kian ârdûru d'arlôdake* Can you spare me so much ? *an ngô den kian ng'arlôdake* ? **2** spare from injury ôt-tid-dûbu (ke). *See* Ex at **although, crush, hut** (adj) *See* **thin**

spark, (s) from burning wood châpa-l'ig-bêia (da), bûbra (da) *See* **dust**

sparkle, (v i) bêtel (ke), kar (ke)

spawn, (s) (yât-l'îa-) bêr (da)

speak, (v t) declare, address words yabnga târchî (ke) God spake these words (lit thus words said) *pûluga kian-âri yâbnga târchîre* (v i) utter words, talk yâp (ke) Is my father speaking? *an d'ab-châbil yâpke?* *See* **read**

speaker, (s) yâbnga-târchî yâte (da)

spear, (v t) 1 turtle, skate, etc (a) only one jêrali (ke), (b) more than one dût (ke) We speared many turtles, I killed two and Punga and Bia the others *meda yâdi jîbaba dûtre, dô îkpōr tōlıgare, pûnga ôlbêdig bîa l'ôtot-dilu (da)* 2 pig êr-dût (ke) (s) 1 turtle-spear (harpoon) kowaia-l'ōko-dûtnga (da) The thick end of the long bamboo haft is called âr-bōrod (da) and the socket end âkà-chânga (da) This harpoon consists (a) of the tōg (da), a long bamboo haft at the thin end of which a socket is provided for the (b) kowaia (da), which is a short iron harpoon deeply notched or barbed These two parts are connected by means of a long line (c) bêtmo (da) *See* Ex at **bow** of canoe 2. pig-spear êr-dûtnga (da), galain (da) *See* App xiii

speckled, (adj) î tōna taninga (da) bâratnga (da)

spectator, (s) ig-bâdig-yâte (da), **spectators** îdal-ârdûru (da), ig-bâdig-yâte-l'ông-kâlak (da)

spectre, (s) ghost *See* **spirit**

speech, (s) ig-yâbnga (da)

speed, (s) in flight, pursuit yîrad (da)

speedily, (adv) by running, flying, etc yîrad-tek

spend, (v t) expend àutinga (ke) *See* **use up** (v i) spend time *See* **stay**

spew, (v i) ad-wê (ke)

spherical, (adj) *See* **globular**

spider, (s) ñgonga (da) 2 spider's web (s) ñgonga-kûd (da) *See* **net**

spike, (s) chûkul (da) *See* **thorn**

spill, (v t) ôt-êla (ke) (v i) ōto-êla (ke), î-jûdla (ke), ōto-pî (ke) *See* **upset**

spin, (v t) 1 twist fibres into thread ai-kît (ke) 2 a yarn, tell a story yâbnga-l'âi-lōr (ke)

spine, (s) 1 ab-gôiob (da) vertebra ar-ête-tâ (da) *See* App ii 2 serrated bony spine of the sting-ray *See* **ray**

spinster, (s) ab-jadi-jôg (da) *See* App vii

spirit, (s) 1 ghost ôt-chàuga-(da) (in construc chàugala) (For evil spirits of the land, sea and sky *See* **demon**) 2, spirituous liquor iôg (da) *See* **grog**

spit, (v t) or (v i) 1. chîn (ke) 2 s out food, hair, etc from the mouth tûbal (ke) tûbal-pi (ke) *See* **expectorate**

spittle *See* **saliva**

splash, (v t) ab-chingi (ke), ông-êla (ke), ab-wej (ke) 1 as by throwing something into water or by rushing into the water. 2 & 3 as when playing in the water (v i) par chat (ke)

spleen, (s) ab-pîlma (da) *See* App ii

splice, (v t) târ ôdo (ke)

splinter, (s) of wood âchalnga (da)

split, (v t) 1. wood with an adze to obtain firewood . châpa-châlat (ke) 2. by dashing wood on a stone châpa-târ (ke) 3. anything (âkà-) târali (ke) 4 s leaves of palms, pandanus, etc as in preparing waist-belts or in making âra (*see* **funereal wreaths**) yît (ke) (v i) âkan-târali (ke), ôyun têmar-tarali (ke)

spoil, (v t) render useless êcho (ke) id-bêra (ke), pûlaiji (ke), ôt-jābagi (ke) You have spoilt the bow *ûai ngô kârama len êchere* (v i) ōto-pûlaiji (ke), ôyun-têmar-jābagi (ke)

spondylus, (s) . wal (da) Thorny oyster cooked and eaten by married persons only

sponge, (s) ûpva (da)

spoor, (s) âkà-kòij (da)

sport, (v i) frolic i-jâjag-tâg (ke). *See* **sort** (s) 1. hunting ut'(da) 2. canoe-fishing lôbinga (da)

spot, (s) *See* **mark, place**

spotted, (adj) as a cowrie î-tōna-tannga (da), bâratnga (da)

sprain, (s) gôdoh (da)

spray of the sea, (s) ôt-êña-wâh (da), pâtara-la chînnga (da)

spread, (v t) **1.** overlay ôt-râm (ke) **2** s leaves on the ground êr-râm (ke), as for a bed **3** s wax, etc over any object lêñe (ke), mîti (ke) **4.** s a net vōto-bar (ke) **5** lay out pê (ke)

spring, (v i) **1.** as in leaping âka-jalbva (ke) **2.** s upwards êbal (ke) *See* **jump** **3** crack, as an overstrained bow or paddle iji (or ōto)-târah (ke) (s) **1.** outflow of water âkà châr (da) **2** s water bêa (da) *See* **Andaman Islands** 10, p 24 **3.** vernal season . tâla-tong-dêreka (da) *See* App ix **4.** s tide *See* **tide**

sprinkle, (v t) yîrip (ke), el-ôt-wîj (ke)

spy, (v i) ab-chàu-ômo (ke)

squall, (s) violent gust ûlnga-(la-) tôgori (da)

squander. *See* **waste**

square, (adj) âr-gōr (da)

squat, (v i) ara-ûchubla (ke) *See* Ex at **some**

squeak, (v i) . ar-pâte (ke)

squeeze, (v t) **1.** pêtemi (ke) **2.** s honey out of a comb pûnu (ke) **3.** s the breast in suckling an infant kâm-raij-pûnu (ke)

squint, (v i) ig-elri (ke) (adj) s-eyed ig-elringa (da)

squirt, (v t) âkà-wûlri (ke)

stab, (v t) a person ab-jaiñ (ke) stab an animal (esp a pig) jaiñ (ke) *See* **slaughter**

stage *See* **platform, burial** and **perch**

stagger, (v i) . **1.** from a blow . dege (ke) **2.** s from physical infirmity têta (ke), (ig-) lêleka (ke) **3.** s from giddiness . êlamja (ke)

stagnant, (adj) el-âka-kōrbanga (da)

stain, (v t) mîchla (ke) **2.** s one's arrows êla (or tōlbôt)-l'ôt-tî (ke) with ref to wounding or killing an enemy or in shooting game (s) michla (da) *See* **mark**

stale, become (v i) of food kept too long â-mâka (ke) (adj) **1.** not fresh î-tōl-ie *See* **old** **2.** with ref to food eaten freshly-cooked iîtipa (da) *lit* cold **3.** with ref to fruit, also to leaves no longer fit for thatching or other purpose . rûka (da) **4** of food kept too long â-mâka re

stalk game, (v t) at-bang-dôati (ke), iggôroba (ke) *See* **approach by stealth.**

stammer, (v t & v i) âkà-gôdigma (ke)

stamp, (v i) **1.** on sounding-board, as an accompaniment to dancers . . yem (ke). **2.** after the manner of Andamanese when dancing tik-pâ (ke) **3.** stamp upon dûruga (ke)

stanch, (v t) stop flow of blood mêdah (ke)

stand, (v i) **1.** of one person kâpi (ke) **2** of more than one kâpari (ke) **3.** s still ig-nû (ke) **4.** s up âkà-tani (ke) **5.** s on tip-toe ara-laijai (ke) **6** s in a row â (or iji)-tōr (ke)

. **star,** (s) **1** châto (da), ig-wôlòij (da) **2.** s -light châto-la-chōinga (da). **3.** shooting-star chàugala-la-chōinga (da) (adj) s -less châto-ba (da), ig-wôlòij-ba (da)

starboard, (s) ig-bîda (da)

stare, (v t) ig-nōma (ke)

start, (v i) **1.** set out on a journey tot-mâkari (ke) In order to arrive there beforehand, get up before us and start at dawn *kâto l'ōko-têlim ñg'âkà-tî-dôinga l'edâre met-tōba ng'ōyu-bôi, ôlbêdig wânga-len tot-mâkari (ke)* **2.** as in a race . ara-pōrot (ke) **3.** with surprise iji-ñêradla (ke)

startle, (v t) ig-wâta (ke) (v i) . iji-wâta (ke)

starve, (v i) akan-wêrali (ke)

state, (v t) *See* **say, tell**

station, fishing- *See* **Fishing-station**

stature, (s) ab-lâpanga-yôma (da)

stay, (v i) **1.** tarry, dwell temporarily pòli (ke), pâli (ke) *See* **day** **2.** wait tâmi (ke) 3 remain at ease, take rest barmi (ke) **4.** stay away ōto-lûdai (ke)

steady, (adj) fixed, firm *See* **firm**

steal, (v t) (ar-) tâp (ke) **2.** (v i) ara-tâp (ke) *See* **pilfer**

steam, (v i) bôag (ke) (s) bôag (da) *See* **boil**

steamer, (s) bîrma-chêlewa (da) (*lit* "funnel-ship"), âkà-bîrma (da) *See* Ex at **bring** (by water) When the steamer anchored yesterday I was tattooing my son (mother speaking) *bîrma-chêlewa dìlêa kâna-l'en-tōlpinga bêdig dô d'ab-êti-yâte l'abyî-tika*

steep, (v t) *See* **soak** (adj) precipitous el-ôt-chûdma (da), el-ôt (or tot)-lânta (da), ig-lêchenga (da) *See* **slope** and **bridge of nose**

steepness, (s) tot-lânta-yôma (da)

steer, (v t) **1** by means of paddle . âr-tît (ke). *See* **stern.** **2.** with a rudder . . âr-gîuda (ke). It is my turn first to steer (with a paddle) (*lit* first turn my steering), you all must paddle for me *otolâka dìa Iârtît (da), nged'ârdûru den ìtâpake*

stem, (s.) **1.** prow ōko (or ôt)-mûgu (da) **2.** stem of plant ab-chàu (da)

stench, (s) ôt-àu-jābag (da) *See* **odour** What a stench! *badi-chuñgê!*

step, (v i) **1.** make paces ara-tâng (ke), **2.** walk nau (ke) **3.** step aside, make way ad-ōchai (ke) **4.** step backwards târ-lô (ke) **5.** step forwards . târ-îki (ke) **6.** step over . âr-lâbadi (ke) (s) **1.** pace â-tâng (da) **2.** step, foot- *See* **foot-print**

step-father, (s) **1.** ab-châbil (da) **2** step-mother ab-chânola **3** step-son eb-ad-enire **4.** step-daughter eb-adenire-pail (da) *See* App viii

Stephania hernandifolia, (s) jâng-ma (da) The fruit is eaten

Sterculia villosa, (s) bâja (da) A favourite tree for making canoes, buckets, and food-dishes s sp mañ (da), yêre (da), kared (da) Of these the first two are used for canoe-making, the first also provides resin for torches, while the seed of the small yellow fruit of the third is sucked and broken in order that the kernel may be extracted and *thrown away* and its shell *eaten* as a dainty

sterile, (adj) ar-ôdinga-ba (da) *See* **barren, beget.**

stern, (s) of canoe âr-tît (da) He is sitting in the stern *ôl âr-tît-len âkà-dôi (ke)*

stew, (v t) ig-gàunga-jôi (ke) (v i) . iji gàunga-jôi (ke)

stick, (v t) **1.** a pig jañ (ke) **2.** s, a turtle *See* **slaughter** **3.** cause to adhere ōyu-mali (ke) (v i) adhere ôyun-têmar-mali (ke) **2.** s in the gullet nê-tai (ke) **3.** as an arrow in a tree or cork in the neck of a bottle gôgai (ke) (s) **1.** pûtu (da) (*lit* wood) **2.** stout, pointed s used as a hoe lâkà (da) *See* App xiii **3.** thin, pointed s used as a skewer or for slaughtering a turtle châm (da) *See* **slaughter** **4** poling s *See* **pole**

stickiness, (s) malinga-yôma (da)

sticky, (adj) . malinga (da), malat-ma (da)

stiff, (adj) *See* **rigid.**

stiffen, (v t) ōyu-latawa (ke) (v i) . ôyun-têmar-latawa (ke)

stifle, (v t & v i) *See* **suffocate**

still, cause to be (v t) en-nû (ke) (v i) s be or keep . ad-nû (ke) Keep still! don't fidget! *ng'ad-nû !, ng'iji-ōjoli (ke) dâke!* (conj) yet, nevertheless ârek (adv) even yet, as previously . ñg'âkà He is still absent . *ô ñgâkà abyāba (da)*

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

BY LIEUT-COLONEL T W HAIG, C S I, C M G, C B E

(*Continued from p* 167)

XXVII —AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF SULTAN BAHÂDUR OF GUJARÂT TO THE DAKAN, AND OF HIS RETURNING WITHOUT ACCOMPLISHING HIS OBJECT

It has already been mentioned that when 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, the governor of Berar, was defeated by the royal army at Vâlor and fled before them, he found it difficult to escape from them, and therefore in his terror fled and took refuge with Sultân Bahâdur, the king of Gujarât, who at that time excelled all the kings of Hindûstân in the strength of his army and the state which he maintained, and appealed to him for assistance, doing his utmost to stir up strife by representing the conquest of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's dominions as an exceedingly easy matter For a long time Sultân Bahâdur hesitated and neglected to return an answer to Imâd ul-Mulk s request, or to further his object, but at length he was deceived and beguiled by Imâd ul-Mulk's tales and the desire of conquering the Dakan took possession of his heart, and he collected a very numerous army [69]

Sultân Bahâdur then marched from Gujarât to Daulatâbâd and encamped before the fortress His *amirs* and officers of state incited him to capture the fortress by saying that as soon as it was in his hands the submission of the Nizâm Shâhî dominions would follow as a matter of course, as Daulatâbâd was the stronghold and the greatest fortress of that country Sultân Bahâdur accordingly laid siege to the fortress, but though the siege was

69 Sayyid Alî has confused the sequence of events and has thus failed to explain the circumstances which led to the invasion of the Dakan by Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât

In 1526 27 (see note 62) 'Alâ ud din 'Imâd Shâh of Berar, encouraged by Ismâ'il 'Âdil Shâh of Bijapur and assisted by Sultân Qulî Qutb Shâh of Golconda, recovered Pâthrî, which he had lost in 1518 Burhân Nizam Shâh allied himself with 'Alî Barîd of Bîdar and again captured the place, after a siege of two months They then advanced to Mahûr, captured that fortress, and marched towards Elichpûr 'Alâ ud din' who was not strong enough to withstand them, fled to Burhanpûr and sought help of Muhammad Shâh I of Khândesh, who joined him and marched with him to meet Burhân and Amir 'Alî Barid A battle was fought in which Muhammad and Alâ ud din were defeated They fled to Burhânpur, after losing 300 elephants From Burhânpûr they sent envoys to Bahadur Shâh of Gujarât, entreating him to assist them, and Bahâdur, seizing the opportunity of intervening in the affairs of the Dakan, set out in 1528, marching by way of Nandurbar He drove Burhân and Amîr 'Ali Barîd out of Berar, but lingered so long in that country as to excite the apprehensions of 'Alâ ud din, who urged him to hasten on towards the Ahmadnagar dominions

Burhan was much alarmed and appealed to Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh and Sultân Qulî Qutb Shâh to assist him in repelling the invaders He even wrote to Bâbur, who had recently conquered Delhi, for help Sultân Quli was too much occupied with a campaign against the Hindûs to be able to spare any troops, but Ismâ'il sent 6,000 good cavalry, which force was joined by Amîr 'Alî Barîd of Bîdar with 3,000 horse of his own

Bahâdur advanced, but his objective was Burhân's army, encamped in the hilly country about Bîr, not Daulatabâd Amîr 'Ali Barid inflicted two defeats on his army between Paithan and Bîr, but he continued to advance, and Burhân retired from Bîr to Parenda, and, being pursued thither, to Junnar. Bahâdur then occupied Ahmadnagar, where he remained for forty days, and built, in this time, the large platform known as the *Kâla Chabûtra* or 'black platform' Meanwhile, Burhân's army was engaged in cutting off Bahâdur's supplies and it was when the army in Ahmadnagar had already begun to feel the pinch of hunger that his *amirs* urged him to complete his conquest by reducing Daulatâbâd and he accordingly marched thither, and opened the siege Burhân, who had obtained another contingent of 500 horses from Ismâ'îl, and Amîr 'Alî Barid encamped in the hill above Daulatâbâd See *ZW*, i, 151

It was now that Shaikh Ja'far was dismissed from the office of *vakîl* and *pîshwâ* and Kânhû Narsî the Brâhman, perhaps a relation of Burhân, appointed in his place See *ante*, p 165

prosecuted with the utmost vigour and caution, there appeared to be no prospect of the reduction of the fortress, for Manjan Khân, son of Khairât Khân, who was at that time the *kotwâl* of the fort, was a valiant and energetic soldier, and devoted all his energies to the defence

At this time Malik Barîd, ruler of the country of Bîdar, who was noted among the *amîrs* of the Dakan for his bravery and valour, wrote to 'Imâd Shah, with whom he was connected, saying that although there might be some cause for the quarrel between him and Nizâm Shâh, he had shown little wisdom in undermining the foundations of his own house and of his own sovereignty, for it was evident to anybody with any sense, that if Sultân Bahâdur conquered the Nizâm Shâh kingdom, 'Imâd Shâhi would not reign long in Berar He advised 'Alâ ud-dîn 'Imâd Shâh to settle his quarrel with Burhân Nizâm Shah peaceably, so that by this means the enemy might be induced to abandon his design of conquering the Dakan

'Alâ-ud dîn 'Imâd Shâh, on thinking over the matter realized that his alliance with Sultân Bahâdur was not likely to bring him anything in the end but ruin and repentance, and he therefore began to play Sultân Bahadur false He withdrew his camp to a short distance from that of the Gujarâtis and secretly sent a message to Manjan Khân, saying that although he had cause of quarrel with Burhân Nizâm Shah, he would not leave him defenceless, and would never permit the conquest of his dominions by the ruler of Gujarât He encouraged Manjan Khân to resist the besiegers boldly, promising him that when the time came, the army of Berar would fight for him and not for the Gujaratis

Manjan Khân was much cheered and encouraged by the receipt of this news and opposed the Gujarâtîs more stoutly than before, making daily sorties from the fort and killing many of them At last the Gujarâtîs grew heartily weary of the siege and all of them clearly showed that they were disheartened, for they had realized that the attempt to capture that fort could bring them nothing but shame Sultân Bahâdur then summoned 'Imâd ul-Mulk and all his *amîrs* to his presence, and after they had made their obeisance, he consulted them as to the best method of capturing the fort Imâd-ul Mulk, who was now most anxious that Sultân Bahâdur should retire, said that he had been opposed to the siege from the first, but that as the Sultân had ordered it, he did not like to say anything against it, lest he should be suspected of having some purpose of his own to serve Now, however, that he was consulted, he made bold to offer his opinion as to what was the best course He said that nothing was to be gained by allowing the army to waste its strength in attempts to capture the rock fortress, that the best thing was to abandon the field and bring Burhân Nîzâm Shâh to battle, for it was certain that he could not withstand Sultân Bahâdur's army in the field, and his defeat would be sufficient to cause the surrender of all the forts in the Dakan

As all were sick of the siege, 'Imâd ul-Mulk's advice was generally approved, and Sultân Bahâdur, by the advice of his *amîrs* and officers, abandoned the siege and turned his attention to the conquest of the district of Bîr [70]

[70] Sayyid 'Alî has placed the campaign in the Bîr district after the siege of Daulatabad This is not correct The *amîrs* of Burhân and Amîr 'Ali Barid descended from the hills on one occasion and attacked the army of Gujarât They gained an initial advantage, but on the arrival of reinforcements sent by Bahâdur were defeated and driven back into the hills They now opened secret negotiations with 'Alâ ud dîn 'Imâd Shâh of Berar and Muhammad Shâh of Khandesh With the former, who already bitterly regretted having brought Bahâdur to the Dakan, they had not much difficulty, and he readily agreed to change sides He first sent large quantities of supplies into Daulatabad and then, leaving his camp standing, retired suddenly into Berar

'Imâd-ul-Mulk then sent a message to Manjan Khân, saying that he had, by the exercise of no little ingenuity, succeeded in persuading the Gujarâtîs to abandon the siege, and urging Manjan Khân to sally from the fortress as they departed, attack the rearguard, and plunder the baggage, in order that Sultân Bahâdur might be convinced of the bravery of the Dakanis and might abandon the attempt to conquer the Dakan 'Imâd-ul Mulk also sent a message to Burhân Nizam Shâh saying that love and friendship had always existed between them and that he was at one with Burhân Nizâm Shâh in the endeavour to drive the strangers forth from the Dakan, the rulers of which were, in fact, all of one family He advised Burhân Nizâm Shâh to march, together with Malik Barîd, towards the Gujarâtîs and to attack them, and promised that he could draw his army off from Sultân Bahâdur's and attack the enemy in flank when the battle was at its height, so that the strangers would be overpowered

When Sultân Bahâdur marched from under the walls of Daulatâbâd, Manjan Khân, with a force from the fortress, fell upon the Gujarâtîs and put very many of them to the sword, and this daring act created a great impression on Sultân Bahâdur and his army

When the news of Sultân Bahâdur's march reached Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who was already apprized, by the letter which he had received and by the news of what had taken place at Daulatâbâd, of 'Alâ-ud dîn 'Imâd Shâh's change of sides, he summoned Malik Barîd and all the *amîrs* and the officers of his army, and ordered them to assemble their troops A very large army assembled, and the king marched with it to attack the army of the enemy Burhân Nizâm Shâh placed Malik Barîd in command of the advanced guard and followed him with the main body of the army

The armies met in the neighbourhood of Bîr, and Malik Barîd, with the advanced guard, fell at once on the Gujarâtîs, and a fierce battle began to rage Malik Barîd drove the advanced guard of the Gujarâtîs back on their main body, and when he found that the main body under Burhân Nizâm Shâh had not arrived, he fell back and joined it, and the whole army then marched against Sultân Bahâdur's army

A fresh battle now began Some divisions of the army of Gujarât, which had advanced beyond the rest, could not withstand the attack of the Dakanîs and fled crabwise from the field, escaping sideways One half of the Gujarâtîs was thus put to flight, and of the Dakanîs, 'Alam Khân the elder, tasted martyrdom on this day The battle continued until darkness put a stop to the fighting and the two armies retired to their camps [71]

It now began to dawn upon Sultân Bahâdur that 'Alâ-ud-dîn 'Imâd Shâh, who had constantly incited him to attempt the conquest of the Dakan by representing that the army of the Dakan was contemptible and of no account, had played him false, for he had seen what havoc the headlong valour of Malik Barîd and his small force had wrought among the brave *amîrs* of Gujarât and he bethought himself that if Malik Barîd alone could shew such bravery, the whole army of the Dakan under Burhân Nizâm Shâh would not be easily dealt with. He began, therefore, to repent of his expedition to the Dakan and thought of laying hands on 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, but 'Imâd-ul-Mulk had anticipated this intention and had withdrawn himself and his army to the distance of one stage from Sultân Bahâdur's camp He sent a message to Sultân Bahâdur, reminding him that he had formerly told him

71 This is evidently a garbled account of the battle fought in the neighbourhood of Daulatâbâd, in which Burhân and Amîr 'Alî Barîd were driven back into the hills 'Âlam Khân the elder, who was killed, was probably Aḥmad Nizâm Shâh's former candidate for the throne of Khândesh

that if the two armies (that of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and that of Malik Barîd) united, matters would assume a very serious aspect, and that he now, knowing how affairs stood, had purposely withdrawn from Sultân Bahâdur's camp, for he was certain that his presence there could not fail to increase the resentment of the Dakanîs against the invaders He advised Sultân Bahâdur to retreat on Chânak Deo Sultân Bahâdur had no alternative but to march, and when he reached Chânak Deo he heard that 'Imâd ul-Mulk had retired to his own country This news caused him much anxiety and he bitterly regretted that he had been deceived by 'Imâd ul Mulk's words and had been induced to invade the Dakan He now resolved to return to his own country, and prepared to march from the Dakan

When news of Sultân Bahâdur's movement reached Burhân Nizâm Shâh, he returned with Malik Barîd to his capital [72]

XXVIII —AN ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING BETWEEN BURHAN NIZAM SHAH AND SULTÂN BAHADUR OF GUJARÂT, BROUGHT ABOUT BY SHAH TAHIR AND MAHMUD SHÂH OF BURHÂNPUR

It has already been mentioned that Sultân Ahmad Shah Bahri went to war with Sultân Mahmûd of Gujarât in defence of Mahmûd Shâh of Burhânpûr, and that the presence of his army prevented any damage from being inflicted on the state of Burhânpûr by the Gujarâtîs

Now, therefore, Mahmûd[73] Shâh of Burhânpûr, who was related to Sultân Bahâdur, was impelled by the gratitude which he owed to Ahmadnagar to make peace between Sultân Bahâdur and Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and to put an end to the strife and enmity which had been fomented and increased by 'Imâd-ul Mulk He therefore sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar and besought Burhân Nizâm Shâh to send a wise, faithful, and experienced ambassador to Sultân Bahâdur's capital for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of peace In like manner he sent an envoy to Sultân Bahâdur, imploring him to terminate the dispute and to open negotiations for peace

Burhân Nizâm Shâh, with the concurrence of Mahmûd Shâh Fârûqî, sent Shâh Tâhir with numerous and valuable presents as an ambassador to Sultân Bahâdur Before Shâh Tâhir arrived, Sultan Bahâdur had heard that he was the most learned man of the age, and that the emperor Humâyûn, when he wrote to him, used to seal his letter on the back of it,

72 This is a very imperfect account of the circumstances in which Bahâdur withdrew from the Dakan His situation there gave him some cause for anxiety One ally, 'Alâ ud din 'Imâd Shâh, had deserted him the other, Muhammad of Khândesh, had nothing to gain by a continuance of hostilities and was anxious for peace, and the rainy season of 1527 was approaching, so that if he remained where he was, retreat would be difficult, if not impossible, and he would be exposed to a combined attack by the five kings of the Dakan Muhammad of Khândesh therefore opened negotiations for peace, and the terms on which it was granted were sufficiently humiliating to Burhân Both he and 'Alâ-ud din were to cause the *Khutbah* to be recited in their dominions in Bahâdur's name, Pâthrî and Mâhûr were to be retroceded to Berar, and the elephants captured from 'Alâ-ud-din and Muhammad were to be returned Burhân, in order to rid himself of the invaders, caused the *Khutbah* to be recited once in Bahâdur's name, and Bahâdur retired, but he fulfilled none of the other conditions Some time afterwards Muhammad of Khândesh called upon him to return the elephants, and he returned those which he had taken from Muhammad, but retained 'Alâ-ud-din's Muhammad, having got all that he wanted, made no further attemp to obtain satisfaction for 'Alâ ud-din, but entered into an alliance with Burhân, and Pâthri, and, for a time, Mâhûr remained in the possession of Burhân

73 Mahmûd appears to be Sayyid 'Alî's stock name for the Khâns and kings of Khândesh Having applied it to Dâ'ûd he now applies it to his successor Muhammad Firishta says that Shâh Tâhir was sent to Gujarât in A H 936 (A D 1529 30)

out of respect for him, and he therefore considered how he could fitly receive so learned a man who was so much honoured by the kings of the earth, for he feared that if he received him in a manner suitable to his eminence in learning, the honours paid to him might be regarded as honours paid to the ambassador of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, while if Shâh Tâhir's reception fell short of this, he might be suspected of not paying due respect to learning and excellence. At last he decided to receive Shâh Tâhir unceremoniously while walking in his garden.[74]

After Shâh Tâhir had thus been honoured with an interview with Sultân Bahâdur, he was treated with the highest honour and consideration, and, since Sultân Bahâdur delighted in his company, he would not give him leave to depart, and thus Shâh Tâhir remained for three years, or according to another account, for one year, with Sultân Bahâdur, and within this period Sultân Bahâdur formed the design of conquering the country of Mâlwa, and marched for Mâlwa with a numerous army. Shâh Tâhir accompanied him. He besieged the fortress of Mândû but the siege was prolonged and the Gujarâtîs lay surrounding the fortress, for nearly six months. At length Mândû was captured by Sultân Bahâdur, and Shâh Tâhir then represented to the Sultân that he had been in attendance on him for a long while and had been treated with every kindness, but that the object of his mission was not, as yet, accomplished. Sultân Bahâdur asked him what that object was, and he replied that it was to arrange a meeting between him and Burhân Nizâm Shâh, in order that peace might be firmly established between them. Sultân Bahâdur asked whether His Majesty Burhân Nizâm Shâh would indeed meet him, and Shâh Tâhir replied that he certainly would, since that had been the object of the embassy. Sultân Bahâdur asked where he would meet him, and Shâh Tâhir replied that he would come as far as Burhânpûr. Sultân Bahâdur asked Shâh Tâhir to go at once to Burhân Nizâm Shâh and conduct him to Burhânpûr, promising to proceed thither in a leisurely manner, hunting by the way, so as to meet Burhân Nizâm Shâh there.[75]

Shâh Tâhir at once set out for Ahmadnagar and, on his arrival, told Burhân Nizâm Shâh that Sultân Bahâdur had promised to meet him in Burhânpûr. Some of the courtiers, who were jealous of Shâh Tâhir, discredited this statement and said that it was not likely that Sultân Bahâdur would come to Burhânpûr to meet Burhân Nizâm Shâh. Shâh Tâhir, however, insisted that his information was correct and urged Burhân Nizâm Shâh to go to Burhânpûr. Burhân Nizâm Shâh consented, and proceeded to Burhânpûr, while Sultân Bahâdur approached that city from the opposite direction and encamped in the garden of Mahmûd Shâh. When Burhân Nizâm Shâh reached the environs of Burhânpûr, Shâh Tâhir hastened on to wait on Sultân Bahâdur. He entered the garden and knocked at the door of the house where Sultân Bahâdur lodged. Sultân Bahâdur, perceiving who was

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74 This is not quite a correct account of Shâh Tâhir's reception. At first Bahâdur refused to receive any envoy from Burhân Nizâm Shâh on the ground that the latter had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty of Daulatâbâd, but had had the *Khutbah* recited only once in the name of the king of Gujarât and had then reverted to the practice of having it recited in his own name. Muhammad of Khândesh made excuses for Burhân, saying that he was bound to consider the susceptibilities of the other kings of the Dakan, and Bahâdur then consented to receive Shâh Tâhir, but showed him scant consideration. It was not until Khudâvand Khân of Gujarât had warmly eulogized Shâh Tâhir's piety, learning, and personal merits that Bahâdur received him with respect.

75 Firishta says that the meeting between Sultân Bahâdur and Burhân Nizâm Shâh I took place after the capture of Mândû by Sultân Bahâdur and at the end of the rainy season. Mândû fell on March 28, 1531, and the two kings met, therefore, in October, 1531. F ii. 208, 431, 530. 'Muhammad' should be read for 'Mahmûd' throughout this section.

there, asked whether Burhân Nizâm Shâh had arrived Shâh Tâhir replied that he was in the environs of the town and was ready to do homage to Sultân Bahâdur Sultân Bahâdur then told Shâh Tâhir to tell him that he would receive him that evening and also sent a message to Mahmûd Shâh saying that as the meeting between himself and Burhân Nizâm Shâh would take place in his dominions, it behoved him to attend to his duties as host, and to prepare a banquet for them in order that they might dine when they met Mahmûd Shâh then prepared a splendid banquet

Accordingly near sunset, Burhân Nizâm Shâh set out with a body of his most learned courtiers and a detachment of his army to pay his respects to Sultân Bahâdur, as it were the moon approaching the sun, and when they met, Sultân Bahâdur received him with all love, friendship, and honour Burhân Nizâm Shâh then presented his *pîshkash* and gifts, consisting of elephants, horses, and valuable merchandise and stuffs of Khurâsân and Hindûstân After that a sumptuous feast was spread for the two kings and food was distributed to all the troops

[According to some accounts, Sultân Bahâdur, puffed up with the pride of his royal power and dignity and of the strength of his army, paid but little attention to Burhân Nizâm Shâh at their first meeting and did not even command him to be seated Burhan Nizâm Shâh, observing the etiquette of the royal court, stood patiently where he was, and Sultân Bahâdur requested Shâh Tâhir to sit on his right hand But Shâh Tâhir said that it would be improper for him to sit while his master remained standing, and the Sultân then, turning to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, asked him why he did not take his seat Burhân Nizâm Shâh then sat down beside Sultân Bahâdur and entered into conversation, and in a short time all unpleasantness between the two kings was at an end But this account can hardly be credited][76]

After that Sultân Bahâdur commanded that a green umbrella and *aftabgir*, such as are only used by kings, should be brought, and bestowed them on his guest, whom he addressed as Nizâm Shâh Bahri The Sultan's chief *amîrs* also praised Burhân Nizâm Shâh Bahrî, giving him the royal title, and all the other *amirs* and those who were present in the assembly, offered him their congratulations on the honour that had been shewn him [77]

They say that on that day Sultân Bahâdur said jestingly to Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad "*Tumhârî bazân kyâ kartî hai*," for the word *bazan* often occurs in the speech of the Dakanîs,—and Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad replied in the same vein, "*Tumhârî 'andwalî 'kaun du'â kartî hai* ?" [78] Sultân Bahâdur was much pleased with Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad's answer

[76] Nevertheless it appears to be the correct one According to Firishtâ the ceremonial arranged was that Sultân Bahâdur should be seated on his throne and should receive the homage of Burhân Nizâm Shâh Burhân was minded, when he understood how he was to be humiliated, to turn homewards, regardless of the consequences, but Shâh Tâhir counselled patience and submission and told Burhân that he had a device for modifying the most humiliating part of the ceremony He had, he said, a copy of the *Qur'ân* in the handwriting of 'Alî, the cousin and son in law of Muhammad He would carry this with him, and Sultân Bahâdur would be obliged to rise and descend from his throne in order to do reverence to the sacred book Accordingly Shâh Tâhir carried the copy of the *Qur'ân* on his head, and when Bahâdur, in answer to a question, was told what it was that he was bearing, he at once descended and did reverence to the sacred book

[77] This was apparently regarded, by all present, as a formal investiture of Burhân with the royal title and insignia

[78] These two questions mean "What is the meaning of your *bazân* ?" and "What prayer does your *andwalî* make ?" *Bazân* seems to have been a common Dakanî corruption of *ba'd az ân*, 'after that,' but I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of *andwalî*, which is probably some Gujarâtî word or Gujarâtî corruption of an Arabic or Persian word

and rewarded him by giving him two horses, an Arab and a Turki Burhân Nizâm Shâh then obtained leave to depart and returned to his own camp, but Shâh Tâhir stayed in the assembly for a short time after his departure and Sultân Bahâdur said to him, ' I dismissed Burhân Nizâm Shâh thus early lest fear should enter his mind " Shâh Tâhir replied, ' His Majesty has never in any juncture known fear, nor does he know it now, but out of respect to the royal assembly he would not speak unceremoniously " Sultân Bahâdur then asked whether His Majesty Nizâm Shâh could play polo, and Shâh Tâhir replied that whenever Sultân Bahâdur took a fancy to see a game of polo, he would see that Burhân Nizâm Shâh excelled all the soldiers and horsemen of the world in soldierly accomplishments, horsemanship, and boldness Sultân Bahâdur then asked him to tell Burhân Nizâm Shâh that he would go out early the next morning to amuse himself by watching some polo and that Burhân Nizâm Shâh should also come out and watch the play of the valiant men Shâh Tâhir then took his leave, hastened to the presence of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and told him what had passed between himself and Sultân Bahâdur, saying that Sultân Bahâdur's object was to make trial of him, and advising him to disregard etiquette and to join manfully in the game and to do his best

Early the next morning Sultân Bahadur rode out towards the open plain, and Burhân Nizâm Shâh also, mounting his horse, rode out with a band of his warriors towards the plain Here the two parties met and played polo Burhân Nizâm Shâh distinguished himself above all others in the game, so that all spectators applauded, and Sultân Bahâdur and all his warriors were astonished at his quickness, dexterity and boldness, and dash, and, withdrawing from the game, watched him in admiration, praising and applauding him loudly

When the game was over, both Sultân Bahâdur and Burhân Nizâm Shâh went to the former's camp and Sultân Bahâdur ordered his attendants to bring forth abundant gifts, cash, goods, horses, elephants, and whatever else might be worthy of the acceptance of Burhân Nizâm Shâh These were produced by Sultân Bahâdur's order and were presented to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who then asked for leave to depart Sultân Bahâdur embraced him and gave him permission to depart, and he returned to his own camp After his departure, Sultân Bahadur summoned his singers and ordered them to go to Burhân Nizâm Shâh's camp and delight him with their singing, and also to make trial of him and see whether he was of ready understanding and quick in the uptake They obeyed the order, and when they sang, Burhân Nizam Shâh put questions to them and made apt interpolations in each couplet and each song that they sang, and the singers were astonished at the quickness of his wit and loudly praised him He then gave them numerous presents and dismissed them When the singers returned to Sultân Bahâdur's camp, they were loud in their praises of the ready wit and the generosity of Burhân Nizâm Shâh So much did they dilate on them that some of the courtiers rebuked them and told them that it was both disrespectful and foolish to praise another than their master so extravagantly for wit and generosity But Sultân Bahâdur acted justly and said that the singers spoke the truth, and that Burhân Nizâm Shâh excelled him both in understanding and generosity, for his own language was much the same as that of Gwalior, in which the poetry was written, while the language of the Dakan did not so much resemble that of Gwalior, and that his own treasure far exceeded that of Burhân Nizâm Shâh Therefore, he argued, Burhân Nizâm Shâh's understanding every song and every couplet as it was sung, and his generosity in giving the great gifts which he had bestowed, though his treasure was but small, were sufficient proofs of the quick understandng and great generosity of that great and most generous king

In truth, in respect of these two matters, the Sultân said no more than justice and truth demanded and was guilty of no distortion or exaggeration

Some historians have related that the meeting of these two kings took place in a village near Daulatabâd and without the intervention of Shâh Tâhir, but by the advice and intervention of Khvâja Ibrâhîm, the councillor, and Sâbâji, and that these two men were rewarded for the service which they had performed, the former with the title of Latîf Khân, and the latter with that of Partâb Râî, but the story told here at length is the correct account [79]

After this meeting Burhân Nizâm Shâh returned to his capital, and Sultân Bahâdur returned to Gujarât [80]

XXIX —AN ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IMAMÎ RELIGION BY BURHÂN NIZÂM SHAH IN THE DAKAN, IN PLACE OF THE HANAFI RELIGION

It has already been mentioned that Burhân Nizâm Shâh spent much of his time with doctors of the faith of Muhammad and devoted all his attention to acquiring learning and spiritual excellence He occupied himself in listening to the discussion of religious questions, and to the adducing of proofs, in order that he might acquire knowledge of God and an insight into the holy law and he was ever a seeker after the straight way, which is the means of pleasing God

His object in thus associating with learned doctors of the faith was discrimination between truth and error, in order that the rust of doubt might be scoured from the mirror

[79] Sayyid 'Ali seems to be confounding two meetings, for it is highly probable that there was a meeting between Bahadur and Burhân before the former retired from the Dakan, and there seems to be no doubt that this meeting took place at Burhânpur after Bahadur's conquest of Mâlwa Firishta says (ii, 431) that Bahâdur's object in conciliating Burhan was to obtain him as an ally in a scheme which he had formed for wresting the empire of Dihlî from the Taimurids, and this is highly probable Bahâdur had recently added the kingdom of Mâlwa to that of Gujarat, Muhammad of Khândesh was his vassal, and it would have been strange if ambitious schemes had not been generated by his success With Burhân and 'Alâ ud din of Berar as his allies, he might not unreasonably hope for the success of such a scheme as he had formed, but a stronger than he was in the field, and Burhân was not won over Firishta says that he even instigated Humayun to attack Gujarât

[80] Sayyid 'Ali omits all mention of the events which followed Burhan's return to his capital, probably because they reflect little lustre on Burhân's reputation Amir 'Ali Barid had promised to cede Kalyâni and Kandhâr to Ismâ'il 'Adil Shâh, but had failed to keep his promise Isma'il accordingly prepared, in 1531 32, to capture the two fortresses by force of arms, Burhân, at Amir 'Ali Barid's request, wrote to Isma'il asking him to desist, and Ismâ'il replied, with some warmth, that he had not interfered when Burhân had taken Mâhur He added that he was going to inspect his frontier posts of Naldrug and Sholapur, and trusted that Burhân's officers would not be alarmed Burhân's reply was couched in a haughty and menacing tone, and when Isma'il next wrote, he desired to know the reason for Burhan's change of tone Was it the second-hand umbrella and tents of the kings of Mâlwa conferred on him by Bahâdur, or was it the title of Shâh by which Bahadur had addressed him ? If so, let him know that the royalty of the kings of Bijapur was recognized by a greater monarch, the King of Kings of Persia The letter concluded with a challenge

Burhân and Amir 'Ali Barid marched on Naldrug with an army of 25,000 horse and were utterly defeated by Ismâ'il, who had but 12,000 Three thousand of Burhân's army were slain and he fled from the field In the following year (1532 33) Burhân and Ismâ'il met on the frontier of their kingdoms and, concluded a treaty, in accordance with the terms of which, Ismâ'il was to be allowed to annex the kingdom of Golconda and Burhân that of Berar, but Ismâ'il died in 1534 and the treaty was held to have lapsed F ii, 44, 45, 46, 211

of his heart, which was a repository of divine mysteries. He did not, however, attain this object from association with the learned men who were in the service of the court. On the contrary, the discrepancies between their words and their deeds confused his mind and threw him into great perplexity. Since those learned men had no love for, nor devotion to, the king of saints [('Alî) who is in Madinah the banner of God's prophet and the guide to the path of true guidance, their learning was not profitable to the faith nor did it raise the pinnacle of assurance, nay rather, in its avoidance of setting forth the truth it was worse than compound ignorance, for their object in following that learning was not the discovery of the way of orthodoxy, and consequently their learning led them many stages away from what should have been their object.

When Shâh Tâhir gained admission to the royal court, he joined in the discussions on religion and the sacred law, in spite of the fact that he was compelled by circumstances to perform *taqiyyah*[81] and to conceal his true faith, but he would cite Shî'ah authorities and attach all the importance to them that he could. Burhân Nizâm Shâh, by means of his natural acumen, suspected that the faith of Shâh Tâhir was not that of the folk of *Sunnat* and *Jamâat*,[82] and by means of God's guidance began to realize that the religion of that true Sayyid was the true one and acceptable to the prophet of the 'Arabs.' The king therefore called Shâh Tâhir to himself in private and straitly questioned him on all religious questions, and Shâh Tâhir returned such answers as left no doubt in the king's mind as to his religious belief. The king then asked him straight out what his religion was, and Shâh Tâhir at first observed *taqiyyah* and dissembled, but the king said that it was perfectly evident that he was a Shî'ah and asked what it profited him to conceal the fact. Shâh Tâhir said that he could not reveal a matter, the concealment of which had (in the circumstances in which he was placed) been decreed by the king of the saints, and that on this matter he could not make paper the confidant of the pen. The king then solemnly swore that his question was in no way connected with bigotry or obstinate preference for one form of religion, but was prompted by a sincere desire to discover the way of truth and release from ignorance and strife. He bade Shâh Tâhir to be in no way anxious, as nothing could be said or done that might be in any way distasteful to him. He said that he had long been perplexed by the differences between sects, and that none of the doctors at court had been able to free his mind from his doubts. When Shâh Tâhir had received these assurances he spoke more freely. He said that inquiry after the truth was incumbent on all men, and on none more than kings, who were the shadow of God on earth. On the king's urging him to proceed, Shâh Tâhir revealed all that was in his mind. He reminded the king that Muhammad had said that among all the numerous sects of Islâm one should follow the way of salvation and the rest the way of damnation. He then plied the king with arguments to prove that the Shî'ah religion was the way of salvation. He told him that 'Alî *bin* Abî Tâlib was the undoubted successor of the prophet, and was followed by his son, Hasan, who was succeeded by his brother, Husain, and that they were succeeded by 'Alî Zainu l-'Âbidîn, and that their descendants followed in succession, the last of them being the lord of the age, Abû-l-Qâsim

[81] A practice permissible according to the tenets of the Shî'ah sect of Muslims. It consists in concealing one's religious belief in order to avoid persecution or molestation and may, with the same object, extend even to reviling it.

[82] "The traditional law and the congregation," in the following of which, orthodoxy, according to Muslims of the *Sunnî* sect, consists.

Muhammad *bin* Al-Hasan al-Mahdî. He gave the king their names, 'Alî, Hasan, Husain Zain-ul 'Abîdîn, Bâqir, Ja'far, Mûsâ Kâzim, 'Alî Musâ Rizâ, Taqî, Naqî, Hasan Askarî, Abû-l-Qâsim, al Mahdî,[83] who is still living. He also set forth the absurdity of the belief of the Sunnîs. The king then praised God for having decreed that the truth should be unfolded to him, and God appointed Mustafâ, Murtazâ, and the Imâms to reveal to him the true faith.

XXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENT WHICH CONFIRMED THE KING IN THE TRUE RELIGION OF THE TWELVE IMAMS.

When Shâh Tâhir left the king's presence and went to his bedchamber, the king also retired to rest, and saw a vision. He dreamt that he saw Muhammad with 'Alî on his right hand and Hasan and Husain on his left with Muhammad Bâqir, while Shâh Tâhir was standing at a little distance from them, prepared to execute their orders. When Burhân Nizâm Shâh realized in whose presence he was, he made his obeisance, and Muhammad Bâqir said to him, "The prophet commands that you should follow the guidance of Shâh Tâhir and lay hold on the true faith of love for the prophet's descendants." The king, who was highly pleased at being addressed, bowed his head to the ground in acquiescence, and opened his lips to praise the Imâm. Just then the morning broke, and the king awoke, full of joy, and praised God for the vision which he had seen. He then sent for Shâh Tâhir and began to relate to him the dream which he had seen. It so happened that Shâh Tâhir had seen the same dream and had been ordered by the prophet, through the mouth of Muhammad Bâqir, the Imâm, to guide Burhân Nizâm Shâh into the path of truth. He stopped the king's narrative and first told his own, thereby convincing the king of the genuineness of his vision. The king then told his story, and Shâh Tâhir said that he ought to be surely convinced of the truth of the Shî'ah religion and ought to regard the hatred of the opponents of the prophet's descendants as a religious duty. The king admitted that all his doubts were removed and that he was a firm believer in the truth of the Shî'ah religion and hater of all its opponents, but said that he could not proceed further in the matter without Shâh Tâhir's help, which would be necessary for the convincing of the doctors of the law about the court of the truth of that faith and for the removal of their opposition and also for leading the people generally into the way of truth. This was, indeed, proof of the king's justice, that he would not proceed violently against such as had not a knowledge of the truth. Shâh Tâhir undertook the duty of arguing with the doctors of the faith and of reducing them to silence.

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83 These are the names of the "Twelve Imâms" of the Shî'ah sect. The fundamental difference between the Sunnîs and the Shî'ahs is well known. The former maintain that the succession to Muhammad as God's vicegerent on earth was properly determined by the popular choice, and that the first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân, and 'Alî, who were elected, were Muhammad's lawful successors. The Shî'ahs maintain that the succession depended on natural descent from Muhammad through his daughter Fâtimah, who was married to his cousin 'Alî, that Muhammad in his life time designated 'Alî as his successor, and that 'Umar, who was present on the occasion and acknowledged 'Alî's right to succeed, concealed the fact after Muhammad's death. They revile the first three Caliphs as usurpers and maintain that 'Alî's right to the succession depended not upon his election after the death of 'Uthmân, but was inherent in him, so that he should have succeeded on Muhammad's death. The Imâms, for the Shî'ahs do not use the word Caliph (*Khalîfah*) are the lineal descendants of 'Alî and Fâtimah, and the last, al Mahdî, is supposed to be living, but concealed.

Mustafâ is an epithet of Muhammad and Murtazâ of 'Alî. Muhammad Bâqir, mentioned in the next section, is the fifth Imâm.

XXXI—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY OF SHÂH TÂHIR WITH THE SUNNÎ DOCTORS, AND OF HIS VICTORY OVER THEM

By the king's command an assembly, which the king graced with his presence, was convoked, and before that assembly Shâh Tâhir conducted a controversy with the following Sunnî doctors —

(1) Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad, (2) Shaikh Ja'far, (3) Maulânâ Abdul Awwal, (4) Qâzî Muhammad Nâyata entitled Afzal Khân, (5) Qâzî Zain ul-'Abidîn, camp Qâzî, (6) Sayyid Ishâq, the librarian, (7) Qazi Wilâyat Ambar (Abtar)

Shâh Tâhir began by quoting the *Ahâdîth* to the effect that of the seventy-three sects of Islâm, one was in the way of salvation and the rest in the way of damnation He then twitted the Sunnîs successfully with the differences between their four sects and continued his arguments at great length, basing all his arguments on *Ahâdîth* accepted by the Sunnîs or passages from Sunnî books, observing that it was useless to cite authorities not accepted by both parties He concluded this portion of his argument by challenging his opponents to shew that he had misquoted anything or misplaced any quotation, calling for the books, the chief of which was the *Śahîh-i-Bukhârî*,[84] from the royal library, and promising to desist for ever from upholding the Shî'ah faith if it could be shewn that the passages quoted by him were not in the books Qâzî Zain-ul-'Abidîn, however, forbade Sayyid Ishâq, the librarian, to produce the books It so happened that the king had brought with him a copy of the most important, the *Śahîh-i-Bukhârî*, which was produced, and the passages quoted by Shâh Tâhir were found therein, to the shame of the Sunnî doctors, who then shifted their ground The argument continued, and Shâh Tâhir having followed the Sunnîs over their change of ground, continued his argument and again beat his opponents on their own ground. They were confuted and, as they could not meet his arguments, had recourse to abuse Shâh Tâhir then appealed to the king to say whether he had not utterly confuted his opponents, and whether their taking refuge in abuse were not an admission of defeat The king replied that the confutation of the Sunnîs was as clear to him as the sun in the heavens and that all who had ever contended that 'Alî was not the rightful immediate successor of the prophet were worthy of being cursed, and furthermore that the Imâms after 'Alî were the infallible and only guides to the truth

When the king announced his acceptance of the Shî'ah religion, the Sunnî doctors cried out with one accord that it was unworthy of his royal dignity that he should, on the unfounded statements of anybody, abandon the faith of his fathers and the religion which was accepted by so many famous kings, and should accept the arguments of any unauthoritative stranger. When the king heard what they had said, his wrath burst into flame, and he said,

[84] The *Śahîh ul-Bukhârî* is the great collection of *ahâdîth*, the sayings or 'traditions' of Muhammad, accepted as authentic by the Sunnîs The four sects of the Sunnîs here mentioned are the Hanafîs, the Hanbalîs, the Shâfi'îs, and the Malikîs, the followers of the four great doctors of the law, whom the Sunnîs call the four Imâms, Abû Hanîfah, Ibn Hanbal, ash Shâfi'î, and Mâlik The differences between these sects are unimportant and each regards all the others as orthodox

"O lords of error and insolence. Know that we, in our search after the truth, have set aside all obstinacy and bigotry and have followed the way of truth in sincerity and faith, and but now, by way of proof, we decreed that Shâh Tâhir should hold a controversy with you in order that you might be convinced, and that the people might not say that we have without good grounds and sufficient proof abandoned the faith of our fathers Now that you have been overcome in argument and are in that respect helpless, you take up a new line, and say that it is not right to forsake the faith of our fathers But this is unreasonable, and is merely the speech of fools whom God has refuted in the *Qur'ân* The excuse that a particular religion was the religion of one's ancestors will never be accepted on the day of resurrection Now, if you wish for prosperity in this world and salvation in the next, abandon your errors and accept the true Shî'ah faith, or the punishment that we shall decree for you will empty the cage of the birds of your souls, and the sword of our wrath shall remove your heads to a distance from your bodies"

Notwithstanding the king's efforts to guide these men into the way of truth, fate had decreed that they should obstinately adhere to error, and Qâzi Abrar, the most obstinate bigot of all, was beheaded Maulânâ 'Abdul Awwal was punished with torture and with every species of affliction and was compelled to eat the flesh of dogs, and the others were punished in various ways The power of the sword in a short time established the true religion of the infallible Imâms in the remotest part of the country of the Dakan, and love for the family of the prophet was established in the hearts of both enemies and friends, so that the other Sultâns of that land, that is to say 'Âdil Shâh and Qutb Shâh, followed the king's example and accepted the Shî'ah religion [85] Thus the Shî'ah religion became the religion of the land, the titles of the Imâms were heard from the pulpits, and adversaries of the faith were rooted out from the land After this the king's power and prosperity grew and increased.[86]

(To be continued)

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85 Sayyid 'Alî is most inaccurate here Sultân Qulî Qutb Shâh and all his successors in Golconda were Shî'ahs Yûsuf 'Âdil Shâh, founder of the Bîjâpûr dynasty, was so zealous a Shî'ah that he nearly lost his throne by prematurely establishing that religion in his kingdom His son Ismâ'il was also a Shî'ah, but Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I, Ismâ'îl's son, who had lately succeeded to the throne of Bîjâpûr, was a Sunnî, but all other kings of this dynasty were Shî'ahs Thus, after the conversion of Burhân, the three principal dynasties in the Dakan, those of Ahmadnagar, Bîjapûr, and Golconda were Shî'ahs, while the rulers of the two small kingdoms of Berar and Bîdar were Sunnîs But Berar was annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574 and Bîdar by Bîjâpûr in 1619, so that the Shî'ah faith became the established religion of the Dakan This furnished the bigot Aurangzîb with a scarcely needed pretext for the annexation of Bîjâpûr and Golconda

86 Firishtâ's account of Burhân's conversion to the Shî'ah religion is similar to this but contains some additional particulars According to him, Shâh Ṭâhir first took advantage of a dangerous illness of 'Abdul Qâdir, Burhân's favourite son, to broach the subject of the Shî'ah religion, suggesting that if the king accepted it, the prince would recover. It was while watching by his son's bed that the King fell asleep and dreamed a dream, in which he saw, according to Firishta, Muhammad surrounded by the twelve Imâms Muhammad promised him that his son should recover and bade him follow the teaching of Shâh Ṭâhir The king's conversion followed as a matter of course Firishta, who was a Sunnî, does not relate the story of the conversion so sympathetically as the Shî'ah, Sayyid 'Alî

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE PÂLA DYNASTY OF BENGAL

BY DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, M A

THE history of the great Pâla dynasty of Bengal has during the last ten years cleared up remarkably, and we have now a fairly accurate chronology for it established by the working of a number of happy synchronisms Scholars however disagree in some of the minor details In the present article an attempt has been made to show that we can arrive at a definitely certain chronology for a major part of the dynasty from the available materials The publication of Mr R D Banerji's elaborate monograph on the Pâlas of Bengal [1] which mostly embodies the recent researches on the subject, saves the present article from being burdened with full references

We start from the reign of Mahîpâla I, for whom we have a certain date in the Sarnath inscription of A D 1026 Hitherto the inscription was referred by all scholars to the actual reign of Mahîpâla, but Mr R D Banerji contends [2] that it might have been incised soon after his death In support of his contention he seems to put forth two facts, *viz* (1) a MS from Nepal was written in 1076 *Samvat* when a "सोमवंशोद्भव गौडध्वज गांगेयदेव" was reigning in Tirhut According to Bendall, this is Gâṅgeyadeva *Chedi* The date of the MS, A D 1019 (referring it to the Vikrama era) fell, therefore, before the brass plates of Mahîpâla from Imadpur in Tirhut, dated in his 48th year, and as the longest period assigned to Mahîpâla is 52 years (Taranath), he must have been dead in A.D. 1026. (2) Besides, the absence of any elocutionary epithets before the name of Mahîpâla in the above inscription and the use of the past tense in *akârayat* may point to its being a posthumous record. It should however be noted that Mahîpâla was still living in A D. 1023 when Râjendrachola invaded Bengal,[3] and even assuming that he died soon after, his 48th year hardly falls before A D. 1019 Besides, there is no clear reference in the Kalachuri inscriptions of this not very insignificant conquest of Tirhut (and Gauda) by Gâṅgeyadeva [4]

We are thus inclined, with Mons Levi, to reject Bendall's interpretation and to accept Mr Chanda's suggestion that the colophon refers to a local *Sâmanta* [5]

The Sarnath inscription, again, is in verse, and as such, the single epithet श्रीमान् is sufficiently expressive of the king's life and honour Moreover, the use of the *proximate* past tense, लङ्, very fairly refers the inscription to the actual reign of Mahîpâla I, who may therefore be taken to have been still reigning in December, A D 1026

The date of Mahîpâla's accession to the throne can now be definitely settled, for fortunately we have a verifiable datum referring to his reign A MS of *Ashtasâhasrikâ* was copied in the sixth year of his reign सम्वत् ६ कार्त्तिक कृष्णत्रयोदश्यां मगलवारेण. "Kârtika vadi 13" fell on a *Tuesday* on the following possible dates .—

Purnimânta —

(1) October 21, A.D 979

(2) September 27, A.D 992.

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[1] *Mem ASB.*, Vol. v No 3 [2] p. 76. [3] *ASR*, 1911-12, p. 173.

[4] तीर्सांगलक्ष्मीचयैः in the Goharwa plate of Karṇadeva (*EI.*, XI, p 143) taken to refer to an invasion of Aṅga, should perhaps more correctly be constructed with the previous word, *anga* meaning rather the seven functionaries of a kingdom (of Kîra)

[5] *Gauḍarâjamâlâ*, p. 42 It is indeed possible, referring the year to the Śaka era A.D. 1154, that the prince is no other than Gâṅgeyadeva, the son and successor of the famous Nânyadeva of Nepal and Tirhut—an identification which will also explain the otherwise inexplicable connection with Gauda conveyed by the epithet *gauḍadhvaja*, though it should be noted at the same time that later Nepalese kings refer the dynasty as of *solar* lineage.

Amânta —

(1) November 2, A D 986

(2) November 18, A D 990

(3) November 14, A D 993

We have given both *Pûrnimânta* and *Amânta* calculations It is always very difficult to ascertain which particular system was prevalent at that period in particular places Here also fortunately we have a definite epigraphic evidence to show that the *Amânta* system was prevalent in Bengal about that time The Badkâmtâ Naiteśvara image inscription of the reign of Layahachandra gives a date—Âshâdha vadi 14 with Thursday and Pushyâ nakshatra [6] Any one versed in Indian chronology will see that the data, making an impossible combination under the *Pûrnimânta* system, clearly refer to the *Amânta* system We have ventured, therefore, to make our selection from dates calculated under the *Amânta* system Of all the calculated dates, 979 is rather too early, dating Mahîpâla's death in A D 1025 *at the latest*, after full 52 years. On the other hand, both A D 992 and 993 are somewhat too late, carrying us to about A D 1038 We know from Tibetan sources that the celebrated Buddhist missionary Dîpankara left for Tibet in A D 1042 under King Nayapâla whose association with the Buddhist sage must have extended to a number of years Of the two dates remaining, 986 is certainly the most convenient one. So **Mahîpâla ascended the throne in A D. 981,** November 981 falling within his first year His predecessor Vigrahapâla II's date is also hereby settled, dating his accession not later than A D 955, a MS having been copied in his 26th year The date of Kamboja usurpation (A D 966) as gathered from the Dinajpur pillar inscription,[7] fits in well during Vigrahapâla's reign The date, A D 966, however, already falls too early in his reign to admit any *later* date for Mahîpâla's accession than the one we have selected Mahîpâla died therefore in *circa* A D 1030 after a reign of about 50 years

Before settling the dates of the immediate successors of Mahîpâla I, we shall try next to settle a date which is likely to evoke very far-reaching consequences, namely, that of the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva It records a grant made on a विषुवत् day coinciding with a हरिवासर (verse 28 वैशाखे विषुवत्याच स्वगार्थे हरिवासरे) Dr Venis, who first edited the inscription, from the then meagre state of Pâla chronology, selected A D 1142 from among the possible dates calculated by him.[8] Moreover, he calculated only *vadi* dates though there was no reason to exclude *sudi* ones, which equally make a हरिवासर. The possible dates for our immediate purpose are the following —1096, 1100, 1104, 1115, 1119, 1123 Of these, 1096 is too early, as we shall presently see In 1104 there was दशमी both at sunrise and the moment of *Sankrânti* on the *Sankrânti* day it is thus rejected, as is also 1115, when there was द्वादशी at sunrise but त्रयोदशी later on, and such a combination does not make a हरिवासर 1123 is rather too late So we have only two dates, A D 1100 and 1119, for the fourth year of Vaidyadeva Let us see what comes out of the earlier date It is clear from the epithets परमेश्वर etc , used in the inscription, that Vaidyadeva became independent, and it has been rightly conjectured[9] that he " declared his independence after the murder of Gopâla III," probably by his uncle Madanapâla The latest inscription of the reign of Râmapâla is dated " Samvat 42 Âshâdha dine 30."[10] That of the reign of Vigrahapâla III is dated " Samvat 13 Mârgga

[6] *JASB.*, 1914, p 88 [7] *Mem*, p 69 [8] *EI.*, II, p 349 [9] p. 102 [10] p. 94

dine 14 "[11] The latest record of Nayapâla is again, from the colophon of a MS, dated "Samvat 14 Chaitra dine 27 "[12] We have thus the following scheme worked out —

March 1100 falls within the 4th year of Vaidyadeva

March 1097 falls within the 1st year of Vaidyadeva

Allowing only a few months' reign to Kumârapâla and Gopâla III,

June 1095 falls within the 42nd year of Râmapâla

Therefore, June 1054 falls within the first year of Râmapâla

Allowing again a few months' reign to Sûrapâla II and Mahîpâla II,

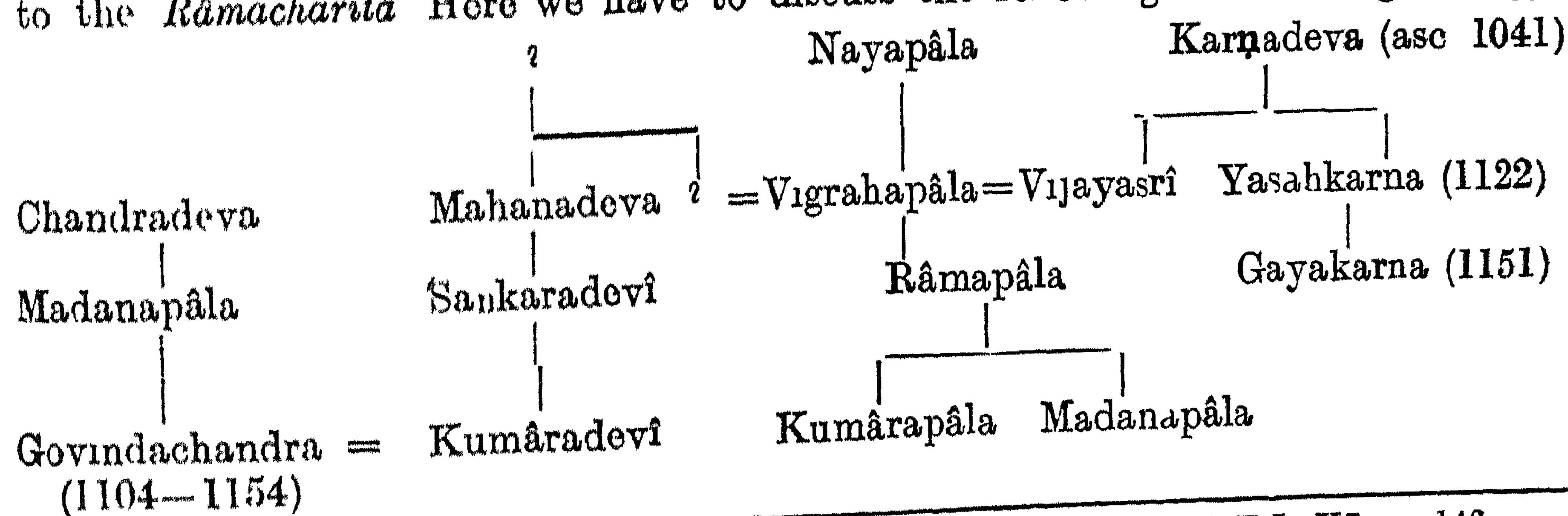
November 1052 falls within the 13th year of Vigrahapâla III

November 1040 falls within the first year of Vigrahapâla III

Therefore, March 1039 falls within the 14th year of Nayapâla, and

March 1026 falls within the first year of Nayapâla

Against this apparent agreement of the chronology with 1100 for the date of Vaidyadeva's grant, there are grave and numerous objections In the first place, all the six kings of the series here are allotted just the *minimum* lengths of reign as determined by materials hitherto collected, and there is not even a few months' margin left Secondly, the happy synchronism of Karnadeva and Nayapâla, which has been accepted from Tibetan sources,[13] has to be rejected under the present scheme, for we now know that Karnadeva ascended the throne in January A D 1041 [14] while Nayapâla, here died before November 1040 at the latest [15] Thirdly, Dîpankara addressed a didactic letter "Vimalaratnalekha" to King Nayapâla, while the sage was "staying in the plains of Nepal on his way to Tibet" in A D 1041 (Dr Vidyâbhushana in the *ASB*) This also is not possible under the present scheme Fourthly, Nayapâla's reign here begins in March, 1026 at the latest, but the Sarnath inscription is dated December 1026 Moreover, Karnadeva's son was still reigning in A D 1122 [16] It is but fair then to assume that Karnadeva was quite a young man when he ascended the throne in A D 1041, and Vigrahapâla III, to be consistently a son-in-law of his, must needs be pushed beyond A D 1053, (the date of his death under the present scheme) when विजयश्री would be too young if born, at all Indeed, if the measured words of the *Râmacharita*[17] be taken literally, Vigrahapâla must have married the princess at the time when he ascended the throne, ("क्षौणी यौवनाश्रियो वूहे"—कर्णस्य राज्ञ सुतया सह क्षौणीमुद्बूढवान्" टीका) which becomes even more unlikely under the present scheme We are thus sufficiently justified in rejecting 1100 and accepting 1119 for the date of Vaidyadeva's grant The only thing that stands in the way is the supposed alliance of Madanapâla with Chandradeva of Kanauj, put forth by M M H P Sastri in the learned introduction to the *Râmacharita* Here we have to discuss the following connected genealogy



11 p 112

12 p 79

13 p 77

14 *E I*, XI, p 146

15 Dîpankara who brought about a peace between Karnadeva and Nayapâla, could not therefore have left for Tibet before A D 1042 Dipankara's chronology, which originally appeared in *JASB*, Vol LX, 1881, p 237, was in keeping with this synchronism, but it is not known what led the chronology to be shifted later by two years

16 *EI*, II, p 2.

17 I, 9

A glance at the above genealogy will show that Madanapâla was a contemporary of Govindachandra, and if there was any alliance at all, it was not with *Chandra*-deva but with Govinda-*chandra* The whole question, however, rests on very doubtful grounds, as the *Râmacharita* is there unelucidated by any commentary Possibly the campaigns of Madanapâla on the banks of the Yamunâ were *against* and not *on behalf* of the king of Kanauj, whoever he may be चन्द्रेन like वर्म्मनर should perhaps better be taken to refer to a king of the "Chandra" dynasty of Bengal

Thus March 1119 falls within the fourth year of Vaidyadeva, so that the date of Kumârapâla's death easily works out to be A D 1115 Râmâpala's date can now be fixed with greater accuracy In the legendary work called सेखशुभोदया, there occurs the following verse recording the death of Râmapâla —

शाके युग्मकृशानुरन्ध्रकुमिते (?) कन्या गते भास्करे
कृष्णे वाक्पतिवासरे यमतिथौ यामद्वये वासरे।
जाह्नव्या जलमध्यतस्त्वनशानैर्ध्यात्वा पद चक्रिन
हा पालान्वयमौलिमण्डनमाणि श्रीरामपालोमृत ॥

(Vide *Gaudarâjamâlâ*, Introd , p 9)

This fine *Śârdûlavikridita* stanza occurring in a mass of bad prose and worse Sanskrit has been justly taken by the late Mr Batavyal to be a genuine record of Râmapâla's demise [18] Besides, the latter part of the stanza bears a remarkable corroboration from the *Râmacharita* where also Râmapâla is reported to have drowned himself in the Ganges Unfortunately, the reading of the year has been corrupt beyond rescue The details that follow, Âśvina *vadi* 2 (*yama* means 2) corresponding with a Thursday, however, yield the following date — September 21, A D 1111 The corresponding Śaka year 1033 actually ends in a युग्म (an emendation may accordingly be suggested शाके युग्मकृशानुरन्ध्रकुमिते etc) The date moreover fits in marvellously with our determination of Vaidyadeva's date **Râmapâla therefore died on September 21, A D 1111**

The next date we mean to work out, is, we confess, based on very doubtful assumption, but we have the authority of the late Dr Kielhorn The Amgachhi plate of Vigrahapâla III is dated the ninth day of Chaitra in the 13th year of his reign and grants a village on the occasion of a *lunar eclipse* Dr Kielhorn assumed that the date of the plate was coincident with that of the lunar eclipse and calculated A D 1086 as the date in question [19] This year is now unsuitable There was, however, a lunar eclipse on March 3, A D 1067 corresponding to 10th or 9th Chaitra [20] As the date does not conflict with our chronology we may be justified in accepting it as marking the last period of Vigrahapâla III's reign

The following chronological table may now be placed before scholars —

	Date of accession.	Date of death.
Vigrahapâla II	*Circa* 955	981
Mahîpâla I	981	*Circa* 1030
Nayapâla	*Circa* 1030	1054
Vigrahapâla III	1054	1067

[18] *Sâhitya*, a Bengali monthly, of the year 1301 B S pp. 1—10 [19] *Inte*, XXII, p 108

[20] The previous *Sankrânti* occurred near about, though *not exactly* at midnight (7227 after Sunrise) If taken practically for midnight, the moment yields 9th Chaitra as the date of the eclipse, by the application of the well-known Bengal rule of counting civil days

	Date of accession	Date of death
Sûrapâla II and Mahîpâla II	1067	1069
Râmapâla	1069	Sept 21, 1111
Kumârapâla	1111	1115
Gopâla III	1115	1115
Madanapâla	1115	?

Except those of the accession of Vigrahapâla II and Nayapâla, all the dates are almost definitely settled

Of the first seven kings of the dynasty, we have unfortunately no clue to definite dates except in a single inscription of Dharmapâla's time A votive inscription from Bodh-Gayâ is thus dated

षड्विंशतितमे वर्षे धर्म्मपाले महीभुजि
भाद्रवहुलपञ्चम्यां सूनोर्भास्करस्याहनि ।

(Vide *JASB*, 1908, p 102)

Between A D 760 and 780 we have arrived at the following possible dates of Dharmapâla's accession by verifying according to *mean* calculations the date given above, *viz* Bhâdra *vadi* 5, Saturday

Under the *Amânta* system—A D 764, 768, 771 and 788
Under the *Pûrnimânta* system—774, 777, 781 and 784

The discovery recently of two new inscriptions, one dated in the 54th year of Nârâyanapâla and the other in the 24th year of Râjyapâla,[21] makes it impossible to place Dharmapâla's accession later than A D 788, as the following tentative chronology will show.

Dharmapâla	788—820	(just 32 years).
Devapâla	820—853	(33 years)
Vigrahapâla I (or Surapâla I)	853—860	(7 years)
Nârâyanapâla	860—915	(55 years)
Râjyapâla	915—940	(25 years)
Gopâla II	940—955	(15 years)
Vigrahapâla II	955—981	

Thus, with 788 as the date of Dharmapâla's accession, the chronology fits in almost too closely with the one fixed above For it allows only seven years to Sûrapâla I, while, according to Dr V Smith,[22] he reigned for at least 13 years[23] Moreover, according to the Manahali inscription of Madanapâla, Gopâladeva I was "चिरतरमवनेरेकपत्न्या इवैकी, भर्त्ता" which means, if anything, that he reigned long enough, if not, literally, longer than his predecessor, Râjyapâla Fifteen years, on the other hand, make one of the shortest reigns of the dynasty We are inclined, therefore, to look for the date of Dharmapâla's accession not later than the sixties of the 8th century, **either A D 764 or 768**

21 See *ante*, Vol XLVII, pp 110-111

22 See *ante*, Vol XXXVIII, p. 235

23 We are unable, however, to verify Dr Smith's statement

BOOK-NOTICE

LALLĀ VAKYANI OR THE WISE SAYINGS OF LAL DED, A MYSTIC POETESS OF ANCIENT KASHMIR by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON and DR L D BARNETT Asiatic Society Monographs London R A S 1920 pp xi and 225

I should like to say at the outset that within the compass of this short book there is contained philological and religious knowledge of the highest order, which is a credit to the well known authors and to the Society which has published their very valuable labours

Lallâ or Lal Ded was a female wandering Saiva ascetic (*yôgini*) of Kashmir in the fourteenth century A D, and her verses are of extreme value for two reasons They form the oldest known specimen of the Kâshmîri Language and they represent the teaching of the Śaiva Yoga as it presented itself through her to the ordinary Kâshmîrî followers of that religious system To any one therefore, who, like myself, endeavours to ascertain the effects of the philosophic teaching of the Hindu sects on the public at any given period, the book is of the highest interest

One criterion of the importance of this book is shown by a reference to Dr J N Farquhar's admirable *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, also dated 1920 At p 352 all he has to say about "Kashmir Saivâs" is 'Kashmir Saivism still exists but it shows very little vitality Yet scholarly pandits are not wanting their work, clothed in English, may be seen in Chatterji's *Kashmir Shaivism* Sir George Grierson refers to 'a wise old woman known as Lal Ded' who lived in Kashmir in the fourteenth century, "whose apophthegms in short verses are still freely quoted in the happy valley" and he quotes and translates one of her stanzas Mr Chatterji names only a single writer belonging to this period [Muslim Influence 1350—1700], Śivopâdhyâya of the eighteenth century, who wrote a commentary on the *Vijñana-Bhairava Tantra* ' But the Introduction to *Lallâ Vâkyâni* now under consideration goes much further and describes it as giving "an account, often in vivid language, of the actual working out in practice of a religion [Saivism] previously worked out in theory As such it is a unique contribution to the body of evidence that must necessarily form the basis of a future history of one of the most important religious systems of India"

On p 286 Dr Farquhar, in his bibliography, dates Lal Ded as "c 14th century" on the faith of Sir George Grierson's article in *JRAS*, 1918, p 157 It is therefore with some pride that I note that the editors of Lal Ded's poems resort for a good deal of their legendary and historical information about her to *Punjab Notes and Queries*, which I started as long ago as 1883 and maintained for some years

Dr Farquhar seems to be quite right in describing Lal Ded as belonging to the period of Muslim Influence on Hinduism She is consistently described by tradition not only as a contemporary, but as a friend, of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadânî, the Muslim apostle of Kashmir in 1380—1386, and one of her verses (No 8) runs as follows —

> Let Him bear the name of Siva, or of Kêśava, or of the Jina, or of the Lotus born Lord— whatever name he bear
>
> 'May He take from me sick woman that I am, the disease of the world
>
> Whether He be he or he, or he or he"

The commentary on this (and how admirable so many of the authors' commentaries are) is — 'By whatever name the worshipper may call the Supreme, He is still the Supreme and He alone can give release Kesava means Visnu by the name of 'Jina' is indicated both a 'Jina,' the Saviour of the Jains and also the Buddha I suspect that here it is confused with the Arabic Jinn, the Genius of the Arabian Nights The Lotus born Lord is Brahma" I would like to go much further than the author and to state from what follows that the confusion is undoubted, though no doubt the Pandit Râjânaka Bhaskara in his Sanskrit translation of this verse, thought the reference was to the Indian Jina only The importance of this particular verse is enhanced by the fact that the version given by the editors' authority is practically identical with that in Sir Aurel Stein's Collection at the Oxford Indian Institute showing the hold it has had on the people

But is not Lal Ded here forestalling Kabir (1440—1518), who followed and improved on Râmânanda (1400—1470) who preached "a compromise between theism and strict monism,' and the roots of whose teaching go much further back in the then old Hindu doctrine of *bhakti* or devotional faith, whether the Sects professing it were Śaiva or Vaishnava Lal Ded could never have heard of Râmânanda and his doctrines and she must have died before Kabir was born, but Râmânanda was not the first, without giving up his caste to take all castes and conditions of men into his personal following, even Muhammadans, and to be on terms of mutual respect with the last In fact, in this respect he adopted a fashion that was then springing up among both Hindu and Muhammadan teachers under Muslim influence What was this influence? Was it not Sufi mysticism? Though a Muhammadan at bottom, the Sufi was not

orthodox and was imbued with outside influences, European and Asiatic and even Indian thought He tended to identify himself with God like the early Hindu, and to lose his individuality after death in eternal companionship with God His object in this life was to escape from individuality, in order to realize that God is the only reality " His practice to this end came very near to the Hindu Yoga, and to him all religious systems tended to become unreal and of equal value It is not difficult to understand that a *yogini* of the fourteenth century in contact with Muhammadanism should quickly absorb such a line of thought And the interesting point in Lal Ded's life and popular teaching is that we here seem to get a glimpse into the trend of the Hindu mind that gave Ramananda, and more largely his great pupil Kabir the enormous sway they have wielded over the religion of India of their own and even the present day

How deeply the general idea conveyed in Lal Ded's verse above quoted has struck its roots into the every day Indian mind is shown in a couplet taught to my own children when very small by their nurse though long completely lost by them She was an Outcaste, a Mehtarâni

Râm nam laddu Gopâl nam ghî
Har ka nam misrî ghol ghol pi

The name of Ram is the sweet, Gôpal's name is the butter
Har's name is the sugar mix up well and take

The form of the couplet is purely Hindu, Ram nâm, Gopal nâm, Har nam, referring back to the age old doctrine " of the eternity of sound and the indefeasible connexion between the sound of a word and its meaning," and thence between the attributes of a *god* and his name, but the sentiment is mediaeval Hindu, like Lal Ded's In fact, if we take Ram and Gôpal (Krishna) to represent the Vaishnava hero gods and Har to represent Siva we get very near to Lal Ded's teaching If we take the couplet to be of Ramaite origin and to mean that Gopal and Hari (Krishna) are subordinate to and absorbed in Râm, the verse is Vaishnava but non sectarian In the Mehtarâni's mind, however I feel sure it conveyed the equality of the Supreme by whatsoever name He was called, because she was the wife of the chief priest (as one may say) of the Lalbegi Mehtars of Ambala This man had a MS *kursînâma* or 'Genealogy' of his Sect, of which I got the loan about 1880 and published it *verbatim* in the *Legends of the Punjab*, which, in its turn, led to the subsequent publication in the *Indian Antiquary* of a somewhat extensive Lalbegi Literature The 'Genealogy' turned out to be hagiolatry pure and simple—an eclectic worship of anything deemed to be holy, whatever its source Sectarian Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian—in the form of *mantras*, *i e* mystic formulæ of apparently meaningless sounds —in this case difficult to dissect and more than probably actually meaningless, but no doubt in the minds of the users all the more holy and efficacious on that account The idea of the equality of all in religion would, however, sink readily and deeply into human beings situated as are the Mehtars

Lal Ded enforced her doctrines by wandering about singing and dancing in a nude or nearly nude condition This was nothing new in Saiva, or indeed in other forms of Hinduism, or in Judaism or Islam In verse 94 she defends the practice —

" My teacher spake to me but one precept
He said unto me 'from without enter thou
the inmost part'
That to me became a rule and a precept,
And therefore naked began I to dance "

The authors' gloss on this is —

" The Guru or spiritual preceptor, confides to his disciple the mysteries of religion Lalla's account is that he taught her to recognise the external world as naught but an illusion, and to restrict her thoughts to meditation on her inner Self When she had grasped the identity of her Self with the Supreme Self, she learnt to appreciate all externals at their true value So she abandoned even her dress and took to going about naked Here she says that she danced in this state Filled with supreme rapture, she behaved like a madwoman The dance, called *tandava*, of the naked devotee is supposed to be a copy of the dance of Siva, typifying the course of the cosmos under the god's rule It implies that the devotee has wholly surrendered the world, and become united with Siva "

Lal Ded was essentially nothing more than the product of her race and time and incapable of founding a Sect or organised following, and it is quite possible that her popularity was founded on her reputation as a dancing ascetic coupled with her capacity for stating in fascinating verse the doctrines taught her The emotional dancing would draw the necessary attention to her and the quality of her verse would remain in the public memory A century after her time we have a strong instance of this in a very different Hindu personage, teaching a doctrine in some aspects as poles apart from hers—the Bengali Brahman Viśvambhara Misra (1485—1533), known to fame as Chaitanya A Vaishnava of the general Bhâgavata community, he practised the passionate variety of devotional faith (*bhakti*), concentrating in his case on the story of the loves of Krishna and Râdhâ in hymns, and enforcing his doctrine by the public dancing of himself and his followers with extra

ordinary fervour and emotion Although in his case he founded an important Sect, he was, like Lal Ded, no organiser, but his religious emotion was real and clean, and he turned the tale of Râdhâ Krishna, not very savoury from the point of general morality, into something that held the imagination of a vast public to their good The dancing and the music soon died away after his death, but they had done their work, for they attracted general attention, and the contents of the hymns and the teachings of the Sect, with much deterioration, alas ! in certain instances, were left to their inherent value for success and permanence

Lal Ded purported to popularise the highly anthropomorphic doctrines of the Śaiva Yoga This was no easy task, for the Yogic philosophy was so abstruse and difficult to follow and so full of technicalities, that obviously the workaday unlettered population could never grasp it, and the technicalities, which would come to be repeated glibly enough, must have largely appeared to the public like 'the blessed word Mesopotamia" In his illuminating discourse on Yôga, Dr Barnett starts by saying "The object of the discipline called Yôga is to emancipate the individual soul from its bondage to the material universe" including "the mental organism . . The emancipation is effected by a mental and bodily discipline culminating in a spiritual transformation, in which there comes into existence a permanent intuition revealing an essential distinction between the individual soul and the material universe This is the state of isolation which is salvation" As the bondage of the material universe includes the bondage of the mental organism the Yôgi attempts by ascetic exercises, into which metaphysical contemplation largely enters, to attain such power over his own mental organism that "all sense of objectivity disappears from the matter of thought, leaving only the intuition of the distinction between the individual soul and the material universe, wherein the individual soul shines for ever in its perfectly pure still radiance"

Dr Barnett explains that from the first the Yogic method of gnosis "presupposes certain mystic conceptions of the natural and spiritual world" which "may be classified broadly under two heads (1) the theory of Nature and of salvation by means thereof (2) the practice of physical means supposed to be efficacious in attaining the latter object In Yogic theory the human body is conceived as a miniature copy or replica of the world without it the forces by which this microcosm is controlled at the same time operate upon the macrocosm outside and thus by certain physical and mental processes the Yogî can win for himself not only supernatural powers over his own body and mind but also a miraculous control over the universe culminating in the complete translation of his soul into the highest phase of Being, the Absolute (usually conceived as the Supreme Śiva) for ever and ever" The Yogic theory of the microcosm contained in the human body involves a description thereof which has to be learnt, as it has no counterpart in the ordinarily observable facts of its anatomy

"As the object of metaphysical contemplation is to merge the individual soul into the absolute All Spirit, so the object of Yogic contemplation is to absorb [the Creative Force of the Phenomenal Universe, personified as] Kundalini in the microcosm, representing the microcosmic Energy, into [the highest of the circles supposed to be attached to the spinal cord at the base of the palate and called] Sahasrâra, typifying the Absolute whereby the Cosmos is merged into the infinite bliss of the Supreme (Paramesvara)' While the absorption is being effected there occurs the Elemental Sound in his body audible to the Yogi, the subject of further extremely complicated and obscure theories of cosmic evolution, but they are of importance because as the Creative Force "reveals herself in sound Word or Logos the elements of Speech namely syllables and their combinations have a profound mystic significance in Śaiva doctrine"

Teach the details of such a doctrine by a mass of technical terms in, or based on a conventional tongue, such as Sanskrit has been for a very long time, add to it fragments of other striking doctrines current at the period, and the people will be puzzled, and so it is with some justification that Granny Lal's editors point out the importance of her songs from 'the fact that they are not a systematic exposé of Saivism on the lines laid down by the theologians who preceded her, but illustrate the religion on its popular side" How much Lal Ded actually taught the people of what she herself understood her editors have not worked out, but it would be worth doing

I have been so absorbed in the philosophical side of this remarkable book that I have almost omitted to mention Sir George Grierson's invaluable Appendices on Lallâ's Language and Lallâ's Metres and the Vocabulary Especially would I draw attention to the extremely informing footnote on p 128, based on the experience gained by the fact that her songs have reached us as handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and are therefore now found in practically modern Kâshmîrî His footnote says "So also the Vedic hymns were for centuries handed down by word of mouth and Lalla's songs give a valuable example of the manner in which their language must have changed from generation to generation before their text was finally established"

R C Temple

Biśâkhâ—Oudh was called by this name during the Buddhist period Viśâkhâ was the capital of Fa Hian's Sha-chi or Sâketa Dr Hoey, however, identifies it with Pasha (Pi-so-kia of Hiuen Tsiang) in the district of Gonda in Oudh, near the junction of the Sarajû and the Gogra (*JASB.*, vol LXIX, p 74) It has been identified by Dr Burgess with Lucknow (*Cave Temples of India*, p 44)

Biśâkhâ-pattana—Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency

Biśâlâ—1 Besâd, in the district of Mozaffarpur in the Bihar Province, the Baiśâlî of the Buddhist period (*see* **Baiśâlî**) At the time of the *Râmâyana* (Âdi, ch 45), the town was situated on the northern bank of the Ganges and not on the Gandak, at the time of Kshemendra in the 11th century, it was on the river Balgumatî (*Ava Kalp*, ch 39) 2 Ujin, the capital of Avantî (*Meghadûta I*, 31, *Hemakosha*, *Skanda P*, Revâ kh, ch 47). 3 An affluent of the Gandak in Baiśâlî (*Mbh*, Vana, ch 84)

Biśâla-badari—*See* **Badarikâśrama**

Biśâlâ-chhatra—Same as **Biśâlâ** Hajipur was included in the kingdom of Baiśâla Râmchandra, Lakshmana and Visvâmitra, on their way to Mithilâ, are said to have halted at Hajipur for one night on the site of the present temple called Râmachanda, which contains the image of Râmachandra and the impression of his feet Haji Shamsuddin, king of Bengal, established his capital at Hajipur in the middle of the 14th century, and from him the name of Hajipur has been derived It still contains a stone mosque said to have been built by him close to the Sonepur Ghât The celebrated Râjâ Todar Mal lived at Hajipur when he made the settlement of Bengal and Bihar and is said to have resided in the fort (*killâ*), the ruins of which still exist and contain the Nepalese temple Sonpur, situated at the confluence of the Gandak and the Ganges, was also included in Biśâla-chhatra It was at Sonpur (Gajendramoksha-tîrtha) that Vishnu is said to have released the elephant from the clutches of the alligator, the fight between whom has been described in the *Varâha-Purâna* (ch 144) They fought for five thousand years all along the place from a lake called Kânkdâ-Tâlâo, five miles to the north-west of Sonpur, to the junction of the Gandak and the Ganges Vishnu, after releasing the elephant, established the Mahâdeva Hariharanâtha and worshipped him Râmachandrae, on his way to Janakapur, is said to have stopped for three nights on the site of the temple at Sonpur, hence in his honour, a celebrated fair is held there every year

Biśalyâ—A branch of the Nerbada (*Kûrma P*, ch 39)

Bishnu-gayâ—Lenar in Berar, not far from Mekhar, it is a celebrated place of religious resort

Bishnugriha—Tamluk Same as **Tâmralipti** (*Hema-kosha*)

Bisvâmitrâ—The river Bisvâmitrâ in Gujarât on which Baroda is situated (*Mahâbhârata* Bhîshma, ch. 9)

Biśvâmitra-âśrama—Buxar, in the district of Shahabad in Bihar It was the hermitage of Rishi Viśvâmitra, where Râmachandra is said to have killed the Râkshasî Tâdakâ The Charitra-vana at Buxar is said to have been the hermitage of the Rishi (*Râmâyana*, Bâlakânda, ch 26), and the western side of Buxar near the river Thora was the ancient Siddhâsrama, the reputed birth-place of Vâmana Deva (*see* **Siddhâśrama**) The hermitage of Rishi Visvâmitra is also pointed out as Devakunda, 25 miles north-west of Gayâ Same as **Bedagarbhapurî** The hermitage of the Rishi was also situated on the western bank of the Sarasvatî opposite to Sthânu-tîrtha in Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, Śalya, ch 43) It was also situated on the river Kauśikî, modern Kusi

Bitabhaya-pattana—Bithâ, eleven miles south-west of Allahabad on the right bank of the Jamuna (*Vîra-charitra* of the Jainas quoted by General Cunningham in *Arch S Rep*, vol 3) But from seals found by Sir John Marshall at Bhita, the ancient name of the place appears to be Vichhi and Vichhi-grâma, and not Bitabhaya-pattana (*JRAS*, 1911, p 127)

Bitamsâ—Same as **Bitastâ**

Bitastâ—The river Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks (*Rigveda* X, 75), and Bitamsâ of the Buddhists ("Questions of King Milinda," *SBE*, p xliv)

Bodha—The country round **Indraprastha** (*q v*) which contained the celebrated **Tîrtha** called Nigamod bodha, perhaps briefly called Bodha (*Mbh*, Bhîshma ch 9, *Padma P*, Uttara, ch 66)

Bolor—Baltistan, or little Thibet, a small state north of Kâsmîr to distinguish it from Middle Thibet or Ladakh and Great Thibet or Southern Tartary

Brahma—A country in Eastern India, perhaps Burma (*Râmâyana*, Kishkindhâ, ch 40)

Brahmagiri—1 A mountain in the Nasik district, Bombay, near Tryambaka, in which the Godâvarî has its source (*Padma P*, Uttara, ch 62) 2 A mountain in Coorg, in which the Kâverî has its source (*see* **Kâverî**)

Brahmakuṇda—The *Kunda* from which the river Brahmaputra issues it is a place of pilgrimage (*see* **Lohitya**)

Brahmanada—The river Brahmaputra (*Brihat-Dharma-Purâna*, Madhya kh, ch. 10)

Brahmanâla—Manikarnikâ in Benares

Brâhmaṇî—The river Bahmni in Orissa (*Mbh* Bhîshma, ch 9, *Padma P*, Svarga, ch 3)

Brahmapura—Garwal and Kumaon (*Brihat-Samhita*, ch 14)

Brahmaputra—Same as **Lohitya** See *Brahma P*, ch 64

Brahmarshi—The country between Brahmâvartta and the river Jamuna it comprised Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pañchâla and Śûrasena (*Manu Samhitâ*, ch 2, v 19)

Brahmasara—1 Same as Ramahrada (*Mbh*, Anusâsana, 25) 2 In Gaya (*Agni P*, ch 115) *see* **Dharmâraṇya** 3 Same as **Brahmatîrtha** (*Padma P*, Srishti, ch 19)

Brahma-tîrtha—Pushkara lake, near Ajmir in Rajputana (*Kûrma P*, Pt II, 37)

Brahmâvartta—1 The country between the rivers Sarasvati and Drisadvatî, where the Aryans first settled themselves From this place they occupied the countries known as Brahmarshi-deśa (*Manu-Samhitâ*, ch 2) It was afterwards called Kurukshetra It has been identified generally with Sirhind (Rapson's *Ancient India*, p 51) Its capital was Karavîrapura on the river Drishadvatî according to the *Kâlikâ Purâna*, chs. 48, 49, and Barhishmatî according to the *Bhâgavata*, III, 22 2 A landing ghât on the Ganges at Bithur in the district of Cawnpur, called the Brahmâvartta-tîrtha, which is one of the celebrated places of pilgrimage

Braja—Purâna Gokul, or Mahâvana, a village in the neighbourhood of Mathurâ across the Jamuna, where Krishna was reared by Nanda during his infancy (*Bhâgavata P*, X, ch 3) The name of Braja was extended to Brindâvana and the neighbouring villages, the scene of Krishna's early life and love At Mahâvana is shown the lying-in room in which Mahâmâyâ was born and Krishna substituted for her This room and Nanda's house are situated on two high mounds of earth Nanda's house contains a large colonnaded hall in

which are shown the cradle of Krishna and the spots where Putanâ was killed and where Siva appeared to see the infant god At a short distance from the house of Nanda are the mortar which was overturned by the infant Krishna, and the place which contained the twin Arjuna trees broken by Krishna Gokul or new Gokul was founded by Ballabhâchâryya in imitation of Mahavana or Purâna (old) Gokul and contains also the same famous spots that are shown in Mahâvana The shrine of Syâm Lala at new Gokula is believed to mark the spot where Yasodâ, the wife of Nanda, gave birth to Mâyâ or Yoga-nidrâ, substituted by Vasudeva for the infant Krishna Nanda's palace at Gokul (new Gokul) was converted into a mosque at the time of Aurangzeb Outside the town is Putnâm-khar, where Krishna is said to have killed Putanâ Growse identifies Mahavana with Klisoboras of the Greeks and supposes that the modern Braja was the ancient Anupa desa (Growse's *Mathura*), Ashtagrama was the birth-place of Râdhikâ (*Adi P*, ch 12) *See* **Gokula and Braja-mandala**

Braja-maṇḍala It comprises an area of 84 *kos* containing many villages and towns and sacred spots associated with the adventures of Krishna and Radhikâ The 12 Vanas and 24 Upa-Vanas are specially visited by pilgrims in their perambulation commencing from Mathurâ in the month of Bhâdra At the village of Maholi is Madhûvana, the stronghold of the Daitya named Madhu, at Tarsi is Tâlavana where Balarâma defeated the demon Dhenuka, at Râdhâkunda are two sacred pools called Syâmakunda and Radhâkunda, where Krishna expiated his sin after he had slain the bull Arishta, at the town of Gobardhan which contains the celebrated hill of that name on the bank of the tank called Mânas Gangâ, is the ancient temple of Hari Deva, at Paitho, the people of Braja came to take shelter from the storms of Indra under the hill uplifted by Krishna (*see* **Govardhana**), at Gantholi, the marriage knot was tied which confirmed the union of Radhâ and Krishna, at Kambana, the demon Aghâsura was killed by Krishna, at Barsana, Râdhikâ was brought up by her parents Vrishabhânu and Kirat, at Rithora was the home of Chandrâvalî, Râdhikâ's faithful attendant, at Nandagâon was the abode of Nanda and Yasodâ, at Pansarovara, Krishna drove his cattle morning and evening to water at Charan Pâhâri, Indra did homage to Krishna, at Chirghât on the Jamuna, Krishna stole the bathers' clothes, at Vaka-vana, Vakâsura was slain by Krishna, at Bhatrond, some Brahmanas' wives supplied Krishna and his companions with food (rice), notwithstanding that their husbands had refused to do so, at Bhândira-vana, Balarâma vanquished the demon Pralamba, at Raval, Râdhikâ was born and passed the first years of infancy before her parents went to live at Barshâna, at Brahmânda Ghât, beyond the village of Hathora, Krishna showed Yasodâ the universe within his mouth, at Mahâvana, Krishna passed his infancy and killed Putanâ, at Mathurâ, he killed Kamsa and rested at Bisrânta Ghât (*Bhâgavata P*, and Growse's "Country of Braj" in *JASB*, 1871) *See* **Braja**

Briddha-kâsî—A celebrated place of pilgrimage now called Pudubeli-Gopuram in the presidency of Madras It was visited by Chaitanya, who defeated here the Buddhists in controversy (Syâmlâl Goswâmi's *Gaura-sundara*)

Brikasthala—At a short distance to the south of Hastinâpura (*Mbh*, Udyoga, ch 86)

Brikshakhaṇḍa—*See* **Chitabhûmi**

Brindâvana—Brindâban in the district of Mathurâ, where Krishna showed to the world examples of transcendental love through the Gopîs The original image of Govindaji was removed to Jaipur and that of Madanamohana to Karauli in anticipation

of the raid of Aurangzeb The splendid and magnificent pyramidal old temple of Govindajî with its elegant carvings and sculptures was built by Man Singh in the thirty fourth year of Akbar's reign (Growse's *Mathurâ* and *Brahmavaivarta P*, ch 17 and *Bhâgavata P* X, ch 12) The Nidhuvana and Nikuñjavana the celebrated bowers of love, Pulina, the place of the râsamandala, the Bastraharana-ghât the Kâliya-daha-ghât,—all situated in Brindâvana were the scenes of Krishna's love and adventures Brindâvana appears to have attained celebrity at the time of Kâlidâsa (*Raghuvamśa*, VI, 50) Brindâvana was visited by the poet Bilhanâ who composed his *Bikramânkadeva-charita* about A D 1085 (see canto XVIII, v 87) The cenotaph of Haridâs is situated in his hermitage, whence Akbar in his visit to Brindâban took away his disciple, the celebrated musician Tânasena to his court The predominance of the Buddhist religion for several centuries served to efface all traces of the sacred localities or Brindâvana, but were again restored by the explorations of Rûpa and Sanâtana, the celebrated followers of Chaitanya But the identification of modern Brindâban with the Brindâvana of the Purânas is extremely doubtful for the following reasons (1) Modern Brindâban is six miles from Mathurâ, whereas it took Akrura the whole day from sunrise to sunset to drive from Brindâvana to Mathurâ in a car drawn by swift horses (*Vishnu P*, Pt V, ch 18, vs 12 and 33, and ch 19, v 9 *Bhagavata P* Pt X, ch 39, v 30, and ch 41, v 4) (2) Nanda, the foster-father of Krishna, removed from Gokula which is six miles from Mathurâ, across the Jamuna to Brindâvana to escape molestations from the myrmidons of Kamsa, king of Mathurâ (*Vishnu P*, Pt V, ch vi, vs 23 25, and *Bhâgavata P*, Pt X, ch xi, vs 10—14) It is therefore not likely that he should select for his sojourn modern Brindâvana which is also six miles from Mathura and on the same side of the Jamunâ, leaving the natural barrier of a river (3) Brindâvan does not contain any mountain, whereas ancient Brindâvana is described as mountainous (*Bhâgavata P*, Pt X, ch xi, v 14) (4) Ancient Brindavana and Mathura seem to have been situated on the opposite sides of the Yamunâ (*Vishnu P*, Part V ch 18, v 33 and *Bhagavata P*, Pt X, ch 39, v 34)

Brishabhânupura—Same as **Barshâna.**

Britraghnî—The Vâtrak, a tributary of the Sabarmati in Gujarât (*Padma P*, Uttara, ch 60, *Mârkand P*, ch 57) Same as **Betravatî** (2) and **Bartraghnî** (cf *Padma P* Uttara, chs 53 and 60)

Buddhavana—Budhain, about six miles north of Tapovan in the district of Gaya

Bukephala—Jalâlpur in the Punjab (Cunningham's *Anc Geo*, 176, 177) This was the place where Alexander the Great's favourite horse was interred For Alexander's route to India, see *JASB*, X (1842), "Note on the Passes to Hindoostan from the West and North-west" by H T. Prinsep, *JASB*, XXI (1852) p 214.

Byâghrapura—1 Same as *Koli* (*MB.*, p. 139) 2. Same as **Bedagarbhapurî** (*Skanda P*, Sûta-Samhitâ, IV, Yajña kh, ch. 24)

Byâghrasara—Buxar in the district of Shahabad *See* **Bedagarbhapurî.**

Byâsa-âsrama—Manal, a village near Badrinâth in Garwal in the Himalayas It was the hermitage of Rishi Vyâsa, the author of the *Mahabharata*, and the reputed author of the *Purânas*

Byâsa-kâsî—Râmnagar, opposite to Benares across the Ganges The temple dedicated to Vyâsa Rishi is situated within the precincts of the palace of the Mahârâjâ of Benares (*Skanda P*, Kâsî-kh)

C

Chaityagiri—Same as **Chetiyagiri**

Chakranagara- Keljhar, 17 miles north-east of Wardha in the Central Provinces (Cousen's *Arch S Rep*, "Central Provinces and Berar," p 10, *Śiva P*, Sanat kumâra-Samhitâ, ch 17) It is perhaps the Chakrânkanagara of the *Padma Purâna*, Pâtâla kh ch, 13)

Chakrânkanagara *See* **Chakranagara**

Chakra-tirtha—1 In Kurukshetra, same as *Rama-hrada* 2 In Prabhâsa in Gujarât on the Gomati (*Dvaraka mâhâtmya*) 3 Six miles from the village called Tryamvaka, which is near the source of the Godâvari 4 In Benares a kunda or reservoir enclosed by an iron railing in the Manikarnikâ-ghât 5 In Râmesvara (*Skanda P*, Brahma kh, Setu Mahât, ch 3)

Chakshu - The river Oxus or Amu Daria (*Matsya P*, ch 120, *Asiatic Researches*, VIII, p 330) The *Brahmanda P* (ch 51) mentions the names of the countries through which it flows It is mentioned by Bhaskarâchâryya as a river which proceeds to Katumâla (*Siddhânta-siromani*, Bhubana kosha, 37, 38) The *Mahâbhârata*, Bhîshma P, ch 11 says that it flows through Sâka dvipa It rises in the Pamir lake, called also the Sari-kul or yellow lake, at a distance of 300 miles to the south of the Jaxartes (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p 278)

Chakshushmatî Same as **Ikshumatî** (cf *Varâha P*, ch 85 with *Matsya P*, ch 113)

Chamatkârapura Anandapura or Baranagara in the district of Ahmadabad in the province of Gujarat, anciently called Ânartta desa, where Linga worship was first established and the first Linga or phallic image of Mahâdeva was called Achalesvara But according to other Purânas, Linga worship was first established at Devadâru-vana or Daru or Daruka-vana in Garwal (*see* **Devadâruvana**) Chamatkârapura was also called Nagara the original abode of the Nâgara Brâhmins (*Skanda P*, Nagara kh, chs 1—13, 114) *See* **Hâtaka-kshetra** and **Ânandapura** The Nâgara Brahmins are said to have invented the Nâgri alphabet [see my paper on the "Origin of the Bengali Alphabet (*Banga-lipir utpatti*)" in the *Suvarnabanik Samâchâr*, Vol II] *See* **Dâruvana**

Champâ -1 Same as **Champâpuri** 2 Siam, according to Hiuen Tsiang it was the country of the Yavanas (Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang Introduction*) 3 Tonquin and Cambodia (Col Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol 11, p 255 note) 4 The river Champâ was between the countries of Anga and Magadha (*Champeyya Jâtaka* in the *Jatakas*, Cam Ed IV, p 281) 5 Champâ was also the name of the territory now called Chambâ which comprised the valleys of the sources of the Ravi between Kangra, the ancient Trigartta, and Kashthavâta (Dr Stein, *Râjatarangini*, II, p 431)

Champakâ - Same as Champaranya 5 miles to the north of Rajim in Central India It was the capital of Râjâ Hamsadhvaja (*Jaimini-bhârata*, ch 17)

Champakâranya Champaran see **Champâranya** (*Padma P*, Svarga, ch 19).

Champâ-nadi—The river formed the boundary between Anga and Magadha (*Champeyya-Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas*, Cam Ed, IV, No 506) It was a place of pilgrimage (*Padma P*, Srishti, ch 11).

Champânagara—1 Chândniâ or Chândmaya, after the name of Chând Sadâgar, about 12 miles north of Bogra, and five miles north of Mahâsthanâgar in the district of Bogra in Bengal. It is said to have been the residence of Chând Sadâgar of the famous tale of *Manasâr-Bhâsân*, and it is associated with the story of the devotion of Behula to her husband Nakhindhara, the youngest son of Chând Sadâgar There are two marshes called Gori and Sauri, on either side of the village, which are said to be the

remains of two great rivers It is now situated on the river Karatoyâ (Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol VIII, p 196) The Kâlidaha Sagar, a large lake outside the rampart of Mahasthana fort is the Kālīdaha of the story [*JASB*, 1878, p 94 (Beveridge)] But Chānd Sadāgar's residence is also pointed out at Champanagara near Bhagalpur, where a fair is held every year in honour of Behulâ and Nakhindhara See, however, **Ujāni** 2 Same as **Champapuri**

Champāpuri—Same as **Champa** Champanagara, situated at a distance of about four miles to the west of Bhagalpur It was also called Mâlini and Champâ-malinî (*Matsya P*, ch 48, *Hemakosha*) It was the capital of ancient Anga, of which the king was Râjâ Romapada or Lomapâda who adopted Dasaratha's daughter Śântâ (*Râmayana*, Âdi, ch 10) Lomapada's great-grandson Champa is said to have founded the town of Champânagara which was formerly called Mâlinî, but it is mentioned in the *Mahâbharata* (Vana P, ch 112) that Champa was the capital of Lomapâda At the time of the *Mahabhârata* it was the capital of Karna, the ally of Duryodhana It is also described as a place of pilgrimage in the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana P, ch 85) The Karnagad which is included in Champanagara, contains the remains of a fort which is pointed out as the fort of Karna, who was brought up at this place But it has been thought by some that Karnagad in Champanagara and Karnachanda in Monghir have been named after Karnasena, king of Karnasuvarna, who had conquered Anga and Banga There is a temple of Mahadeva called Manaskâmanânâtha, which is said to have been set up by Râjâ Karna, but which appears to have been built on the site of an ancient Buddhist temple Just outside the temple on the southern side there are many Buddhist statues The vestiges of the ramparts of the fort on all sides still exist Champanagara was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century as a Buddhist place of pilgrimage Champa was the birth-place of "Biraja-Jina," the author of the celebrated Buddhist work *Lankavatara Sutra* (ch 10), and also that of Palakâpya Muni, the author of the *Hastyâyurveda* (a treatise on the diseases of elephants) Sona Kolavisa, the author of one of the *Theragathâs* was a resident of Champâ (*Mahâvagga*, V, 1) Many Buddhist statues and remains of ancient pillars are still found scattered over the town. The remains of the mound, on which the surrounding wall of the town was situated, as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, may still be seen close to the Nathnagar Railway Station Spence Hardy, on the authority of Csoma Korosi, states that a king of Anga (Brahmadatta), whose capital was Champâ, had conquered Magadha before the birth of Buddha, but when Bimbisâra, then a prince, grew up, he invaded Anga and caused the king to be slain after which he resided at Champâ till the death of his father Kshatrañjas, when he returned to Rajagriha (*Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, p 166, second ed, Duff's *Chronicle*, p 5) Since that time, Anga remained subject to Magadha Champâpuri is also a very sacred place to the Jainas, inasmuch as it was visited by Mahâvira, the last Tîrthankara who spent here three Parjjusanas (rainy season retirement) (*Kalpasûtra*, ch vi), and it is the birth-place and the place of death of Bâsupûjya, the twelfth Tirthankara, whose symbol is the buffalo He was the son of Bâsupûjya and Jayâ (Buchanan's *Observations on the Jainas Asiat Res*, IX, 30) The temple of Bâsupûjya was erected by a Jaipur chief, Sungree Shee Dhata and his wife Sungvin Shee Surjaiee in the Yudhishthira era 2559 (see the Inscription in Major Franckln's *Site of Ancient Palibothra*, pp 16, 17 Yudhishthira Era 2559 corresponds to 541 B C) At Nathnagar, which is a quarter (*mahallâ*) of Champânagara exists this beautiful temple of the Digambara sect, which is dedicated to Bâsupûjya, who is said to have lived and died at the site of this

temple From the inscriptions on some Jaina images exhumed from the neighbourhood of an old Jaina temple at Ajmer, it appears that these images, which were of Bâsupûjya, Mallinâtha, Pârśvanâtha, and Vardhamâna were dedicated in the thirteenth century A D, i e, ranging from Samvat 1239 to 1247 (*JASB*, 1838, p 52) The *Uvâsagadasâo* mentions that a temple called Chaitya Punnabhadda existed at Champâ at the time of Sudharman, one of the eleven disciples of Mahâvîra who succeeded as the head of the Jaina sect on his death (Hoernle's *Uvâsagadasâo*, p 2, notes, *Jñatâdharma-śûtrapâtha*) The town was visited by Sudharman, the head of the Jaina hierarchy, at the time of Kunîka or Ajâtasatru who came barefooted to see the Ganadhara outside the city where he had taken up his abode Sudharman's successor Jambu and Jambu's successor Prabhava also visited Champâ, and Prabhava's successor Sayambhava lived at this city where he composed the *Daśavaikâlika Sûtra* containing in ten lectures all the essence of the sacred doctrines of Jainism (Hemchandra's *Sthavirâvalî or Parisishtaparvam*, Cantos IV, V) After the death of Bimbisâra, Kunîka or Ajātasatru made Champâ his capital, but after his death, his son Udâyin transferred the seat of government to Pâtaliputra (Canto VI) On the northern side of this old temple of Bâsupûjya, there is another temple dedicated to him, but it has been newly built At Champânagara proper, there is another temple of the Jainas belonging to the Svetâmbara sect, containing the images of many Tîrthankaras Champâ has been described in the *Daśakumâra-charita* as abounding in rogues From the *Champaka-Śreshthi-Kathâ*, a Jaina work, it appears that the town was in a very flourishing condition In the opening lines, the castes and trades of the town are enumerated There were perfumers, spice-sellers, sugar-candy sellers, jewellers, leather-tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths weavers, washermen, etc The name of the king is mentioned as Sâmanta Pâla his minister was Briddhadatta (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* by M M Haraprasâda Śâstrî, 1892) Champânagara is also traditionally the abode of Chând Sadâgar, the story of whose son Lakhindara and his wife Behulâ is so graphically related in the poem called *Manasâr-Bhâsân* The place where he was bitten by the snake and the Ghât where his dead body was launched are still pointed out close to the East Indian Railway bridge It is still called Behulâ Ghât and is situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Chandan, where Behulâ is said to have put the corpse of her deceased husband on a raft and carried it to different places till it was miraculously restored to life A great fair is held here every year in the month of Bhâdra in honour of Behulâ, the devoted wife of Lakhindara The Ganges flowed by the side of the town, but, within the course of the last fifty years, it has receded about a mile to the north Of all the places claimed as the residence of Chând Sadâgar, (as Champâi in the district of Burdwan near the river Gangur or Behulâ-nadî and Chandma or Chandmaya in the district of Bogra), this place has the most preferential claim, inasmuch as it is situated on the Ganges, on which the story and the tradition place the Champânagara of Chând Sadâgar, and there was, according to the Hindu and Buddhist works, no other Champânagara on the Ganges except the Champânagara near Bhagalpur At the time of Buddha, Champâ was one of the six great cities of India, for Ânanda exhorted him to die in one of these great cities Champâ, Râjagriha, Śrâvastî, Sâketa, Kauśâmbî and Benares, and not in the insignificant town of Kusinâra (*Mahâparinibbana-suttanta*, ch V) Subhadrângî, the mother of Asoka, was born at Champâ Her father was a poor Brâhman, who took her to Pâtaliputra and presented her to Bindusâra called also Amitraghâta, king of Magadha (347 to 319 B C), in consequence of a prognostication that she would be a great queen The jealous queens, however, employed her in menial work, but she attracted the attention of the king, who made her his

queen She became the mother of Asoka and Vîtâśoka The artificial lake excavated by Queen Gaggarâ mentioned in Buddhist works, containing groves of Champaka trees on its banks, where wandering monks (*Pabbajikas*) used to reside at the time of Buddha (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, *Mahâvagga*, IX, 1, *Sonadanda Sutta*, I, with Dr Rhys Davids' notes), may be identified with the large silted-up tank now called Sarovara, from the depth of which Buddhist statues were recovered Champâ was surrounded by groves of Champaka trees even at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* (Anuśâsana P ch 42) The king of Champâpurî had two beautiful palaces, one called Gandalatâ, at Kuruchattar, now called Karpat, seven miles east of Bhagalpur at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna near the Gogha-nâlâ, and the other called Krîdâ-sthalî near Pâtharghâṭâ was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Kosi (Francklin's *Site of Palibothra*, pp 28, 29 See my "Notes on Ancient Anga" in *JASB*, X (1914)

Champâraṇya—1 Five miles to the north of Rajim in Central India. It is a place of pilgrimage to the Buddhists and Jainas Same as Champaka of the *Jaimini Bhârata*. 2 Champaran in the Patna division (*Śaktisangama Tantra*, ch 7)

Champavatî—1 Champauti, the ancient capital of Kumaon It was also called Champâ-tîrtha and mentioned after Badarekâ (*Mbh*, Vana, ch 85) For the history of the kings of Kumaon, see *JASB*, 1844, p. 887. 2 Semylla of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and Saimur of the Arabs modern Chaul, 25 miles south of Bombay. It is now also called Revadanda (ancient Revâvantî of the inscription, *JRAS*, Vol III, p 386) or Revatîkshetra It is situated in the Kolaba district in Northern Konkan, and is said to have been the capital of an independent kingdom situated in Paraśurâmakhestra Perhaps it is the Champâvatî of the *Skanda P* (Brahmottara kh, ch xvi) Chaul was a noted place of trade (Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*, pp 3—11)

Chandanâ—1 The river Sabarmatî in Gujarât (*Padma P*) 2 The river Chandan in the Santal Pergana in the presidency of Bengal; it falls into the Ganges (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishkindhâ, XL, 20)

Chandana-giri—The Malaya-giri—the Malabar Ghats (*Trikândaśesha*)

Chandanâvatî—An ancient name of Baroda in the Gaekwar's territory (Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*, Vol I, p 138).

Chandanâvatî.—*See* **Chandrapura** (*Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch 54)

Chaṇḍapura—Chayenpur, five miles to the west of Bhabuâ in the district of Shahabad in Behar The celebrated battle described in the *Chandî* between Kâlî and the two kings Śumbha and Niśumbha, is said to have been fought at this place. The *Mârkandeya P* (ch 85), however, places the scene of the battle in the Himalayas; the *Vâmana P* (ch 55) places it at Bindhyâchala The name of Chandapura is derived from the name of one of the two brothers, Chanda and Munda, who were the generals of the kings The Chaumukhi Mahâdeva and Durgâ in a temple at Mundeśvarî are said to have been established by the other brother Munda Mundeśvarî is seven miles south-west of Bhabuâ; the temple, according to Dr Bloch, is very old, the carving being of the Gupta style (Bloch's *Arch Rep.*, 1902). The temple bears a date which is equivalent to A D 635 (Sir John Marshall's *Arch. S Rep—Eastern Circle*, 1913-14, p. 38). The *Vâmana P.* (chs. 19 and 55), however, says that they were the generals of Mahishâsura and were killed by the goddess Bindubâsinî on the Vindhyâ Mountain

Chaṇḍelgada—Chunar. The name of Chandelgada has been derived from the Chandels, a tribe of Kshattriyas who had established their sway between Mirzapur and the districts of Shahabad They originally came from Mahoba (modern Bundelkhand) and took possession of the fort after the Pâla Râjâs *See* **Charaṇâdri**

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

By LIEUT. COLONEL T W HAIG, C S I, C M G, C B E

(*Continued from p* 188)

XXXII—An account of the rising of Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad, and of what followed

As the king of the race of Bahman had before this, from the great kindness which he had towards Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad, sworn that he would never on any account, attempt to injure that foolish man, the Maulânâ escaped the punishment which overtook most of the Sunnî doctors He now came forth with 3,000 horse, ready for war, and encamped before Ahmadnagar, his bigotry having led him to entertain the design of dethroning the king He therefore entered into an undertaking with the officers of his army to take 2,000 cavalry soldiers into the king's court, and seize and imprison the king, and then to raise the young prince, Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir, to the throne, and to crown him king, while the remaining thousand horse surrounded the dwelling of Shâh Tâhir and put him and his family and followers to death It is, however, useless to plot against what has been decreed by God, or to attempt to overthrow a king He has chosen [87]

Husain Abdûl Rûmî, who was a sincere lover of the family of the prophet and was the king's master of the horse, discovered the plot and informed Shâh Tâhir of it He at once hastened to the king and informed him of the conspiracy, who asked him for his advice in the matter Shâh Tâhir said that there was no remedy but the sword, but the king told him of the promise which he had given to Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad Shâh Tâhir said that it was necessary that the rebel should at least be imprisoned and the king summoned Pîr Muhammad and ordered Zâbit Khân, *sarpardadar*, to arrest him when he appeared Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad was afterwards confined, under the charge of some trusted officers, in the fortress of Pâlî,[88] and the rebellion, owing to the imprisonment of its chief soon subsided

Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad remained imprisoned in the fortress of Pâlî for about a year, when the king, having gone to war with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, gained a victory over him in the neighbourhood of Kutal Hatiyâlî and Shâh Tâhir advised him, in gratitude for his victory, to set all prisoners free The king followed this advice and the prisoners were released, among them Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad, who was permitted to attend at court, but was not restored to his former rank. Shortly after this Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad died

XXXIII—An account of the appointment of Shâh Tâhir as vakîl, and minister.

The king considered that it would be to the interest of the kingdom to appoint Shâh Tâhir minister, and he therefore honoured Shâh Tâhir by going to his house to make this proposal to him On entering the house, Shâh Tâhir led him to a private room where they could talk apart, and the king then asked him to undertake the whole administration of the state Shâh Tâhir at first declined the honour, but afterwards, seeing that the king had set his heart on his having the appointment, accepted it.

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87 According to Firishta, Pîr Muhammad's rising was much more serious than it is here represented to be, and he had at his disposal 12,000 horse ready to fight in defence of the Sunnî religion while the king had only 400 horse, 1,000 foot and five elephants Most of the army, however, joined the king when summoned to return to their allegiance, and Pîr Muhammad fled to his house accompanied by only a small force

88 A fort in the Western Ghâts, about twenty miles east of Chaul

The king then proceeded to complain of the perpetual quarrels of the Sultâns of the Dakan, saying that they were always plotting against one another and quarrelling among themselves, whence it happened that both their countries and their subjects were ruined, and a land which was by nature an earthly paradise, was being depopulated while both the armies and the people were suffering.

Historians say that Burhân Nizâm Shâh, in the early days of his reign, observed moderation in his giving of alms and free grants and avoided excessive expenditure. As this policy was not in accordance with the views of those who desired to subsist on alms and free grants, they accused the king of stinginess, and Shâh Tâhir had long been considering how he could represent this matter to the king without giving offence. He now seized the opportunity, and said to the king that God created generous and open-handed rulers for the relief of the poor, the indigent, and the oppressed, and that generosity was wise policy, as it pleased those who had benefited by it and prevented them, by means of the fear of losing what they had gained, from plotting against the state, while it aroused hope in others, while all loved a generous ruler. Charity, he said, covered the multitude of sins.

When Shâh Tâhir had made an end of speaking, the king answered him not a word, but went off to the *Bâgh i Kârîz* and remained there for three days, during which time none of the *amîrs* nor officers of state saw him. At the end of three days he sent for Shâh Tâhir and told him that he had for three days been fighting with his own inclinations, and had at last subdued them. He had decided, he said, never to depart from the advice of Shâh Tâhir and to place in his hands the whole administration of the country and the government of the subjects, giving him complete control over all the treasure. Shâh Tâhir then advised the king to have all alms distributed to the poor and to religious mendicants through the princes, as by this means the princes would be taught to be generous and would also become objects of love to the people, while Shâh Tâhir himself would not be exposed to the criticism of the people.

The king followed this advice and caused the princes to distribute alms. Of the princes Mîrân Husain and Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir were more generous than the rest. Mîrân Husain's generosity was such that when he had distributed all of his own share of the alms, he would seize his brother's share and distribute that too, and in this way he so endeared himself to the army and the people, that the crown ultimately came to him. The result of the king's liberality was that peace, prosperity and plenty reigned throughout the land and the strong no longer oppressed the weak. Deserving men came from all countries and profited by the king's bounty. Every year shiploads of treasure, carpets, lamps, and other offerings were sent to Makkah, Madînah, Najaf, Karbalâ, and other shrines of the infallible Imâms, and the gates of joy were opened before all descendants of the prophet.

One of the results of this policy was that the enemies of the state were everywhere overthrown and rendered powerless while the king's officers were everywhere gladdened by victory, and the glory and prosperity of the kingdom increased day by day. The giving of effect to Shâh Tâhir's advice had its rewards from God, for many Sayyids of high degree and religious leaders of great fame came to the Dakan and met with the fulfilments of their hopes from the king's bounty. The chief of them was Amîr Sayyid 'Alî Shadgham (*sic*) Husainî Madanî who was among the most noble among the descendants of Husain in Madînah and was distinguished by pre-eminence in learning. When he arrived at Ahmadnagar the king sent one of his courtiers to inquire what was the object of his coming, and the Sayyid

replied that he was so desirous of performing a pilgrimage to his grandfather's tomb that he wished to recite the evening prayer at the head of Mustafâ's grave. The king was much affected by this speech and gave the Sayyid 12,000 *hûns*.[89] He also bestowed on his son, Sayyid Hasan, in marriage, one of his daughters who, as she had been born at the time when the king gained one of his famous victories, was named Fath Shâh Begam. Fath Shâh Begam performed the pilgrimage with her husband, but when the latter wished to return to the Dakan, she refused to accompany him, even to her own country, saying that she was not the woman to leave the prophet's tomb for the sake of worldly advantage. At length she died there and was buried near Muhammad's tomb. After her death, Sayyid Hasan came again to the Dakan, and died and was buried in Junnâr.

Another Sayyid who came to the Dakan was Sayyid Muhammad Husainî, Madanî Wu'âdî, who was received with honour both by Shâh Tâhir and by the king. Sayyid Muhammad, having gained his object, returned to 'Irâq, and there made a report to Shâh Tahmâsb, son of Shâh Isma'il Safavi, of all that he had seen and heard of Burhân Nizâm Shah, of his attachment to the Shi'ah faith, and of the controversy with the Sunnî doctors. This report led to the opening of friendly communications, fostered by Shâh Tâhir, and to the bestowal of many favours by Shâh Tahmâsb on Burhân Nizâm Shâh, between whom and Shâh Tahmâsb letters constantly passed. Among these communications was a *farmân* dated in the month of Muharram, A.H. 949 (April-May 1542) addressed to Shâh Tâhir, which, when it was read, infused joy into the hearts of all loyal friends, and grief into the souls of all erring enemies (of the Shî'ahs).

Shah Tahir showed this *farmân* to the king and represented that it would be advisable to send a reply thereto, by means of an ambassador worthy of the task, but preferably by the hands of one of the princes, in order that the bonds of friendship with the Court of Persia might be more tightly drawn. The king approved of this advice and selected Shâh Haidar, the most learned and accomplished of his sons, as his ambassador to Persia. The prince bore a letter[90] to the Shâh of Persia, and when he reached the Persian court and paid his respects to the Shâh, he was received with great honour and special favour and became one of the Shâh's most intimate courtiers, and devoted all his endeavours to promoting friendship between the Safavi and Nizâm Shâhî families, the results of which may be seen in the correspondence which passed between the two kings, for when the Sayyid Mîr Nizâm-ud-dîn Khur Shâh came from the Persian court to India and waited on Burhân Nizâm Shâh, he brought a *farmân*[91] from the Shâh of Persia. The *farmân* was dated Rabi I, A.H. 954 (April-May 1547).

About this time Mihtar Jamâl arrived from Persia with another communication from the Shâh, but after his departure from Persia, was found to have been guilty of some unfitting words and deeds, and some officers were sent after him to arrest him, but he, becoming aware of this, made off before their arrival, and having reached one of the ports, embarked on a ship and thus escaped from danger. Burhân Nizâm Shâh then wrote an answer to the letter which Mihtar Jamâl had brought, and asked, among other things, that a body of troops might be sent from Persia to the Dakan to help him against his enemies.

89 A gold coin, worth four rupees or eight shillings when the rupee was worth two shillings.

90 Sayyid 'Ali reproduces this letter. I have not translated it. It is very long, very fulsome, and contains nothing of historical interest.

91 This *farmân* also is reproduced. I have not translated it, for the reasons given in the preceding note.

XXXIV.—An account of the king's expedition to Murhîr, in order to conquer it, and an account of the expedition to, and capture of, the fortress of Gâlna.

As the king was ever desirous of exalting the banner of Islam and of uprooting unbelief, he now determined to capture the fortress of Gâlna,[92] which is one of the famous fortresses of the land of Hind, and is situated in the country of Râja Baharjî,[93] which lies between the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the country of Nandurbâr[94] and Sultânpûr. He therefore marched against that fortress and laid siege to it. The infidels who garrisoned the fort made some attempt at defending it although they had lost heart at the sight of the royal army, but their schemes were like the schemes of a fox against a raging tiger. They, therefore, soon came forth and humbled themselves before the king who had pity on them and granted them their lives, but destroyed all their temples and dwellings, and built mosques where idol-fanes had stood. Large quantities of plunder were seized by the victorious army and the king, having appointed one of his great *amirs* to the command of the fortress, returned to his capital in triumph.

At this time the king determined to capture the fortress of Murhîr[95] which is situated in the borders of Gujarât and the Dakan, and was then held by an infidel named Bhîdarna. He therefore assembled a very numerous army and marched on that fortress, which was second only to Khaibar in strength.

When the army reached Murhîr they at once attacked the fortress and drove the garrison from the outer fort into the inner, slaying many of them. They then besieged the inner fort and made several attempts to carry it by escalade, slaying many of the garrison at each attempt.

When Bhîdarna perceived that he could not long withstand the royal army he appealed to Sultân Bahâdur of Gujarât for help. Sultân Bahâdur wrote to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, informing him that Bhudarna was a vassal of Gujarât, and requesting him not to proceed to extremities against him. Burhân Nizâm Shâh graciously acceded to Sultân Bahâdur's request and returned towards his capital.

XXXV.—An account of the capture of the fortress of Parenda.

While Burhân Nizâm Shâh was returning from Murhîr towards Ahmadnagar Ratan Khân, brother of Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân[96] (Dakanî), guided by God's grace, sought refuge at the foot of the king's throne and complained of his brother's cruelty to him. The king encouraged Ratan Khân to hope that his wrongs would be righted and marched to capture Parenda.[97]

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92 A fort situated in 20° 46′ N and 74° 32′ E. It is built on a circular detached hill 2316 feet above sea level and 800 feet above the surrounding plain.

93 This was the honorific title adopted by the Râthor rajas of Baglana, a hilly tract now represented by the Baglân and Kalvân *talukas* of the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency.

94 Nandurbâr town is situated in 21° 22′ N and 74° 11′ E. The district of which it was the capital was always a bone of contention between the three Muhammadan states of Gujarât, Mâlwa, and Khândesh. Akbar assigned it to his *suba* or province of Mâlwa.

95 This is the fortress of Mulher in Baglana, situated in 20° 16′ N and 74° 4′ E.

96 This was Fakhr ul Mulk the Dakani entitled Khvaja Jahân, to whose lot the fortress and district of Parenda fell at the partition of the Bahmani dominion. He is often found in alliance with Ahmadnagar but did not regard himself as its vassal. At one time he cherished the design of declaring himself independent, but his neighbours of Ahmadnagar and Bijâpur were too strong for him.

97 This is evidently intended to be an account of the last war between Burhân Nizâm Shâh I and Ismâ'il 'Âdil Shah, and should have preceded the account of Burhân's conversion. It is incorrect, for that war began and ended with the total defeat of the army of Ahmadnagar near Naldrug and the flight of Burhân to his capital.

When Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân heard that Burhân Nizâm Shâh was marching against him he realized that he could not hope to withstand him, and vacated Parenda and fled to Bîjâpur. Burhân Nizâm Shâh placed a garrison of his own in Parenda and returned to Ahmadnagar.

'Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh resolved to assist Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân and sent some troops with him to Parenda with orders to capture it and to hand it over to him.

When it was reported to Burhân Nizâm Shâh that Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân was coming with an army of Bîjâpuris to recapture Parenda, he appointed Hasan and Daulat, the sons of Jumân Khân and Khân and *ghulam zâdas* of the Nizâm Shâhî house, to the command of an army to march to Parenda and meet Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân.

When the two armies met, a fiercely contested battle was fought, and the army of Ahmadnagar was at first borne backward but the fortune of the day changed, and at length Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân and the Bîjâpûrîs were utterly defeated. All their camp equipage and other belongings fell into the hands of the victors who pursued them with great slaughter. Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân escaped from the field with great difficulty, and since he could no longer, for very shame, show his face in the Dakan he fled to Gujarât.

The army of Ahmadnagar returned after this victory to the capital, and Hasan Khân and Daulat Khân who had covered themselves with glory in the battle, were royally rewarded.

Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân after spending a long time in affliction in Gujarât, made interest with some of the courtiers of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and received a safe conduct, which enabled him to come to Ahmadnagar and pay his respects to the king. He still further assured his position by giving one of his daughters in marriage to Mîrân Shâh Hasan, after which in time the king replaced him in Parenda, as will be related in its place.

XXXVI. THE DEATH OF 'ISMA'IL 'ÂDIL SHAH, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED THEREAFTER

A.D. 1534-35. In this year and while these events were in progress 'Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh died[98] and Mallu Khân his eldest son ascended the throne, but he had scarcely had time to taste the sweets of sovereignty, when Asad Khân, who was the most powerful of the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr and was ill content that Mallû should be king, with the assistance of the rest of the *amîrs* and officers of state deposed Mallû, caused him to be blinded with a hot iron and threw him into prison, and then raised his younger brother Ibrâhîm to the throne. Asad Khân then made himself regent of the kingdom of Bîjâpûr.

A.D. 1537-38. Meanwhile it became known that Râm Râj *vakîl* of the king of Vijayanagar had rebelled against, and overcome his lord, and having imprisoned him, had usurped the kingdom.[99]

98 'Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh died on Safar 16, A.H. 941 (August 27, 1534). His eldest son, Mallu, was raised to the throne, but so disgusted the people by his shameless debauchery that he was deposed and blinded. His grandmother, Punji Khâtûn, was the prime mover in his deposition, and Asad Khân Larî merely obeyed her orders. Ismâ'îl's second son, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I, was raised to the throne in March, 1535.

99 This is a garbled and misleading account of Ibrâhîm's expedition to Vijayanagar. Venkataraya, whom Firishta and Sayyid 'Alî call Râmrâj, had attempted to usurp the throne in Vijayanagar, but finding that he was unable to command the allegiance of the leading men of the kingdom, had been obliged to place on the throne, as a puppet king, a scion of the old royal house, appointing the boy's maternal uncle Hoj Nirmal Raja, on whom he thought he could rely, tutor to the king. But Hoj Nirmal, who was a lunatic, put his nephew to death during Venkatarâya's absence from the capital on an expedition, and usurped the throne. His freaks so disgusted his supporters that they turned again towards Venkatarâya, and Hoj Nirmal, alarmed for his safety, sought help of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shah. Venkatarâya

While the success of Râm Râj was yet doubtful and the whole of the army of Vijayanagar had not joined his standard, Asad Khân, regarding the state of affairs in Vijayanagar as an opportunity not to be lost, assembled the whole of the army of Bîjâpûr and, taking Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh with him, invaded Vijayanagar with the intention of conquering the country.

When Râm Râj learnt that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was invading Vijayanagar he, having regard to his own uncertain position in the country, was compelled to seek safety, at the expense of his honour and reputation, in flight.

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, finding that his enemy had fled before him, encamped in Vijayanagar and remained there for a considerable time. This easy occupation of an enemy's country turned the young king's head, and he several times said, in the presence of Asad Khân and the rest of the *amîrs*, "My house has hitherto been extremely ill served by its slaves, and as soon as I have done with Vijayanagar, I will, by God's grace, see to this matter, and will take vengeance on all who have not done their duty, and will have done with them." These words made Asad Khân and the other *amîrs* apprehensive, and they sent a messenger to Râm Râj, charged with this message, "What has come to thee that thou hast brought shame on thyself by flying without striking a blow, and hast thus branded thyself as a coward and a craven? Even now, if thou wilt set forth we will so arrange matters that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh shall avoid a fight and take the road, and even if the affair should end in a battle we will stand aloof so that the day shall be thine. In any case it behoves thee to shake off despondency and to come to battle."

XXXVII.—An account of the king's expedition for the purpose of subduing some of the tracts about Parenda, and of the events which happened during that expedition.

A.D. 1540-41. While Burhân Nizâm Shâh had been engaged in his dispute with Sultân Bahâdur of Gujarât, which had been fomented by Imâd-ul-Mulk, 'Adil Shâh, taking advantage of the opportunity, had annexed some of those districts of the Ahmadnagar kingdom which lay on his frontier and had refused to comply with Burhân Nizâm Shâh's request for their restoration. Now that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had invaded Vijayanagar and was encamped there, awaiting the army of Râm Râj, Asad Khân wrote a letter to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, advising him to seize this opportunity of recapturing his lost districts, as Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh could not leave Vijayanagar, and the Turks, who were the flower of his army, were friendly towards Burhân Nizâm Shâh. Burhân Nizâm Shâh therefore assembled his army and marched towards the 'Âdil Shâhî dominions. At this time a close alliance existed between the king and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, and the latter was summoned to join the royal camp. He came, but disapproved of the campaign against Bîjâpûr, telling Burhân Nizâm Shâh that the 'Imâd Shâhî and the 'Âdil Shâhî families were united both by marriage and by the ties of long-standing friendship, and that he conceived that it would be both ungenerous and unkindly to attack the kingdom of Bîjâpûr now that Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh was dead and the government was in the hands of a boy. But in spite of the views urged by Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, Burhân Nizâm Shâh, whose apprehensions had been entirely set at

wrote to Hoj Nirmal, pointing out to him the danger of introducing a Muhammadan army into the country and promising to serve him faithfully if he would induce Ibrâhîm to retire. Hoj Nirmal paid Ibrâhîm 4,400,000 *hûns* to retire, and Venkatarâya then marched on Vijayanagar. Hoj Nirmal committed suicide and Venkatarâya ascended the throne. Ibrâhîm then sent Asad Khân Lârî to capture Adonî, but Asad Khân was defeated by Venkatâdrî, brother of Venkatarâya. He retrieved his defeat by a victory and then, with the approval of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, made peace. (F. ii, 49—52.)

rest by Asad Khân's letter, continued his march towards Bijâpûr, moving, however, in a very leisurely manner. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, who was annoyed by Burhân Nizâm Shâh's persistence and disregard of his remonstrances, and also strongly disapproved of his change of religion, marched on rapidly and was several stages ahead of the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh.

When news of the movements of Burhân Nizâm Shâh reached Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh in Vijayanagar, he was much perturbed, and consulted Asad Khân and his other officers, who had really brought about the invasion,[100] as to the best means of meeting the situation. They unanimously advised him that the only wise course was to make peace with Râm Râj and to return to his own country. This advice was followed, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, on his return, wrote to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, imploring his assistance against the powerful army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh. As he had outstripped the army of Burhân Nizâm Shâh in its advance he was enabled to press on and meet Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and he and Ibrâhîm then marched together against the army of Ahmadnagar.

At the same time the loyalty of some of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's officers, such as Sayyid 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Jîmân-i-Khairât Khân, his brothers Hasan Khân and Daulat Khân, who were the sons of Khairât Khân the African, and the other chief officers of the army, who resented the king's change of religion, was doubtful, and the king was disturbed by the thought that he could not trust them.

At this time the army of Ahmadnagar was encamped at Ghât Apar Ganga near the Qutb tank and the armies of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh were near Bakasi at a distance of two *gaus* from the *ghât*. Hasan Khân and Daulat Khân, the brothers of Jîmân-i-Khairât Khân, who were the best officers in the army, descended the Ghât and thus excited the suspicions of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who ordered them to return. They replied that their retreat in the face of the enemy would only serve to encourage him, and offered to attack the enemy and break his spirit. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, having learnt of the dissension of the army of Ahmadnagar, was anxious to march forward and attack it, but Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh restrained him and sent a message to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, telling him that the best thing he could do would be to desist from making war on Bîjâpûr in order that Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh might persuade Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh to surrender the districts about Parenda and induce him to return to Bîjâpûr. Burhân Nizâm Shâh agreed to make peace, as these districts were the only cause of the quarrel, and then seized Jîmân-i-Khairât and blinded him. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk then fled from the camp and sought refuge with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh.

One night Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh came in disguise to the tent of 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'ânî, one of the officers of Burhân Nizâm Shâh who, like the rest, resented the king's change of religion, and told him that he had come thus as he had a request to make, which he hoped 'Ain-ul-Mulk would grant. 'Ain-ul-Mulk replied that it was granted before it was asked, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh then produced 30,000 *hûns* and handed them over to 'Ain-ul-Mulk, promising him other 30,000 for the trouble of joining Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's camp to get them. 'Ain-ul-Mulk agreed, and marched that night and joined Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, whose

100 This accusation is without foundation, and peace had already been concluded with Vijayanagar before Burhân Nizâm Shâh invaded Bîjâpur. Asad Khân Lârî, who was on his estates at Belgaum, was in disgrace at Bijâpûr owing to the slanders of an enemy, Yûsuf the Turk, who with the permission of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, made more than one attempt to have him poisoned or assassinated. Yusuf told Ibrâhîm that Asad Khân was annoyed at the re-establishment of the Sunnî religion and wished to surrender Belgaum to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who was a Shî'ah king. The accusation was false, but Asad Khân feared to appear at court, and when Burhân Nizâm Shâh reached the neighbourhood of Belgaum, joined him with 6,000 horse, but was afterwards reconciled to his master and deserted Burhân.

army thus became the stronger of the two, for 'Ain-ul-Mulk had always with him three or four thousand of the best cavalry, and it is evident that a change of sides by such a commander must always strengthen the side which he joins

A D 1542 As Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh was anxious to put an end to the strife and wished well to both sides, he went to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and did his best to persuade him to surrender the *peths* of Parenda These were surrendered to him, and he made them over to Burhân Nizâm Shâh and then persuaded Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh to return to Bijâpûr After this, Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh himself returned to his own country, and Burhân Nizâm Shâh set out on his return march When the army started for Ahmadnagar Burhân Nizâm Shâh considered it unwise to pay any attention to Hasan Khân and to Daulat Khân, who were below the *ghât*, and they, being apprehensive of his intentions towards them, went to their *jâgîrs*, Parenda and Âshtî and thence made their way to Gujarât, where they had been assured of a favourable reception

According to some historians, Barîd-i-Mamâlik (Amîr 'Alî Barîd) who accompanied Burhân Nizâm Shâh on all his expeditions, died on the return march to Ahmadnagar, while some say that his death occurred just after the meeting of Burhân Nizâm Shâh with Sultân Bahâdur of Gujarât, but whichever account be true, it is certain that he met his death while serving the king [101]

The king grieved sorely for the death of Malik Barîd (Amîr 'Alî Barîd) who had ever been obedient to him and had never for any reason disobeyed him or crossed him, and after his return to Ahmadnagar he honoured his eldest son, who had accompanied his father on his expedition, by bestowing on him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted to him a royal robe of honour, an umbrella, and an *âftabgîr*, set him up in his father's place, and distributed both to him and to his army very large rewards both in cash and in kind

When Malik Barîd (Âlî Barîd Shâh I) obtained permission to depart and returned to Bîdar, his two younger brothers, who were in Bîdar, rebelled against him and blinded and imprisoned him, and then took the kingdom for themselves, one of them taking the title of his father and the other that of Khân Jahân Such is fate

After this, the sons of Malik Barîd, following the guidance of good fortune, remained loyal for a time to the Nizâm Shâhî house and were honoured accordingly, but afterwards, their enmity and opposition to the royal house bore their own fruit, as will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place

At this time the love and friendship that existed between the king and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh were strengthened by the marriage of one of the daughters of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh to Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir, and the two families were long united in the bonds of friendship until the traitor Tufâl Khân rebelled against the children of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and took possession of the country of Berar, until time brought home to him the punishment of his misdeeds [102]

(*To be continued*)

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101 Amîr 'Alî Barîd, the second of the Barîd dynasty of Bîdar, died in 1542 near Daulatâbâd, whither Burhân Nizâm Shâh had been driven by Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh I Sayyid 'Alî's account of this campaign is most misleading The true version will be given later Amîr 'Alî was succeeded by his son of the same name who, having been the first of his line who ventured to assume the royal title, is known as 'Alî Barîd Shâh The statement that his two younger brothers rebelled against him and deposed and blinded him is entirely incorrect He reigned in Bîdar until his death in A H 987 (A D 1579) and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ibrâhîm Barîd Shâh

102 That is to say, the annexation of Berar by Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I in 1574 and Tufâl Khân's imprisonment and death

ON THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN CASTE-SYSTEM*

By HERMANN OLDENBERG

(*Translated by H C Chakladar, M A Calcutta*)

A SHARP reaction has developed against the attitude of unsuspecting confidence with which a past generation of scholars approached the ancient Indian tradition about religion, custom, law and the state There is an ever-increasing tendency to regard the simplicity and the rigid and straight lines of the picture furnished by that tradition as a product of art, even as a fabrication of ancient theorists, wherever there appears to have been some success in lifting a little of the veil spread by these authorities over the real state of things, it is believed that there may be perceived instead of that simplicity, an endless complexity of numberless forms crossing one another, intertwining with one another, running into and then again vanishing out of one another There is nothing more hazardous, so we are told by powerful voices, than when the scholar who is faced by such a chaos is carried away—to speak with Senart[1]—" by the anxiety for great clear cut lines, for a fixed framework," thus one attains to an " orthodoxy a little too hasty " which at the bottom is nothing but a perilous illusion and, to speak frankly, somewhat of a pedantry " If I am not mistaken, the above indicated tendencies and counter tendencies that characterise a modern profitable direction of Indian antiquarian research, are strengthened by a second, and no less powerful tendency of modern investigation by the predilection for interrogating the India of the later literature nay even the India of the present day, as the best witnesses with regard to the condition of older India We are now fond of examining, in the light of the *Mahâbhârata*, and even in the light of what is perceived by the present day observer of living Indian life the culture of the *Ṛigveda* the specific Indian stamp of which, one would fear, might be obliterated by bringing in the occidental point of view no wonder then, that the inexhaustible diversity and labyrinthine intricacy of present day conditions make the affairs of antiquity inasmuch as they are illuminated by those of the modern times appear in quite another light than that in which they would appear to the philologist who had drawn from the ancient sources such a simple, clear picture of the times of the *Veda* and of Manu One is not so clear with impunity " (Senart)

No doubt the sort of speculation indicated above widens most effectively the narrow, old horizon in a hundred directions, has yielded the most gratifying and profitable results to research, and, we may here set down without hesitation promises to be still further fruitful But no branches of science are threatened more than those that are of older standing, and richer in respect of well-attested facts, by the danger that principles and ideas correct in themselves may be strained beyond all measure So I intend to note here the signs and indications that warn us that we are in danger of running from one extreme, viz., that of unsuspecting reliance on the picture of Indian antiquity which, it had been believed, could be discovered all too easily from a study of the sources—to a hardly less hazardous extreme of mistrust The ever-growing and ever-strengthening preference for the complicated, the incommensurable, for the infinite gradations of shades and nuances, hovering in cloudy uncertainty, imposes upon us the duty of emphasizing the claims of positive well ascertained facts, of fixed and sure lines drawn from tradition—the duty of

* From the *ZDMG* Band LI, pp. 267—290

[1] In his introduction to Minayeff, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p II fg

emphasizing, in opposition to the dragging in of the incalculable diversity of present day Indian life into investigations about antiquity—the claims of this antiquity itself, so that it may not be deprived of its character of old world simplicity.

In this sense I would like to make a few observations on a work which, in spite of differences of opinion in which I feel myself opposed to the author, appears to be one of the most prominent works of the new Indian research—Senart's book, *Les Castes dans l'Inde, les faits et le système* (Paris 1896).[2] I enjoy a substantial advantage over Senart, inasmuch as I am now in a position to avail myself of the excellent compilations and researches which R. Fick has embodied in his book, *The Social Condition in North-Eastern India in Buddha's Time* (Kiel 1897). I can by no means suppress the observation that the sources upon which Fick has drawn, were already accessible before, and that in my opinion, they must, without fail, have been approached for the solution of the questions that Senart has to deal with.

Senart proceeds to describe the *modern* castes. It is impossible to do this with greater mastery than his. With the picture that he has thus made up he next approaches the ancient tradition, in order to investigate it thoroughly with regard to the more or less clear traces therein of the same state of things.

We endeavour to reproduce here the substance of his exposition of the subject.[3]

The modern caste—if its typical form is kept in sight and the exceptions numberless, as may easily be conceived, they are—be left out of consideration—represents a corporation, to which the members belong hereditarily, by virtue of their birth. This corporation has its organisation with a chief and a council at the head. It exercises partly through this organ, partly direct, a certain control over the affairs of its members, a certain jurisdiction: it inflicts penalties and expulsion. They marry especially so far as it concerns the first marriage which is associated with special sanctity in the regulations about polygamy inside the caste because only a mother of the same caste can bear children who inherit the caste of the father. On the other hand they marry outside a certain narrower section of the caste outside the family or the clan. They avoid community of meals with persons of lower caste, and also other forms of contact, of course under closer restrictions of the most varied kind. Many kinds of special customs, especially in relation to food and married life, serve to characterise the caste and to fix its superior or inferior position in the social order: certain restrictions about food, the abstention from spirituous liquors, the marriage of girls in childhood, the prohibition of widow-marriage, and so forth. Similarity of occupation and profession amongst the members of a caste is the rule, but this is broken by innumerable exceptions, and also inversely, the followers of the same profession do not in any way belong to *one* caste but to more or less numerous and distinct castes: thus the Baniyâs or traders in the Punjab are split up into sections with geographical names such as the Aggarwals, the Oswals etc., and these sections, characterised by endogamy, must be taken as even so many separate castes. Such castes, larger and smaller, occupy the stage in an immense crowd, in an inextricable tangle. Constantly new castes spring up into existence; now the introduction of a new custom, of a new rule of purity, calls a new caste into being, and now again, religious or even geographical separation has the same

[2] *Cf.* Jolly, *ZDMG.* 50, 507ff.; Barth, *Bulletin des religions de l'Inde* (*Revue de l'hist. des Religions*, XXX), p. 76 ff. of the separate reprint.

[3] An apology is necessary that this fresh summary makes its appearance here, after Jolly has already given an excellent *résumé* of Senart's book elsewhere in this Journal. Yet it is indispensable for me to give in my own way the necessary foundation for the criticism which follows.

effect, illegitimate children of one caste bind themselves together into a new caste, groups of aborigines, stepping into the sphere of Hinduism and embracing the customs of the Hindus, form new castes, old castes, which renounce this or that lower occupation, take up the names and attributes of castes standing higher So there prevails a constant transformation into separate units hardly comprehensible in their incalculable diversity, whilst over the whole, as a conservative, stabilising power, rules the hierarchical principle of the supremacy of the Brahman's position which impresses its stamp upon everything

Here is described the caste as it appears at the present day, and no one can call in question the correctness of the picture drawn by Senart,—so now the question arises how the ancient literature stands in relation to this picture Senart investigates this as he gradually ascends, with the help of that literature, from the modern strata to the ancient and still more ancient ones, at first he occupies himself with the Dharmasâstras and the Epics, next with the Sûtrâs and the Brâhmaṇas, and finally with the Hymns of the *Rigveda*

The law-books, like that of Manu, draw a picture of a society rigorously organised according to castes (*Senart*, p 111 fg) Every caste has certain occupations allotted to it Marriage has to be concluded, at least for the first wife of a man, within the limits of his caste, and on the other hand, outside the limits of his *gotra* Interdining and various other kinds of contact with people of lower castes are strictly prohibited Spirituous drinks are tabooed, detailed prescriptions separate the permitted food from the unpermitted The marriage of maidens in infancy is prescribed, widow marriage interdicted Every serious violation involves the loss of caste

Thus the data drawn from this literature have a striking agreement with the state of things to be observed at the present day (p 113) The great difference that strikes the eye lies only in the well-known fourfold division of the ancient castes as against the numberlessness of the modern ones However, a thorough examination of the ancient ordinances themselves shows us that the simplicity is only apparent There is no fifth caste, it is said And yet, beside the four castes, there are the mixed castes and the innumerable mixtures of these mixtures, besides, there are the various categories of the Vrâtyas who have lost their caste, because in their childhood the necessary sacred initiation had not been effected Even the strict demarcation of the occupations of the four principal castes proves itself to be as illusory as the fourfold enumeration Every caste is expressly given the right to adopt, in need, the occupation of the next following caste And the list of Brahmans who are considered to be unworthy of taking part in a funeral feast, includes thieves, butchers, actors and the followers of many other professions, this shows that there was no less diversity of occupations amongst the Brahman-class formerly than there is today Lastly, the law-book of Manu shows expressly too the elastic character of its own rules, inasmuch as it declares that the usage of each caste, family and province is to be considered as the decisive and final authority Thus is revealed the endlessly complicated condition of the actual life behind that apparently so simple system of four castes, which system in reality is only a product of the passion for theorising and schematising in the Indian mind. Everything, however, is intelligible, the inconsistencies are solved by local differences, the improbable symmetry is explained by the endeavour for clear systematisation, if it is taken for granted, that, behind the ancient tradition, there exist circumstances which were perfectly analogous to the modern ones and which are reproduced in that tradition only in a false perspective, with generalisations and distractions which are sure to be produced by the peculiar predisposition of the Indian mind and also by the all-dominating deference to the interests of the Brahmanical class (p 128)

From the Dharmasâstras the investigation goes back to the Sûtras and further back to the Brâhmanas (p 131, ff) No doubt this entire literature moves upon the same ground as the later texts Here also are the same four castes with the very same fixed limits as later, the same prestige of the Brahman caste, the same ordinances about marriage, about the avoidance of defilement, the same condemnation of the indulgence in spirituous liquors, and so forth Here too are the same traces that the real facts of life are not exhausted by the few simple and straight lines of the system By the side of the well-known four castes stand innumerable mixed castes And, as far as the principal castes are concerned, have we not reasons to doubt that there ever existed a caste of the Kshatriyas or of the Vaiśyas ? Categories like these are certainly much too wide to be consistent with that corporate organisation with which we are acquainted in the living castes. We should speak not of one Brahman caste, but of Brahmanical castes One should be very clear about this' that it is but a generic name which covers innumerable single caste-units, each endowed with its own individuality The modern Rajputs who claim to represent the Kshatriyas of the system—do they form one caste ? They form innumerable castes, and we see before our eyes how small castes are ever laying claim anew to one of those great titles, which means for them an elevation to a higher social standing Would it not have been exactly so in ancient times (p 140) ?

Thus have we infers Senart, arrived at the conclusion, that those four great categories of the ancient system represent in reality not four *castes*, but four *classes* As such they are very ancient , they correspond to the four classes of the *Avesta* The old theoretical doctrine has extended the form of these classes to the true castes—to those castes which are to be thought equal to, or, at least, analogous to the modern ones In point of fact these latter organisms are absolutely distinct in their nature from the former (pp 140-142)

The four classes Senart finally traces back to the oldest literary monument of India, the *Rigveda* (p 145, ff)

First of all, he proceeds to that well-known hymn *Rv* X, 90 which makes the Brâhmana proceed from the mouth of the primordial being, the Râjanya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his loins, and the Śûdra from his feet as is well known it is the only passage in the *Rigveda* where are found the later designations of the four varnas However, this passage belongs to a hymn about the late origin of which in comparison with the main body of the Rigvedic poesy, there can be no doubt [4]

But how are the relations of the classes represented in the main body of that poem ?

In the foreground stands the distinction between the Ârya varna and the Dâsa varna The former corresponds to the first three castes of the later system, and the latter, to the fourth It is clear that it has to do with the antagonism of nationalities Aryan and non-Aryan,—characterized by the bright and the dark colour of the skin (*varna*) Next, amongst the Aryans, the Hymns of the *Rigveda* further distinguish distinctly three great—in the oldest time not yet called varna—categories, the priests, the chieftains and the folk, with the Vedic words Brahman, Râjan and Vis It has to be assumed, that already in those days the priestly functions were guarded against a far too easy penetration by a foreign element, and that the military nobility had here, as elsewhere, the tendency to make itself hereditary (p 149, ff) But castes in the proper sense, castes like the modern ones, those classes in the *Rigveda* have never been None of the characteristics that make up a caste is mentioned about them (p 150)

[4] *Senart*, p 136 I differ here slightly from the method that Senart has followed

It is nevertheless evident that those three categories answer to the three higher castes of the Brahmanical theory But over against the designations *Brâhmaṇa, Râjanya, Vaiśya,* of this theory, the *Ṛigveda*[5] employs the word *Brahman* mostly and always Râjan and Viś Thus the linguistic usage already discloses—inasmuch as it allows learned derivatives to step in, in place of the old technical words—that the system of the later texts does not represent " the simple prolongation, spontaneous and organic, of the situation reflected in the *Veda* ," we have to do with a deliberate system adapted to the conditions, either entirely new or at least very different from that whence the primitive triple division originates "This is to reverse the true relation, to interpret the Vedic evidence by the Brahmanical theory of a more recent age " (p 152) The gulf between the old and the new conditions betrays itself further in this, that the old texts, beside the Aryan people, speak only of the hostile body of the *Dasyus*, the *Dâsa varna*, but the later texts know the *Sûdras*, aborigines by descent, who were on the one hand indeed excluded from the Aryan community, but on the other were united with them by certain bonds—" fresh proof that the system is quite a different thing from the normal development of the Vedic situation " (p 153)

What has then happened between the oldest and the more recent stages of the tradition ? In the *Ṛigveda* is represented a primeval class organisation On the one hand the later texts had before their eyes[6], the castes standing forth in full living activity, and on the other they were bound up with an inheritance of the old tradition " Souvenirs of the past and realities of the present were blended together in a hybrid system , the living *régime* of the castes was inserted into the old divisions of races and classes which tended to produce this effect " (p 155) Here we have the starting point in Senart's conception of the Vedic conditions and the traditions relating to them the system of the Brâhmana texts and of the law-books—the system of four classes which possess all the characteristics of castes—have proceeded out of an artificial contamination—carried out by an unscrupulous speculation, of the primeval classes and of the modern castes which resemble them in their essence

I shall not reproduce the disquisitions of Senart upon the origin of the caste institution If the following discussions succeed in crushing his view of the more ancient history of caste, then the basis for the discussion of that question will be materially removed, so that a detailed criticism going into details will no longer be necessary here

Our examination of Senart's conceptions may commence with what he says about the relation of the Rigvedic data with those of the Brâhmana times There in the *Ṛigveda* we are said to have[7] genuine, perfectly valid evidences about the primitive organisation of classes, and here, in the *Brâhmaṇas*, a hybrid system which is founded upon an

5 Irrespective, of course, of Hymn X, 90

6 The question whether those castes go back to the time of the *Ṛigveda*, is treated by Senart as a problem unsolved and probably incapable of solution (p 160, fg) Evidently X, 90, has not been taken into account (*cf* p 171)

7 I find myself entirely in agreement with Senart with reference to the much discussed question about the previous existence of the threefold organisation of the Aryans (Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Visas) in the *Ṛigveda*—whether one prefers to speak of three classes or of three castes (we shall come to it later on) Here I may be permitted to say a few words only on the matter Just as it has become ever clearer to me that the sacrifice and the sacrificial poetry of the *Ṛigveda* represent not the naive effusions of primitive religious feelings, but that the Soma ritual of the later Vedas was already at that time in agreement with the Ṛigvedic litanies, at least in the leading and basic features, similarly, in my opinion, it admits of no doubt that the *Ṛigveda* has a priestly class which is to be considered as essentially the same as that

artificial mixture of the class-system and the caste system. Does this antagonism really exist? Is it not by looking with too suspicious an eye at the tradition that this antagonism is discerned? On my part I must confess my inability to discover anything of moment that would prove its existence.

That in the *Rigveda*, *Brâhman* appears more frequently than *Brâhmana*; that only the names *Râjânah* and *Visah* are found and not as yet *Râjanyâh* and *Vaisyâh*—what does it prove at all? Does not the change undergone by these expressions correspond, in the most unobjectionable way, to the passing transformation of the character of the language?

Does the fact that in the *Rigveda*, besides *Dasyu*, there is the expression *Dâsa varna* and not *Śûdra*, prove in reality that the Brâhmanas contain "quite another thing than the normal development of the Vedic situation?" Already in the ancient times of the *Rigveda*, the dark skinned aborigines were known not merely as enemies, but also as dependants attached to the Aryan community; this follows from the positive appearance of the word *Dâsa* in the *Rigveda* in the sense of "slave" or "menial."[8] Certainly it is possible, nay, probable, that in the course of time non-Aryan elements of that kind increased in importance, and it is not less probable that with this process is connected the introduction of the new expression *Śûdra*, whatever might be its origin. However, is there anything here other than a perfectly normal—I would like to say self-evident—development?[9]

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of the Brâhmana times, and certainly the priestly craft had already at that time evidently become the property of certain families like the Vasishthas etc., and thus been connected with birth. The difference between the priestly and non priestly persons or families could not be explained—at least not in the first place—according to the modern idea, by the intricacy of the technical business to be carried out by the priest, but above all, in accordance with the conception of life of the primitive age, by the qualification of having a certain mysterious attribute pervading the whole person and necessary for the hazardous intercourse with gods and spirits, with what is expressed by the Indian word *Brahman*. The *Brahman* however, dwells not in the son of a man, who himself is destitute of it, and as such can communicate to one born of him a Brahmanless nature alone; according to the ideas of that time, the life of the individual had not as yet been dissociated from the life of the family in which his whole being lives and moves. No doubt the same conception as in the case of the *Brahman* hold good also for the *Kshatra*. It is naturally conceivable that in particular cases human arrogance and pride should break through this order, but it is hardly essential for a critical estimate of the order as such. Moreover, I cannot admit as valid the particular proofs that are usually brought forward in favour of the contention that in the olden times the sacred prerogatives of the *Brahmans* had not as yet been acknowledged or properly acknowledged. Senart (p. 165) says of the occupation of the Purohita: "In many cases the sons of the nobles performed this function," and he refers to Zimmer, *Altind. Leben* 196. There I find a single case adduced in support, *viz* that of Devâpi; but it does not appear from the *Rigveda* that this latter came from a royal family; it is based upon nothing better than the authority of an exegetical narrative given by Yâska. Zimmer gives (on p. 195) another case in which "a king managed a sacrifice alone without a Purohita," the case of Ait. Bra. VII, 27: it is necessary only to read carefully the passage referred to, in order to see that here there is a mention not of a sacrifice without a priest, but of a sacrifice without calling in a particular family that laid claim to participation in it. Further, Senart (p. 165) refers to the well known testimony which is offered by the fact that several kings were regarded as greater adepts in the sacred science than the Brâhmanas, and that Kshatriyas or even Vais'yas were the authors of Vedic hymns (*cf. Zimmer*, 190). When Klopstock composed religious songs and Schelling construed the Trinity in a philosophical way, was it really readily acquiesced in, in ecclesiastical circles? Moreover, would the one or the other have been acknowledged as qualified for the performance of the religious duties of an official minister?

8 We may compare also the name *Divodâsa*, *ZDMG.*, 49, 175.

9 Incidentally it may be noted that I cannot also believe that the use of the word *Ârya* for *Vaiśya*, (*Senart*, 153 fg.) signifies anything which would enable us to arrive at a conclusion about the contrary usage of the two ages—of the ancient age when the *Vaiśya* "formed in reality the whole of the class of free men, the body of the nation," and of the later times when, instead of this "vague grouping," a "veritable caste"

In fact everything, in my opinion, speaks in favour of the acceptance of such a development between the *Rigveda* and the later Vedic literature. One may perhaps follow up the religious data: one may pursue above all the history of the ritual — the functions of the priesthood, the composition of the Soma sacrifice, etc. — one may investigate in whatever department one likes the connection between the Rigvedic and the subsequent age, everywhere one will find a continuous development, and nowhere such a gap, bridged over by a deceitful appearance or by such a curious hybridity, as Senart here assumes. Just as the *Hotar* or the *Adhvaryu* of the Brâhmana texts is certainly not very different from the *Hotar* or the *Adhvaryu* of the *Rigveda*, but stands very close to him and is evolved out of him in a direct line, so have we also every right to consider the *Brâhmana* or the *Vaisya* of the later Vedic texts as developed in a direct line without the intervention of falsehood and deceit from the *Brahman* and the *Visah* of the *Rigveda*. The later materials fit in with the older with the closest conformity and elucidate them as perfectly as perhaps the Brâhmana and Sûtra texts elucidate the fragmentary ritualistic data of the *Rigveda*.

"This is to reverse the true relation which interprets the Vedic evidences by the Brahmanical theory of an age more recent," says Senart (p. 152). I believe, however, that such an interpretation is less open to objection than the abrupt importation of present-day conditions without any intermediate links of connection such as Senart has attempted to do.

Moreover, if I am not mistaken, with Senart the real motive for his assumption of that great difference between the *Rigveda* and the later literature lies in no way in those comparatively non-essential considerations, with the criticism of which we have occupied ourselves, but in something else. Senart conceives, as we have seen, the system of the *Brâhmana*, *Sûtra* and *Dharmaśâstra* as an artificial veil which has, in the interest of a theory, been spread over a caste-system which is really analogous to that of the present day. On the other hand, he cannot obviously get rid of an impression that the terms, the concepts, in which the *Rigveda* so apparently approximates those texts, have, on the ground of its being the oldest Veda, a real importance untouched by any artificiality. Hence, according to him, between the one and the other stage of that process of change must have taken place, it may be said, that falsification of the significance of the respective data — to affirm which the external form alone of these data would hardly have given any occasion.

So we turn to our examination of the point which is obviously at the same time the most questionable and the most conclusive about the whole question, *viz.*, the assumption that in the Brâhmanas, the Sûtras and in Manu, behind the four *varnas*, there was a real and actual fact approximating very closely to the modern caste system.

Senart points out, as has already been shown here once (*cf.* above, p. 270), that the laws which regulate the *varnas* of the old theory are quite similar to those which govern the life of the modern castes. If, however, the plain and straightforward simplicity of the four great divisions appears to stand in the way of our carrying back to those old times the multiple forms of the modern castes, we have, on the other hand, those ancient statements about the numerous mixed castes, about the Vrâtyas, about the great diversity of

makes its appearance. It was quite as pertinent for the system of the later texts as for the *Rigveda*, that the *Vaisya* must have made up the body of the people, and therefore, as the entire grouping was merely a vague one, that designation seems to me to decide nothing either on the one side or on the other. Besides, after a survey of the materials that relate to the word *Arya*, I cannot but suspect the truth of the statement that the use of the same for *Vaisya* delineates a relatively late artificiality based upon an erroneous interpretation of old passages, — in reality, however, that word has been a synonym of *Ârya* from the beginning.

occupations which a Brâhman could follow and so forth which show that that simplicity is only artificial, the society being in reality under the domination of a complicated tangle of many castes as at the present day.[10]

We begin, on our part, with the last of the points alluded to. When the Brâhmans are asserted by Manu to be the followers of quite diverse professions some of which were hardly honourable, does it follow therefrom that—as Senart concludes (p. 139)—that one should rather have to speak of innumerable Brahmanical castes instead of *one* caste of Brâhmans? Quite certainly, beside the Brahmanas who performed sacrifices and upon whom Veda-study was incumbent, there were, in fact, also such as maintained themselves, for example, by the butcher's trade or by theft. About them Manu says, that they are unworthy of being invited to funeral feasts. Are we to hold that the ancient texts here disclose the existence of a special caste—or rather, perhaps, local separate castes—of thief-Brahmans, butcher-Brahmans, etc., who had their chiefs and councils, who married only among themselves and so forth? It is, I suppose, clear that there are here two quite different things: the one, namely, to state as a fact certain interesting, as well as intelligible deviations in actual life from the ideals of Brahmanical life—and, on the other hand, to discover out of such data the existence of those positive structures that belong peculiarly to the modern times, but which are by no means betrayed in those alleged traces as belonging to antiquity.

Further, the theory of the mixed castes. When by a particular admixture a Vaideha, a Mâgadha, and by others a Chandala or Nishâda, is said to have been produced, then everyone naturally sees that here the origin within the caste system of non-Aryan as also of remote, less important Aryan peoples or tribes depends upon purely fictitious methods. How could these tribal communities standing in different degrees of remoteness outside the fully recognised sphere of cult and culture prove anything at all—and upon this indeed everything depends—in favour of the contention that inside the bounds of this sphere itself there predominated such an intricacy of innumerable castes as Senart has taken to be the groundwork of the modern conditions? And those few other so called[11] mixed castes which appear in the law books and which bear the names of their occupations, such as the *Rathakâra*,—what do they prove? I think only this that outside the fully qualified people of the three Aryan Varnas, be it amongst the non-Aryans, or be it amongst Aryans of no unobjectionable origin, there existed individual groups amongst whom people of a particular extraction had associated themselves more or less closely with one of the distinguished professions which were more or less hereditary;[12] amongst these groups we see that that of the Rathakâras—while their pure Aryan descent was denied, yet perhaps in consequence of the respect which was enjoyed by their craft possessed privileges of a sacred character by virtue of which they were brought nearer to the position of the fully

10 The name of these true castes in the law books, as against the four great *varnas* is said to have been *jâti* (p. 155). It is true that *varna* is used regularly as the technical expression for the four great divisions, the dominating categories of the entire system, and only exceptionally for the mixed castes (Jolly, *ZDMG.*, 50, 518). It is therefore but natural that the mixed castes that were founded upon birth and did not represent any *varnas*, were designated by preference as *jâti*. However, it does not mean that this term corresponded, as against *varna*, to the "true castes such as we see living and moving," and I could not discover any trace of this. About the use of *jâti* in the Pâli texts, *cf.* *Fick*, 22.

11 It is liable to question whether the tracing back of these castes to certain admixtures is to be taken seriously, as in the case of the Mâgadha, etc.—I refer here to p. 282 below, note 4, on the caste admixtures alluded to in Buddhist literature.

12 The way it happened may have been, as surmised by Fick (*Die Sociale Gliederung* etc. 209, ff.), *viz.*, that the Indian Aryans pushed hard upon an autochthonous tribe who possessed special skill in coach-building and so forth, and was consequently employed by the conquerors for this craft.

qualified Aryans [13] But what a long stride it would be from the formation, on the one hand, of groups of this kind, which to all appearance extended over the whole sphere of culture under discussion, to the breaking up, on the other hand, of the entire people, and in the third place, of the three great Aryan castes, into those multitudes of small locally circumscribed bodies? As regards the offspring of mixed marriages, it has to be taken into consideration that they, through continued marriages inside one of the *varnas* which lay at the foundation of the mixture, got back, after a certain number of generations, into that *varna* [14] Certainly no intimation this that the children of such mixed marriages formed among themselves a particularly close and compact community

And lastly the Vrâtyas If the offspring of the Brahmana, the Kshatriya or the Vaisya could lose their caste through the neglect of certain sacred duties, then does the existence, I might ask, of such a detritus as may fall off from those great castes, entitle us to conceive of the main bodies of those castes in a totally different way from what the tradition indicates? Nothing more natural, than that the actual circumstances in the course of time obliterated the old simplicity of that threefold division where, so to speak, on the border of the structure new formations were annexed to the old stock—and here, beside the actual facts, the Indian passion for theorising has also played its part without question, as Senart so strikingly delineates however, it is one thing to set in their proper places individual supplements of the ancient structure which annex themselves naturally to it as it progresses, which even grow out of it,—and it is something different to attribute to the entire organisation a new inner structure fundamentally different from the old one

Moreover, the direct tradition which is comparatively abundant, especially with regard to the Brahman class, has preserved concrete materials that may furnish a means of estimating the worth of the great Senartian transformation of our fundamental principle Senart would substitute numerous Brahman castes for a single Brahman caste Now traditions, of which the authenticity is hardly questioned, enable us to find out with the greatest precision the sections into which the Brahman caste really broke up in ancient times They inform us about the system of the marriage regulations depending upon these classifications, about the endogamous and exogamous circles which had to be taken into account, about the marriage of the Brâhmanas Where is then Senart's dismemberment of the great classes into crowds of endogamous castes?

Any one who takes into consideration the ethnological standpoint here referred to will naturally only find that the *varnas* were separated from one another by barriers of the *connubium*, by rules about cleanness and so forth [15] No less natural is it that the modern castes should obey a multitude of similar regulations, certainly in part as an inheritance

13 Cf *Indische Studien* X, 12 fg

14 *Gautama* IV, 22, etc

15 Is, however, may I ask in passing, ethnology accepted, in the opinion of Senart, as a probable explanation about the origin of these barriers and limitations? The endogamy of the Indian caste is said to be based upon the "Aryan conception of marriage," upon the community of sacrifice of the 'sacrificing couple attached to the fire altar of the family" I believe, that he who follows up the study of the whole range of the conception of endogamy, throughout the full course of its development, will be led by this study to much remoter origins which have to be measured with the logic of the savage and not with that of the Aryan Similarly I differ from Senart (212) with regard to the prohibition of interdining with persons of another caste and of taking food prepared by persons of a lower caste To Senart this is "one of the bizarre usages that take us by surprise," it is explained, he thinks, by the Aryan conception of

of that ancient round of ideas and customs, and partly perhaps as introduced from the aborigines among whom—where on earth are such things not found?—rules of a similar nature might have been in existence. However, should one on that account transfer into ancient times the entire structure of modern caste-intricacy, then I can only hold it for an inference that by no means follows from the premises. If we have proved and established certain points of contact between the ancient and the modern state of things we do not, indeed, on that account, cease to take into consideration the great divergences also between the old and the new: just as we would not deny to the religious system of the *Veda* its antique Vedic appearance, even though there were found a number of pious or superstitious customs which the Vedic times have in common with modern Berar or Bengal. In my opinion one has only to look with unprejudiced eyes at the copious evidences especially of the Brâhmana texts, in order to receive the most convincing impression that here without any lies and frauds, without a hybrid admixture of disparate elements, an unbiassed picture of the actual state of things is given, pervaded by a breath of the feeling which filled and moved that atmosphere—a picture that gives authentically, although of course not all the elements, yet the broad outlines of the real circumstances.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A JOURNEY IN MONGOLIA IN 1908.

[The following anonymous account, in the humble form of a letter to *The Times* of the 17th September 1919, of what must have been a remarkable journey over a very long stretch of some of the most difficult country in the world, gives a view of the life of the petty Mongol chiefs scattered over it and of their surroundings that is well worth preserving for students of Asiatic peoples. The accompanying map has been specially prepared to illustrate the journey.—ED.]

"Kings o'er their flocks the sceptre wield" is an excellent translation of an extract from the immortal Horace wherewith to describe the tribal chieftains in Mongolia, chieftains who are dignified with the title of "Prince," or even "King," though their functions are far more limited than those of the ordinary English gentleman.

Let me tell you of three. I will begin with Wushin.

There is a sandy waste of country lying to the south of the Yellow River as it flows past Ninghsiafu to near Kweihuacheng. Its northern boundary is the muddy stream, and its southern limit the Great Wall of China. Mongolia, properly speaking, begins on the other side of the river. In this most inhospitable stretch of country "reign" seven Mongol kings, one of whom is the Prince of Wushin; the others are called Jassak, Jungar, Ottok, Wang, Hankin, and another whose name I have forgotten, but we need not trouble about them.

It was not easy to find the residence of His Highness of Wushin, but what mattered that when there was such excellent sport, after crossing the Yellow River near Kweihuacheng, among the antelope, hares, pheasants, partridges, geese, and Mandarin duck which abounded in the labyrinth of sandhills and scrub-covered hillocks through which we and our train of camels meandered.

However, we did arrive—though some of our camels foundered *en route*—and found a series of low buildings in the Chinese style surrounded by a low wall. Outside the entrance was a line of tall poles from which fluttered strings of rags covered with Tibetan characters—prayer flags. His Highness was away from home, and the population of his camp only consisted of three souls, relatives of His Highness, who allowed us to do exactly as we pleased; so we commandeered the princely "gourt" (or Mongol tent) pitched in the inner courtyard, and stayed two days in order to renew our strength before continuing the journey to (?) Borabolgasson and Ninghsiafu.

The "gourt" was unusually comfortable (the average Mongol gourt is filthy). It was lined within and without with felt (an agreeable change from

the community of meal, as the family union linked together about the sacred hearth. He goes even so far as to trace back the impurity of the dead, "without doubt in part," to the same cause, that the dead can no more take part in the family meal and the family rites (p. 218). I can here only repeat that in my opinion, ethnology leads to an entirely different conclusion about these conceptions: for they are in no way startling peculiarities, and ethnology proves them to have been long anterior to the special development of the family regulations of the Aryans. It is, of course, not possible here to go into this matter *in extenso*.

my "gourt" of the night before which had only been lined with semi liquid camel's dung), while inside there was an additional lining of thin dark red silk In summer the felt is all removed so that the breeze may enter freely The flooring was of stone (as a rule it is of animals' droppings), covered with a heavy and beautiful Ninghsia carpet, and low cushions of the same make were scattered about profusely, while in front of each was a low, deli cately inlaid stool as a table A few small cabinets and some brass Buddhas completed the furniture The end farthest from the door was slightly raised to form a *dais*

The Prince's pet Pekingese was scampering about, much distressed at the absence of his master, and was doing great damage to the fine carpets

My retinue spent the whole of the first day teas ing His Highness's pet monkey, which got a bit of his own back when we retired to rest, for, like an over excited child, he refused to sleep, and spent the night on the tiles, over which he scampered, dragging a 6 ft chain behind him As our only object in halting at this local "Buckingham Palace" was to get rest from the hardships of the journey, I had to issue an ultimatum respecting the capture of the animal

And so to Ninghsiafu, and, after climbing the Alashan range, a day's journey to the west of his town up an exceedingly picturesque pass, which is nothing more than the rocky bed of a stream, and so steep that our camels nearly col lapsed during the climb, we enjoyed from the top an extensive view over the Sandy Mongol Kingdom of Alashan, with its capital, Fumafu, or Dinyuaning, nestling in a little oasis below us The town is visible during the whole descent from the top of the range, and the patch of tall trees afforded a pleasant change to the eye from the bleak monotony of the rest of the landscape But on reaching the town one finds little water trickling below the trees However, the fact that there is water at all has brought about the cultivation—mostly by Chinese—of a small amount of ground near the town At the time of my visit there had been a seven years' drought, caused, according to popular opinion, by the presence at Fumafu of the exiled Prince Tuan, of Boxer notoriety This drought was causing real uneasiness, and a change of capi tal had been mooted The difficulty was that there was no suitable spot in the "kingdom" to which the "capital" could be moved However, if the Court ever is forced to go, the population will doubtless accompany it, and in course of time Fumafu will be added to the list of sand buried cities of Central Asia

The town is divided into two parts, the smaller portion being surrounded by high walls in an excel-lent state of repair In it is the king's palace, a small collection of ordinary Chinese houses of the meanest description huddled under the southern wall History has, indeed, shown the necessity for a walled town, for in 1869 the Dungares [? Dun-gans or Jungaris] attacked and destroyed all the buildings outside the walls, but failed to capture the "citadel" The chief weapons of defence were stones, and to this day piles of these lie at various points on the walls in readiness for another defence A feature of the walls are the numerous shrines, visited once a year in procession by the Lama priests carrying the sacred books

The government [in 1908] of this capital, the population of which probably consisted of some 4,000 souls, of whom 1,500 were Chinese trad-ers, was carried on by a "King"—so his subjects styled him—and they considered him the strongest potentate on earth Although he was said to have a violent temper and a strong aversion to foreigners, I craved an audience His Majesty's family have married a succession of Manchu prin cesses, and consider themselves now more Manchu than Mongol at any rate they prefer to speak Chinese *en famille* The arrival of these Manchu consorts had probably much to do with the com-parative civilization of the capital, for even the Mongols there live in ordinary houses like the Chinese, and have ceased to be nomads

The "King" was supposed to visit Peking once in three years, but the visit was so costly (the retinue always included *inter alia* a theatre) that it was frequently deferred, and His Majesty would send his annual tribute (in kind) instead, at the hands of his son, the "Duke"

It was at Fumafu that I met Colonel Kozloff's expedition into Central Asia *en route* for Kokonoor and Szechuan, and it was here that I was privil-eged to spend an evening in the company of this distinguished Russian explorer His party, which consisted of several friends and a small Cossack guard, were lodged in the premises of a Russian Buriat, who probably exercised over the King of Alashan as much influence as the famous Dorjieff did at one time over the Dalai Lama But, although our only language in common was Mongol, I am happy to think that I have nothing but pleas ant memories of the gallant colonel, who enter-tained me in a most friendly manner in a spot far removed from European civilization I met him again the following year in St Petersburg, where he lectured on this very journey before the Imperial Geographical Society and opened a small collection of manuscripts, etc, brought back from Central Asia

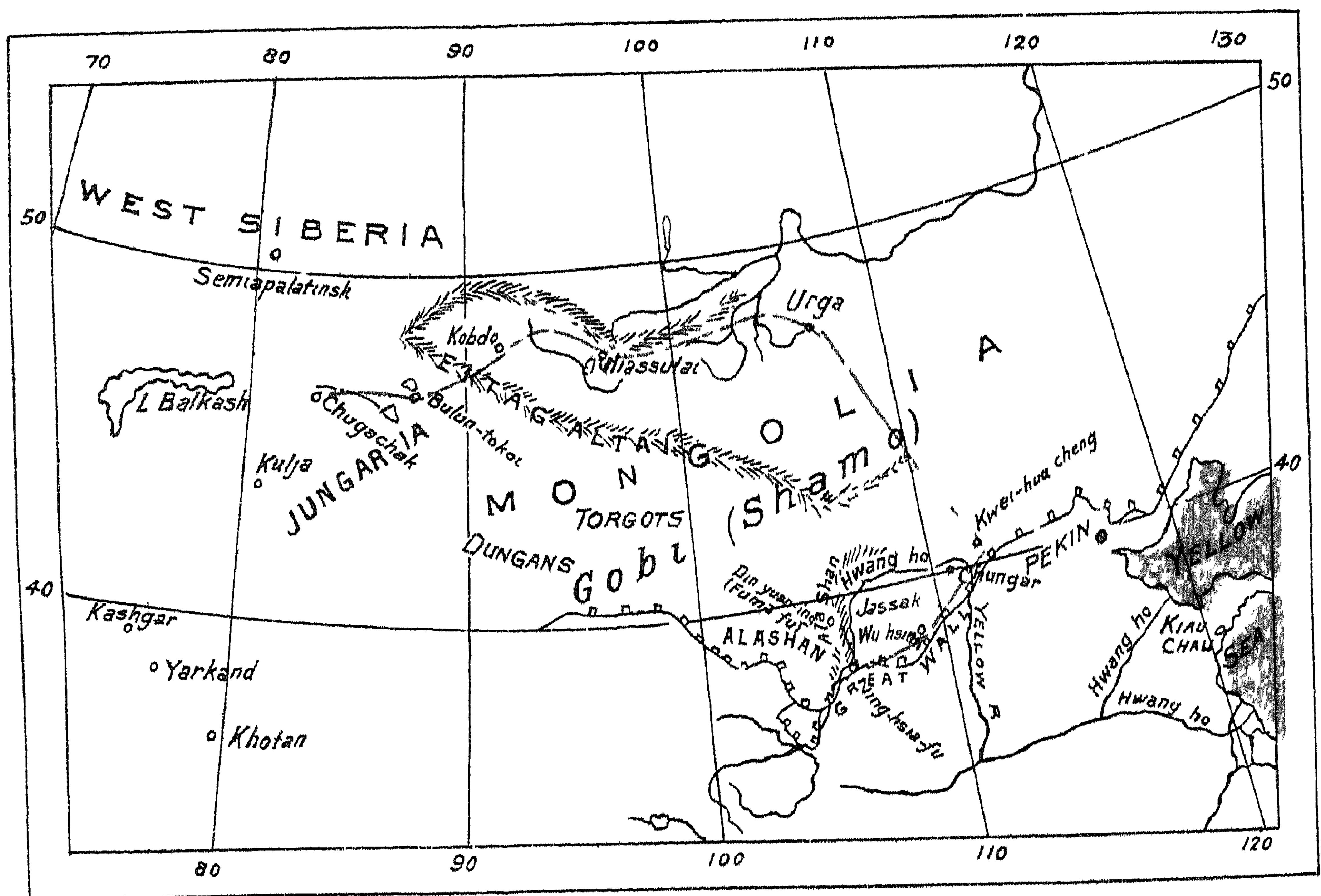
And so back to Kweihuacheng, across the Gobi to Urga, and westwards by caravan to Uliassutai and Kobdo, and over the snows of the Altaishan to the new Chinese colony of Sharasume (?). Here we got fresh camels to proceed by Buluntogoi to Chuguchak, and after a week's march westwards from Sharsume arrived at the camp of the Tourgont [Torgot] (Mongol) Prince, lying close under a

mountain range called the Bayinzarkanadenk, from which trickles a small stream past the camp

This latter consisted of a group of "gourts" lying round a tribal temple built half way up a large natural mound, the latter being surmounted by a "joss" of the ordinary pattern and a large "obo" of sticks to which white and yellow streamers were suspended The Prince Ochingwang lives in two white 'gourts' in summer, and in a low mud house behind them in winter in this latter he is able to have a Russian stove His Highness sent me his greetings on arrival, and kindly caused two "gourts" to be erected specially for us I called on him in state in the afternoon, and found a fat lad of some 20 years of age, rather shy, but with agreeable manners He had never been to Peking, and I gathered that the trouble and expense of getting there and back were the reasons He had visited Chuguchak several times to pay homage to the Imperial tablet, and had come into contact with Russians there, which explained why his rooms were full of photographs, watches, clocks, and the inevitable gramophone He told me that no foreigner had previously visited this his "capital," and seemed very gratified that one had come He said his favourite amusement was fox hunting with an eagle, and that he indulged in this sport five days a week in winter The huge bird was brought into the room during our conversation, and made such a din that I had to beg it should be removed

The Prince was dressed in a dark red silk robe and wore huge spectacles and the usual Chinese pork pie hat with peacock feather and red button

After he had agreed to furnish fresh camels for the six days' journey westwards to Chuguchak we spent two idle days at his camp, and were treated with the utmost hospitality possible in those parts His Highness was indeed almost embarrassing in his attentions from morn till night He was constantly sending over Tartar koumiss and meals from the princely kitchen for myself, whilst rolls of silk and money presents kept coming for my Chinese boy As each meal consisted of a whole bucketful of soup and half a dozen dishes of meats prepared in different ways, it was difficult to dispose of it without giving offence However, the two days soon passed, and we were thankful to have found such a comfortable lodging, for "sleep knows no pride and scorns not cots of village hinds," and if the village hinds do assume the semblance and rank of royalty, well so long as they are prepared to show their neighbour a kindness nothing else matters



MAP SHOWING WRITER'S ROUTE

still-born, (adj) okolînga dôatire

sting, (v t) **1.** as a bee, scorpion, centipede, etc taij (ke) **2.** as a nettle gûruda (ke), chôa (ke), yâro (ke) The sand-flies stung me during the night *gûrug-ya ñîpa den taijre* (s) (ar-) mûruwil (da) sting-ray *See* **ray**

stingy, (adj) ôn-yât-jābag (da)

stink, (v i) chuñgê (ke) (s) ôt àu-jābag (da)

stir, (v t) **1.** liquids ig-kêtik (ke) Stir the gravy! *âkà-raij l'ig-kêtik (ke)*! 2 non-liquid substances ig-gêrau (ke) 3 stir up, as mud in a pool ig-ôjoli (ke) (v i) move âkan-gîdi (ke) Don't stir! *ng'âkan-gîdike dâke !* *See* **move**

stitch, (v t) sew jât (ke) stitch together leaves of the *Licuala peltata* kâpa jât (ke) *See* **screen** and App xi

stock, (s) accumulated store ôt-jeg-yâte (da) *See* Ex at **increase**

stomach, (s) ab-ûpta (da) stomach-ache jôdo-l'î-châm (da) (*lit* bowels-pain)

stone, (s) **1.** also rock taili (da) 2 quartz tōlma (da) **3.** fruit-stone ban (da) **4.** sharpening-s, hone tâlag (da) **5.** cooking-s lâ (da) **6.** s anvil iârap (da) **7** s hammer taili-bana (da) *See* App xiii

stony soil, (s) el-ôt-tâ (da), gôroin (da)

stoop, (v i) **1.** in order to pick up something ōto-ngoijli (ke) **2** from physical infirmity ōto-bîl (ke) **3.** as when passing under a branch, etc . eb-êr-doati (ke)

stop, (v t) **1.** hinder obstruct *See* **prevent** **2.** close up with wax *See* **caulk** (v i) **1** s away from home temporarily, as when visiting friends poli (ke) *See* **dwell** **2.** s anywhere for a time for rest and ease bami (ke) **3.** s awhile to recover wind and from fatigue akan-chaiat (ke) **4** cease *See* **cease** (a) s working ûn-darî (ke) (b) s singing râmit-l'iji-tûlpi (ke) Because the Chief was angry they stopped singing *maiola tigrêlnga l'edâre eda râmit-l'iji-tûlpire* (c) s singing when ordered âkan-mîla (ke) Stop! (Hush!, be silent!) *mîla !*, *tubo !* Stop! (Halt!) *gôgli !*, *kâpi !*, Stop (wait) a little! *tōlaba !*

stopper, (s) of leaves in mouth of bamboo bucket (gôb) ōko-jêralinga (da)

store, (v t) lay up in store âr-ñû (ke), âr-lûgap (ke)

stores, (s) supplies of food and other articles obtained from foreigners (*lit* gifts) . yâd (da) (in construc yât) **2.** supplies of articles of home production râmoko (da)

storm, (s) ûlnga (or wûlnga)-chânag (da) *See* **blow,** (v i)

story, (s) **1.** a tale yâbnga-l'ig-lâb (da) **2.** s of extravagant nature âr-chînga (da) *See* **exaggerate** (v t) **narrate** as. *See* **tell**

stout, (adj) **1.** corpulent, (a) in ref to animals pâta (da) (b) of human beings â-pâta (da) **2.** as a trunk of a large tree lâb (da) The trunk of that Gurjon tree is very stout *kât'ârain l'ab-châu lâb dôgaya* **3** thick as a pot or canoe tûlawa (da), môgodma (da) Of all the buckets this is the stoutest *dâkar ârdûru tek ûcha tûlawa-l'iglā (da)*

straggle, (v i) *See* **wander**

straight, (adj) **1.** not crooked mō'lo (da), nôgo (da) **2.** upright *See* **erect** (v i) **1.** (direct) proceed ara-lôma (ke) **2.** put straight, arrange in order *See* **arrange**

straighten, (v t) with ref to a cane . nôgo (ke) **2.** s one's limbs lōrai (ke)

strait, (s) narrow sea or passage between islands jîg-chân-châu (da), teg-pârag (da), tar-wâla (da)

strand, (v.t) of a vessel . ōko yôboli (ke) (v i) run aground ad-yôboli (ke)

strand, (s) of a rope or line . pônga (da)

strange, (adj) marvellous ig-ñgêklinga (da)

stranger, (s) **1.** of one's own country ab-gôi (da) **2.** of another race ig-lîa (da)

strangle, (v t) **1.** throttle, choke . âkà-pêtemi (ke) **2.** by means of a rope âkà-lōròpti (ke)

stratus *See* **cloud**

straw, (s) yûkala-rûcha (da) (*lit* grass-withered)

stray *See* **wander.**

stream, (s) jîg-bā (da)

strength, (s) **1.** of animate object ab-gōra-yôma (da) **2.** of bow or cord rôbaba-yôma (da) **3.** of the wind or waves lûchur-yôma (da)

stretch, (v t) make taut, as a rope têni (ke) (v i) s one's self chîbri (ke), chibiria (ke) **2.** one's legs lōiai (ke) **3.** reach out in order to touch or take . tik-pai-ne (ke) **4.** s out without reaching . ông (or âkà)-wôdli (ke) *See* **reach.**

strew, (v t) scatter loosely . êr-râm (ke) *See* **scatter**

stride, (v i) . ad-lâbda (ke)

strike, (v.t) **1.** *See* **beat, hit** **2.** s outright, reducing to submission ig-rê (ke) **3.** s one for the offence of another kât-o-kîni (ke), âr-kâtya (ke) **4.** s gently, timidly, or with insufficient force dôdopi (ke) *See* Ex at **penetrate** **5.** s with an arrow *See* **hit** **6.** s with a harpoon *See* **harpoon** (v) **7.** s with a pig-spear êr dût (ke) **8.** s with the fist ab-taia (ke), ab-tûlra (ke) **9** s with a stick pare (ke) with appropriate prefix *See* **beat** **10.** with a knife *See* **stab, slash.** Why did you strike yourselves on the head ? , *michalen ngeda ngōto-parekre* ?

string, (v t) **1.** a bow ôt-ngōtli (ke) *See* **show, teach** **2.** s beads or shells (*lit* sew) . jât (ke) (s) **1.** twine . mōl'a (da) *See* App xiii **2** bow-string . kârama-tat (da), âkà-tat (da)

strip, (v t.) **1.** make bare ôt kâlaka (ke) **2.** (**a**) s the skin off a fruit dōch (ke), dòich (ke) (**b**) s the bark of the alaba . . ôt-pîj (ke) (**c**) of the yôlba lōl (ke). (**d**) of the pîlita (da) pōr (ke) *See* App xi

stripe, (s) **1.** wale from stick or lash tîatanga (da) **2** of paint tōrnga (da)

stroke, (v.t) rub gently lûraicha (ke)

stroll, (v i) ramble idly, leisurely (ad-) yàuga (ke) *See* **walk** Stroll hereabout! (don't go far !) *kârik-yáugake* !

strombus (s) (?**pugilis**) ōlog (da). *See* App xii

strong, (adj) **1** muscular ab-gōia (da). My father is stronger than you, but I am the strongest of you all *ng'iji dab-mai'ab gōra, dôna ng'ijit d'abgōra* (*da*) **2** in carrying weights on the shoulder âkan-tebi-gōia (da) [This term is applied to Hindu jhampan-bearers] **3.** durable, of hut or canoe gōra (da) **4.** as a bow or cord . rôbaba (da) My bow is stronger than yours . *dîa kârama ng'ēkan tek rôbaba* (*da*) **5.** of a wave or the wind . . lûchur(da)

struggle, (v i) **1.** . kōrite (ke) **2.** s for the first place, as in racing, scrambling, etc . ig-pûcha-pâchi-(ke)

Strychnos vomica, (s.) . . êrepaid-tat (da).

stubborn, (adj) *See* **obstinate**

stuff, (v t) **1.** cram, pack full î-tûña (ke) **2.** gorge ab-jôdo (ke) **3.** s one's mouth rôpo (ke)

stumble, (v i) trip in walking *See* **trip**

stump, (s) **1.** of a tree . ôt-kûdul (da) **2.** of a finger, tail, etc ût (da) takes prefix ông, ar, etc according to member referred to *See* App ii

stun, (v t) **1.** with a blow . âkà-nîli (ke) **2.** with a loud noise . ig nîli (ke)

stunted, (adj) ôt-dûgap (da)

stupid, (adj) dull-witted . mûgu-tig-pîcha (da), ûn-jābag (da), ûn-tig-jābag (da) *See* Introduction, p. 7

stutter *See* **stammer**

stye, (s) on eye-lid îdal-l'âr ōla (da)

style, (s) mode, manner . . ig-lōrnga (da) In this style *kian-âri* (*da*) In that style . *ekâra* (*da*), *kian-ûba* (*da*). *See* **manner** and App 1.

substitute, (s.) . . ông-têka (da)

succeed, (v t) take the place of another . ar tûlpi (ke) (v i) be successful *See* **gain.**

successful, (adj) **1.** in ref to sport *See* **hunter** **2.** in other respects . otolâ-l'edānga (da)

successor, (s) ar-tûlpinga (da)

such, (adj) of like kind . . kichikan (da) at such time as (rel) . kîan-êrûbalik *See* App 1 and Ex at **time**

suck, (v t) . . . ig-nō (ke), ab-wêlej (ke) **2.** as in eating sugar-cane, honey, etc. . gang (ke) (v i.) *See* **suckle.**

sucking-pig, (s) . . . . reg-bā (da) He gave me a sucking-pig in exchange for my bow *dia kârama l'îgal-len ô reg-bā den âre*

suckle, (v t) . . kâm-raij-pûnu (ke), âkà-pûnu (ke). *See* **squeeze.** (v i) âkan-pûnu (ke)

suddenly, (adv.) unexpectedly lîlpi (da) *See* Ex at **tug** He died suddenly *ôl lîlpi okolîre*

suet, (s) . . . ab-jîri (da).

suffer, (v i) **1.** pain . ig-yed (ke) **2.** s from fever and ague diddirya-l'abômo (ke) **3.** s pains of labour îk-ig-nû (ke) **4.** any loss or damage êoii (ke)

sufficient, (adj) . . dûruma (da) I have sufficient food in my possession *dôt-paichalen yât dûruma* (*da*) It is sufficiently long *ôl lâpanga dûruma* (*da*) There is sufficient food in a single large clam (*Tridacna gigantea*) for many persons *chôwai ûba-dôgalen wai yât at-ûbaba-l'eb dûruma* (*da*) That's sufficient! *wai dâke!* *lit* don't (give more)! or *kian-wai!* *lit* "this much."

suffocate, (v t) âkà-mûju (ke) (v i) owing to smoke or foul air akan-mûju (ke).

sugar-cane, (s.) **1.** after being cut tedi (da) **2.** standing-crop tedi-tòng (da) Necessarily a word of modern origin, derivation doubtful

suicide, commit (v i) . . . . ôyun-têmar-tōliga (ke)

suitable, (adj) **1.** applicable, appropriate yôma (da), ñōma (da) Is it suitable for making a bucket? *an wai ka dâkar tanenga l'eb ñōma* (da)? *See* **fit** **2.** fit lôyu (s) s (fit) for food *makanga-lōyu* This big bow is not suitable for that child *ûcha kârama bôdia kâ walaganga lat lôyu ba* (*da*)

sulk, (v i) ig-mûlwi (ke)

sulky, (adj) sullen ig-mûlwinga (da)

sultry, (adj) . elâkà-ûya (da), ig-yêlata (da)

summit, (s) top, of a hill . ôt-lân (da), ôt-gûdur (da), ôt-lûtebo (da)

summon, (v t) send for, call . . âr-ñgêre (ke) *See* **call**

sun, (s) bôdo (da) [*Note*—The sun is regarded as female and the wife of the moon] (**a**) s -beam bôdo-l'âr-châl (da) (**b**) s -burnt bôdo-la-kâtainga (da) (**c**) glare of s bôdo-l'ig-kâranga (da) (**d**) s -light . bôdo-la-chōinga (da) (**e**) s rise bôdo-la-kâgnga (da) (**f**) s -set bôdo-la-lōtinga (da) (**g**) s -shine bôdo-la-karnga (da) There has been no sunshine of late *dîrap tek bôdo-la-karnga yāba* (*da*) (**h**) sunstroke bôdo l'ôt-tûbulinga (da), bôdo-l'ôt-rî-tanga (da) (**i**) gleam, glow, radiance of sunset bâra (da) He is looking at the sunset *ôl bâra len* (*l'*) *igbâdike* (*lit* the radiance of the sunset)

sunken-reef, (s) . . tebı-lûro (da)

sunken-rock . . tōtòl (da)

superior, (adj) **1.** better târ-bûınga (da) **2.** superior in skill or speed, etc ar-châk-bêrınga-bōtaba (da), ar-paıcha-bêrınga-bōtaba (da)

supper, (s) âkan-gôlajnga (da)

supple, (adj) pliable . ōto-yôb (da), yâragap (da)

supply, (v t) *See* **provide**

suppurate, (v i) generate pus mûn (ke)

supreme, (adj) ıjılā (da) We all desire Thee as our supreme and only chief *mar-âı dûru ngen môtot yûbur ıjılā met-âke*

sure, (adj) *See* **certain**

sure-footed, (adj) . têıpa (da)

surely, (adv) *See* **certainly**

surf, (s) kûbya (da) 2 s, sound of âkà-yeng (da)

surface, (s) **1.** of any solid ôt-elma (da) **2.** of any liquid âkà-elma (da) The paddle is floating on the surface of the creek *walıgma jîg l'âkà-elma len ôdatke*

surfeit, (v t & v i,) teg-bût (ke)

surfeited, (p p) teg-bûtre

surly, (adj) . . ōko dûbunga-ba (da)

surpass, (v t) excel . . . tıg-bêınga (ke)

surplus, (s) *See* **remainder**

surprise, (v t) **1.** strike with astonishment . . ıg-lîkatı (ke) **2** take unawares . ōyu . . . . ıg-lîkatı (ke) I surprised Wologa this morning *waı da kawaı wângalen ōyu wōlog'iglîkatıre.*

surround, (v,t) . . . . ôt-gôroba (ke), ôt-gônga (ke)

suspect, (v t) . . êr-gât (ke) *See* **remember** I suspect you of having stolen my adze *dîa wôlo tâp yâte waı dô ngen êr-gâtke.*

suspend, (v t) *See* **hang**

suspicious, (adj) *See* **shy.**

swallow, (s) *See* **swiftlet**

swallow, (v i) . . ñōntı (ke) Whatever he swallows (that same) he throws up (vomits) again *ôl mîn ñōntı-yâte ôl-bêdıg ad-wêke*

swamp, (v t) a canoe by overloading ıg-bâraltı (ke)

swamp, (s) **1.** fen, marsh . . îlı (da) **2.** mangrove-swamp *See* **mangrove.**

swarm of bees, (s) . . râtag-mûı (da)

sway, (v i) as a slender palm in a breeze î-gîdı (ke)

sweat, (v i) *See* **perspire.** (s) . . gûmar (da) with prefix, ông, ıg, âkà, ab, etc according to the part of the person referred to *See* App ii The sweat on our foreheads *m'ıtıg gûmar (da)* The sweat on your lip *ng'âkà gûmar (da)*

sweep, (v t) . êr-bûj (ke)

sweepings, (s) . . bêıa (da)

sweet, (adj) as honey dâkı (da)

sweet-heart (the woman) ıg-pòl (da) *See* **love** (exclam) How sweet! (of scent) pue!

swell, (v i) **1** increase in bulk lâpı (ke), âı-bût (ke) **2.** as a boil, bruise, etc bûtuk (ke) (s) **1** swell of the sea jûru-l'ıg-gôıa (da) **2.** ground-swell . bōıoga-l ôt-gôloın (da)

swelling, (s) **1.** tumour . . . . bûta (da) with prefix, ab, ông, ıg, etc, according to part referred to *See* App ii **2.** s from a blow . . . î-gûdal (da).

swift, (adj) fleet, **(a)** of a runner or swimmer . . ar-rînıma (da), âr rêwa (da), âr yêre (da) **(b)** of an animal, bird or fish . . . rînıma (da)., yêre (da), rêwa (da) **(c)** of a canoe . . pûdya (da)

swiftlet, (s) (*Collocalia linchii*) . . . bîlya (da) edible nest of this bird . . . . bîlya-l'âr-râm (da).

swim, (v i) **1.** . . . ar-pît (ke) **2.** s on one's back . . . ad-rôko (ke). *See* **canoe** **3** s under the surface . . . . tık-patemı (ke) *See* **dive.** (s) swimmer . . . . ar-pîtnga (da).

swindle, (v.t) *See* **cheat.**

swine, (s) . . . . reg (da)

swing, (v.t) cause to (or sway) to-and-fro . . . . ar (or ig)-lêla (ke) (v i) **1.** swing while suspended . . . . ara (or iji)-lêla-(ke) **2.** as a hanging creeper . . . . âkan-gîrima (ke)

swoop, (v i) as a bird on its prey . . . . châlya (ke)

sympathetic, (adj) compassionate . . . ep-tòng-îtnga (da), îtâ-bûlabnga (da)

sympathise, (v i) condole . . . . îtâ-bûlap (ke), *See* **assist, mourn**, ep-tòng-ît (ke)

T

tabooed, (adj) (a) of food . tûb (da) (b) place . . . el-ôt-chôa (da) This word is applied to sites regarded as undesirable for habitation on account of much sickness or unaccountable deaths having occurred there

tadpole, (s) . . lêdek-bā (da), rôpan-bā (da) *See* **frog, toad**

tail, (s) . . . ar-pîcham (da) (a) of sting-ray . . ñîp-l'âr-bûl (da) *See* **ray**

take, (v t) **1.** lay hold of . . eni (ke) *See* **feel, hold, touch** **2.** t away (a) any animate object . . ab-îk (ke) (b) any inanimate object . . . . îk (ke) He took it away himself yesterday · *wai ôl ôyun-lêmar dilêa(len)îkre.* Take away thither! *kâtik îk!* **3.** t. down from higher position . . (a) (â-) rôt (ke). (b) t. d. a honey-comb from tree, etc . . . . (kânga-) ûp (ke). **4.** t off (a) lift off, as a pot from the fire . . yûk (ke) The food is cooked, take the pot off the fire . *wai yât la rôchre, bûj yûk (ke)* (b) of personal ornaments, etc . . . . lûpuji (ke); lûp (ke). *See* **waistbelt** **5** t. out, (a) extract . . . lōti (ke) *See* Ex. at **extract** (b) pick out . . . . karepa (ke); (c) from hole, bag or other receptacle . . . ōyu-wâlya (ke). Take the prawns out of the net: *kûd tek àu l'ōyu-wâlya (ke).* *See* **out. 6.** t. outside, (a) with ref. to animate object . . . . wâlak-l'ab-îk (ke); (b) with ref. to inanimate object . . . wâlak-îk (ke). **7.** t. up. *See* **pick up. 8.** t care of, protect . ab (or ig)-gōra (ke). **9.** t notice of, observe . . . id-ngô (ke) (v i) **1.** t. breath . . . chaiathi (ke) **2** t care, t precautions . . . . êr-gêlep (ke) *See* **that** (conj). **3.** t leave. *See* **leave. 4.** t. one's ease, rest . . . . barmi (ke) *See* **stay** **5.** t place *See* **happen, occur. 6.** t. a stroll *See* **stroll, walk**

tale, (s) story . . yâbnga-l'ig-lâb (da) *See* **story.**

talk, (v i) speak, utter words . . . yâp (ke) What is Wologa talking about ? · *micha-l'eb wôloga yâpke ?* Hush ! don't talk *mila, yâpke dâke !* **2.** t together, converse iji yâp (ke) î jên (ke) They are talking together about us *eda mebet ijit-yâpke* **3** t secretly *See* **whisper**

talkative, (adj) . ed-winga (da), yâbnga-tâpa (da)

tall, (adj) **1.** of a human being . . ab-lâpanga (da), ab tâbanga (da), ig-gara (da) Why are your country-men taller than ours ? *michalen ngitig bûdwa marat-dûru tek attâbanga (da) ?* **2.** of any animal . tâbanga (da) **3.** of an inanimate object lâpanga (da)

taller, (adj) of human beings . . âkà-jana (da), iji (or tek)-ab-lâpanga (da). *See* **than**

tallest, (adj) of human beings . . ârdûru-tek-âkà-jana (dâ), ab-lâpanga l'iglā (da)

talon, (s) . ông-kōro (da)

tamarind, (s) . . . pêma (da).

tame, (v t) . î-dûbu (ke) (adj) . . . . î-dûbunga (da)

tangled, (adj) of harpoon lines, etc. . . . ōto-chōre

tank, (s) . . . îna-l'ig-bang (da)

tap, (v t and v i) . . tai-chowa (ke). **2.** as a woodpecker . . . . êr-tōro (ke). **3.** tap the ground with the foot, as in their dances *See* **stamp.**

tapeworm, (s) . . . . bôlob (da).

tardily, (adv) . . . ig-nîlya (da)

tarry, (v i) *See* **linger, stay, stop.**

taste, (v t) **1.** test flavour . âkà-mûj (ke) **2.** partake of . âkà-râr (ke). *See* **tit-bit** (v i) have a flavour of . . . . âkan-mûj (ke) *See* Ex at **like**

taste, (s) flavour, **(a)** of simple unmixed food âkà-râja-maich (da) **(b)** of mixed food âkà-yâro (da)

tasteless, (adj) gôloga (da)

tasty, (adj) of food âkà-rârnga (da)

tattoo, (v t) prick and mark the skin in some design yîti (ke) One who is tattooed is styled "â-bōrta (da)," and one who is not tattooed "ab-lûta (da)" The prefix *ig*, *ab*, *ar*, etc, is employed to denote the part of the body to which reference is made

tattoo a pattern, (v t) . . oiyo (ke) *See* **carve**

teach, (v t) î-tai (ke) *See* **explain, instruct** He taught me *ôl den î taire*, **(a)** t how to swim . . ar-pîtnga-l'îtaike **(b)** t how to dance . kôinga-l îtai (ke) **(c)** t how to tattoo yîtinga-l'îtai (ke), ûl-yîti (ke) **(d)** t a language . âkà-tegili-l'îtaike **(e)** t to pronounce (a word) î-tâ-yâp (ke) *lit* "assist-speak"

teal, (s) kûla (da), kûlal (da).

tear, (v t) **1** rend pârata (ke) **2.** t a bough from a tree . . tōp (ke), (âkà) tōpati (ke) **3.** t a piece of cloth, leaf, etc kajili (ke) (v i) **1.** . ad-pârata (ke), târali (ke) **2.** as a palm leaf when pulled or by force of wind ad-yît (ke), ôyun-têmar (or âkan)- târali (ke) (s) rent jâg (da)

tear, (s) drop from eye t'î (da)

tease, (v t) . . ig-ñêda (ke)

teat, (s) ig-kâm-l'ôt-chêta (da)

teeth, (v t) pick the . âkan- karepa (ke) *See* **pick**

tell, (v t) **1.** say, state târ chî (ke) 2 describe, explain . î tai (ke) *See* Ex at **boar** **3.** inform, acquaint badali (ke) **4.** t the whole story (relate) yâbnga-l'âr-lōr (ke) Tell us the whole story, where you went, what you saw and what you did *mînya ngô kâtik-yâte, ng'ig-bâdig-yâte, ng'ôiyo-yâte bêdig, yâbnga-l'âr-lōrke* **5** t the gist of a story . . . yâbnga-l'âr-ûla (ke) How tiresome you are! tell us at once the gist of what occurred *badi dûrumaba! ngô kâ-gôi yâbnga-l'âr-ûla (ke)* **6** t about, inform against . ôt-bâm (ke)

tempestuous, (adj) of weather . . . . kôûlo (da)

temple, (s) of the head . ig-tîmar (da)

tempt, (v t) . . . . ôt-ig-ûju (ke)

tender, (adj) **1.** of meat . . nêtemo (da) **2.** as an old wound . . ab-gêri-nga (da)

tendon, (s) . . . yîlnga (da) with prefix ar, âkà, etc according to part of person referred to **2.** tendon Achilles (s) ab-yîlnga (da)

tepid, (adj) lukewarm . ûya-bā (da), êlenga (da)

Teredo navalis, (s) jûru-win (da)

terminalia, (s) **1.** T. bialata êmej (da) **2.** T. citrina . bîbi (da) **3.** T. procera . . baila (da) **4.** T sp . chāp (da) **5.** T trilata tâlapa (da)

terminate, (v i) as a season . . ōto-jôuli (ke) The rainy season will terminate next moon *ôgar-la îdôutinga gûmul-wâb ōto-jônlike.*

termite, (s) white ant . . . bêdera (da).

terra firma, (s) **1.** land as distinguished from sea . . el-ôt-gōra (da) **2.** the shore tot-gōra (da). *See* **coast, shore.** We were glad when we reached land (terra firma) *elôt-gōra len kâgalnga bêdig meda môtot-kûk-bêringare*

terrify, (v t) . . . ig-wâ (ke).

territory, (s) . ēr (da)

test, (v t) prove . yôgo (ke) Only this bow has been tested, the others are as yet untried "*ôgun ûcha kârama yôgongata, akat-lôglik ñgâkà yôgonga-ba (da)* **2.** test the strength of a cord . . . tînap (ke), tênip (ke)

testes, (s) . . . âr-ōta (da)

than, (conj) . . . ıjı , tek He is taller than you *ôl ng'ıjı* (or *ngôl-tek*) *ablâpanga* (*da*) My home is more distant than yours *ßa bûd ngîa bûd tek elarpâla* (*da*)

thank, (v t) . . êlet (ke) *See* Ex. at **much.** (exclam) Thank goodness! . . . . *yêlo !*

that, (adj and dem pron) . . . . ôlla (in constr ôl) , kâto (da) (in constr. kâ) , ûchu-met (*N B* —The last can apparently be employed only as in the Ex given below) That bow has just sprung *kâ* (or *ôl*) *kârama gôı mêdalre* *See* Ex at **until** This or that ? *an kā an kâ* (*to*) (*da*) ? From which cup (*lit* nautilus-shell) will you drink ? from this or from that ? *tenchâ ōdo tek ngô wêlej* (*ke*) ? *an ûcha tek, an ûchu-met tek* ? *See* **this, that** (intens) kâto-ôl, *lit* there (or that)-that That is the European (soldier) that shot your pig *kâto-ôl bòıgolı ngîa reg l'ôlpûgurı-yâte* (*da*). Whose is that bow ? . *mıjıa kârama kâto-ôl* ? (rel pron) that (or he) who or which âte (da) , , âte (da) (correl) that same ôl-bêdıg (*See* App ı) That which (whatever) he swallows (that same) he throws up (vomits) *ôl mîn ñōntı-yâte ôl-bêdıg adwêke* (adj) that, *lit* opposite or other (not this) side, (**a**) of a creek, etc tedı-bala (da) *See* **opposite**, (**b**) of a plank, etc. kâto elma (da) (conj) so (or in order) that . aña I am acquainting you (of the fact) that you may know and take immediate precautions . *waı dô ngen badalıke aña ngô tıdaınga-bêdıg kâ-gôı êr-gĕlep* (*ke*) *See* also Ex at (receive) **news** and **provide** (postp) to the end (or purpose) that . eb *See* **for** and Ex at **send** (adv) like that . . ôl (or kâto)-naıkan in that way . . ekâra (da) , kîan-ûba (da) in that direction (or by that road) . . . *kât'ôt-tınga-len-* **that** (or so) much . kaî (da) that many kâ-chaıa (da) *See* App ı.

thatch, (v t) yôblı (ke) (**a**) prepare thatch . . châng têpı (ke).

thee, (pron) . ngôl-len (in constr ngen) , ngaı , ngad *See* App ıı

theft, (s) ar-tâp (da) There was a theft here this morning *kâmın dîlmaya artâp* (*da* or) *l'edâre*

their, (poss pron) . ōnta (da) ; ōntat , at , ıtıg , â-et, etc *See* App ıı Their mothers *at-êtınga* (*da*) *See* **make.** Their wives . *ōntat paıl* (*da*) Their bows . *ōnta kârama* (*da*) Their teeth · *ıtıg tûg* (*da*) their, of a community arat-dûru (da) their own, theirs (pron adj) êkan, ôyut *See* App ıı

them, (pron) ôloıchık-len (in constr et) , at , ad *See* App ıı and **barter, gather, make** t all (**a**) of three or more et-âr dûru (**b**) of a community arat-dûru (**c**) of a large number . . at-ûbaba t selves ôyut-batâm , ôyut-têmar , êkan , ıjıt , ōto *See* **self** t selves, among *See* **among** and **self**

then, (adv) (a) at that time (past) . âchıbaıya He was then a bachelor *ôl âchıbaıya abwâra* (*da* or *l'edāre*) (**b**) indef past âchınbaıya See Ex at **once upon a time** (**c**) a specific time in the future ñgâ (da) When your canoe is finished (made) (then) let me know. *ōna ngîa rôko kôp-yâte, ñgâ den badalı* (*ke*) If it rains (then) stay where you are *môda yûm la pâke ñgâ ngô pôlı*(*ke*) (**d**) another time, later on (indef future) . ñgâ-tek (**e**) next *See* **next** (**f**) at the same time (correl) kıchıkan *See* App 1 and Ex. at **same** (conj) as a consequence, therefore . kîanchâ (da)

thence, (adv) from that place . kâto-tek , ûchu-mek. *See* App. 1. He escaped thence in his own canoe *ôl ûchumek êkan rôko len adwêtıre* **2.** (correl) from the same place *ôl-bêdıg-tek* *See* Ex at **whence**

there, (adv) in (or at) that place . kâto (da) , îtan (da) He is there *ôl kâto* (*da*) *See* **until 2.** (correl) . ôl-bêdıg . . . ya Wherever he hunts (pigs), there he has good luck *mînya ôl deleke ôl-bêdıg ôt-yâb-*

ya *See* App 1 **2.** thither kâtik (da). (exclam) There! as when pointing to an object on the ground *kâ-oleh!* (also There he comes!) There! as when pointing to an object partly hidden or difficult to distinguish *ûchumen!*

thereabout, (adv) somewhere there ûchum (da), ûchumen (da) *See* Ex at **somewhere there 2** in that locality *kât'êrema-l'êâte (da)* Quartz is found (lit. *in situ*) thereabout *kât'êrema-l'êâte len tōlma wai (da)*

therefore, (adv and conj) accordingly, consequently kîanchâ (da) *See* Ex. at **self** and **spare**

these, (adj and pron pl) ûcha (da) All these *ûcha-dûru (da)*

they, (pron pl) oloichik (in constr ol'), eda, ed' *See* App ii They all, (**a**) of three or more *ol l'ârdûru (da)* (**b**) of a community or tribe *ar-ârdûru (da)* (**c**) of a large number of persons *at-ûbaba (da)*

thick, (adj) i gôrodma (da) thicker of two, or thickest of three or more tûlawa (da) t, dense, (**a**) of jungle tōbo (da) (**b**) of muddy water ik-pulur (da) (**c**) t-headed chêta-tû (da)

thicken, (v t) . . mêlatma (ke) (v.i) . ôyun-têmar-mêlatma (ke)

thief, (s.) . . . . ar-tâpnga (da).

thieve, (v t) . . . . ar-tâp (ke) (v i) . ara-tâp (ke) *See* **steal**

thigh, (s) ab-paicha (da) t charm (i e, worn round the thigh) . ab-chōnga (da)

thin, (adj) **1.** of human beings ab-kînab (da) ab-maiña (da), ab (or ig)-gôrob (da) *See* **skinny 2.** of animals . . . maiña (da) **3.** of inanimate objects . . . . rêdeba (da)

thin, become (v i) . ab-maiñ (ke)

thine, (pron. adj) ng'êkan, ngôyun

thing, (s) . . . . mîn (da) *See* Ex at **bring** (by water) and disappointed.

think, (v t) be of opinion, consider, believe lûa (ke) The Chief thinks we are telling lies (*lit* thinks us liars) *maiola met at-tedinga lûake* (v i) meditate gôb-jôi (ke), mûla (ke)

third, (adj) of four, five or six mûgu-châl (da) *See* App iii **2.** of any greater number ōto-râla-jâtnga (da), ōto-yôlo-dōknga (da) *See* App iii

thirst, (s) âkà-êi-vôma (da), âkà-mōl-yôma (da) *See* **quality**

thirsty, (adj) âka mōl (da), âka-êr (da)

this, (adj and pron.) ûcha (da), kā (da) This canoe is not mine *ûcha rôko dîa yāba (da)* Which bow do you want? this or that? *ngô tenchâ kârama ng'enâke? an kā an kâto (da)?* (intens) ûcha-wai (da) Like this *ûcha-naikan* *See* App i this many kîanchâia (da) this much kîan (da), kîan-wai (da) this side of a creek etc, ig-bala (da) this side of any object, as a plank ûcha-elma (da) *See* **that side** and **opposite**

thither, (adv) to that place kâtik (da) thither (correl) . ig Whither I go, thither he is in the habit of going *mîn-len dô lirke ig ôl ōko-jaranga (ke)*

thong, (s) of the pig-arrow, connecting the detachable foreshaft with haft . pêta (da)

thorn, (s), of any description chûkul (da) **2** of the *Calamus sp* tâta (da). (known as the "wait-a-bit" thorn)

those, (adj and dem pron) . ôlla (in constr ôl), kâto (da) All those *ôl-dûru (da)* All those are sound *ôl dûru wai ôt-gôrojim (da)*

thou, (pers pron) ngôlla (in constr, ngôl, ngô, nga, ng', ngôna) *See* App ii (honorific) maia, mâm *See* **he** and **she**

though, (conj) êdaia *See* Ex at **recognize**

thrash, (v t) *See* **beat** and **chastise.**

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

By LIEUT COLONEL T W HAIG, C S I, C M G, C B E

(*Continued from p 204*)

XXXVIII —AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF ARCHAN BETWEEN BURHAN NIZAM SHAH AND IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHAH, AND OF ITS RESULTS [103]

It has already been mentioned that Asad Khân, who surpassed all the other 'Âdil Shâh *amîrs* in power and in strength of the forces under his command, was apprehensive of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's intentions towards him and was therefore ever sedulous in stirring up strife, considering that his safety lay in Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's pre-occupation with his enemies He now stirred up strife between Burhân Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm Âdil Shâh until the matter ended in bloodshed Both kings assembled their armies in order to do battle with one another, and Burhân Nizâm Shâh, having sent Mahmûd Nafîr to summon Malik Barîd and his brother Khân Jahân, marched rapidly to meet the enemy Malik Barîd and Khân Jahân joined the king near the town of Kalam, and the opposing armies met at Arjan, where a fierce battle was fought The battle raged long with great vehemence and among those slain on the side of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, was 'Ain ul-Mulk Kan'ânî, who, as he had behaved treacherously on the former occasion by deserting Burhân Nizâm Shâh and joining Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh at the instigation of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, may be said to have met with the due reward of his treason and ingratitude Râm Shiva Deva, a Brâhman of the court of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who enjoyed great intimacy with the king, left the heaven which he had occupied in this earth for hell The battle lasted until sunset, but at last victory was declared for Burhân Nizâm Shâh and the Bîjâpûrîs fled, leaving the whole of their baggage, tents, and camp equipage in the hands of the victors The army of Ahmadnagar pursued the fugitives and put large numbers to the sword, and the survivors made their way, with much difficulty, to Bîjâpûr

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then marched to Sholâpûr, a very strong fortress situated on the frontier of the Bîjâpûr kingdom, and then held by an officer for Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh Here he encamped while his army besieged the fortress The garrison, finding themselves unable

103 The accounts of campaigns between Bîjâpûr and Ahmadnagar in this and the following five sections are incorrect The course of the war between Ahmadnagar and Bîjâpûr was briefly as follows — In 1540 41 Burhân Nizâm Shâh, encouraged by reports of the estrangement between the Sunnî Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I and his most powerful subject, the Shi'ah Asad Khân Lârî, believed that the time had come for the recovery of the Sholâpûr district, which had at one time been a fief of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, but had been annexed by Bijâpûr during the war between Burhân and Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât He therefore formed an alliance with Amîr 'Alî Barîd and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh of Berar, invaded the Bîjâpûr kingdom, re annexed the Sholâpur district and advanced to Belgaum, the fief of Asad Khân Asad Khân was loyal to his master but could not withstand the invaders and was obliged to make a show of complying with Burhân's demands by joining him with his contingent of 6,000 horse Ibrâhîm, on learning of this accession of strength to Burhân, fled from Bijâpur to Gulbarga while Burhân and Amîr 'Alî Barîd entered Bîjâpûr and besieged the citadel Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh who had disapproved of the expedition from the first and was awaiting an opportunity of changing sides, was employed by Asad Khân Lârî to make his peace with Ibrâhim and both he and Daryâ joined Ibrâhîm who was now strong enough to attack Burhân As Ibrâhîm and Daryâ advanced, Burhân and Amîr 'Alî retired, first on Bîr, and, on being pursued thither, to the hills above Daulatâbâd leaving Ahmadnagar at the mercy of the invaders Amîr 'Alî Barîd died near Daulatâbâd (see note 101) and Burhân was forced to sue for peace, which he obtained by the retrocession of the Sholâpûr district and a promise never again to molest Bîjâpûr

The "battle of Archân" was probably a battle or skirmish fought at Charchân, about 32 miles south-west of Sholâpûr, during Burhân's advance to Belgaum

to hold the fortress against the besieging army, and being well aware that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh could send them no assistance, resolved to surrender, and the commandant came forth and submitted himself to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, to whom he presented the keys of the fortress, thus obtaining exemption from the fate of the garrison of the fortress taken by storm. Burhân Nizâm Shâh then appointed one of his officers commandant of the fortress and returned to Ahmadnagar.

Some historians say that Burhân Nizâm Shâh, after capturing Sholâpûr, marched to Bîjâpûr, and besieged Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who shut himself up in the citadel and sent an envoy to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, promising that if the latter would pardon his misdeeds and leave him in peace, he would ever be obedient to him. According to this account, Burhân Nizâm Shâh acceded to the request of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and returned from Bîjâpûr to Ahmadnagar. But God knows the truth of the matter.

XXXIX.—An account of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's expedition for the recovery of Sholâpûr and of Burhân Nizam Shâh's march to meet him.

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh had returned to Ahmadnagar after the capture of Sholâpûr, or, as other historians say, after the siege of Bîjâpûr, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh assembled his army for the purpose of recovering Sholâpûr, and, having marched to that fortress, besieged it. He directed his army to throw up lines of contravallation as a defence against the army of Ahmadnagar when it should march to the relief of Sholâpûr.

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard that Ibrâhîm Âdil Shâh was besieging Sholâpûr, he assembled a very large army and sent it to Sholâpûr, where it encamped near the ground occupied by the army of Bîjâpûr. Every day skirmishes took place and the troops of Ahmadnagar were usually victorious over those of Bîjâpûr.

One day about forty valiant horsemen of Ahmadnagar, among whom were Ashraf Khân, Farang Khân, Fîrûz Khân, Sayyid Muhammad Qâsim, Miyân Tund, Khaljî Khân, Shaikh Mukhtâr, Miyân Afghân, Shaikh Khanus, Farhâd Khân, Anwar Chata Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Ibrâhîm, Sayyid Uwais and others, while out reconnoitring passed near the laager of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. Qadam Khân and Mustafâ Khân of Bîjâpûr, with 3,000 horse and several elephants, were employed in constructing this laager, and when they saw how few there were of the army of Ahmadnagar, they lay in wait for them and suddenly attacked them. The forty horsemen, however, threw themselves upon their assailants and at length overcame them and dispersed them, pursuing them nearly as far as Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's tents. Just then Ikhlâs Khân, one of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's *amîrs*, came up with fifty horse, and when he saw that forty horsemen had defeated a large body of the enemy, he too, fired, with the spirit of emulation, attacked a force under Qabûl Khân 'Âdilshâhî, which was without the laager, defeated it, and put it to flight.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh saw that his army was unable to meet that of Ahmadnagar in the field, he lost heart, left Sholâpûr at night and returned to Bîjâpûr, whereupon Burhân Nizâm Shâh returned to Ahmadnagar.

XL.—An account of Ibrahîm 'Âdil Shâh's second attempt to recover Sholâpûr, of the expedition of Burhân Nizâm Shah to meet him and of the latter's victory.

After a while Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was again moved with the desire to recover Sholâpûr, and marched thither with a large army and besieged it as before, constructing lines of contravallation and a strong laager, within which he took up his quarters. Burhân Nizâm Shâh then marched from Ahmadnagar with a large army and encamped over against

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and, as before, skirmishes took place daily One day Bahâdur Khân, brother of 'Âlam Khân and one of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's officers, attacked the enemy and performed great feats of valour, but since the enemy greatly outnumbered him, they were able to surround him, and he was very nearly taken prisoner, but reinforcements were sent from the army of Ahmadnagar and freed Bahâdur Khân from his perilous position Afterwards Pîr Muhammad Khân, with the small force under his command, attacked the 'Âdilshâhî army and fought most bravely, but was at length taken prisoner and carried before Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who highly praised him for his valour and, giving him a robe of honour and a reward, allowed him to depart

After that the king commanded Mushîr-ul-Mulk the Afghân, to attack the enemy and ordered Fîrûz Khân to support him, but although Mushîr-ul-Mulk displayed great valour on that day, the attack was unsuccessful, and Fîrûz Khân, who was envious, reported to the king that Mushîr-ul-Mulk had not behaved well before the enemy The king, in his displeasure with Mushîr-ul-Mulk the Afghân, deprived him of his command and transferred it to Allâh Dâd Daulat Khân, but Daulat Khân informed the king that Mushîr ul-Mulk had behaved very bravely in the fight and that Fîrûz Khân's report was false The king then sent for Daulat Khân's brothers, who had been with Mushîr-ul-Mulk in the battle, and asked them for an account of the fight They insisted that Mushîr-ul-Mulk had shewn great bravery, and the king then restored Mushîr-ul-Mulk to his command and honoured him before his fellows; but Fîrûz Khân, who had made a lying report, fell from favour

One day at about this time Nûr Khân 'Âdilshâhî made an attack on the royal army and Kâmil Khân, one of the *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar, was wounded with an arrow Burhân Nizâm Shâh sent Shujâ'at Khân, Azhdahâ Khân, and Daulat Khân to the assistance of Kâmil Khân with instructions to punish Nûr Khân These *amîrs* attacked Nûr Khân, who, being unable to withstand them, took to flight Some of the Ahmadnagaris pursued him and slew several Bîjâpûrîs, and returned with their horses and arms

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh again found that his troops were not able to withstand those of Ahmadnagar and, as he had done before, returned to Bîjâpûr by the road by which he had come and thus made an end of the strife Burhân Nizâm Shâh then returned in triumph to his capital

XLI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF SÂLBA, BETWEEN BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH AND IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH AND OF OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED ABOUT THAT TIME

Some months after the retreat of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh from Sholâpûr to Bîjâpûr and the return of Burhân Nizâm Shâh to his capital, Asad Khân 'Âdilshâhî, who was always at heart a faithful servant of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and shewed his fidelity in all campaigns and battles between Ahmadnagar and Bîjâpûr, took ill, and in his sickness it occurred to him that as Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was always suspicious of him he might take advantage of this opportunity to get rid of him He therefore wrote secretly to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, urging him to invade the kingdom of Bîjâpûr, in order that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh being perturbed by the invasion of his country, might abandon his design against him

As Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, unlike the rest of the *amîrs* of the Dakan [104] who were usually submissive and obedient to the king, attended at court when called upon, and attended him in his wars (and if occasionally one of them were disloyal or disobedient, he became the object of the king's wrath and speedily met with his deserts), was constantly at enmity

104 This is a very impudent attempt to represent an independent sovereign as one of the *amîrs* of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's court

with Ahmadnagar and opposed the king on every possible occasion, Burhân Nizâm Shâh made it his principal object to overthrow this promoter of strife, to take vengeance on him and to deliver the people of the country from his oppression and tyranny He also sent Shâh Tâhir to win over Malik Barîd, who was just now not on good terms with Ahmadnagar, and with instructions to go on, after he had sent Malik Barîd to Ahmadnagar, to Telingâna and to attempt to induce Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk to enter into an offensive alliance with Ahmadnagar, for at this time Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk followed his usual policy of keeping himself to himself, and of avoiding both enmity and alliance with the other Sultâns of the Dakan

Shâh Tâhir had an audience of Malik Barîd ('Alî Barîd Shâh) and stated the case to him It is said that Khân Jahân, the brother of Malik Barîd, set himself dexterously to annoy Shâh Tâhir and uttered words regarding him which bore a contemptuous signification Shâh Tâhir was very angry and returned angry answers Malik Barîd was much annoyed at his brother's conduct and did his best to pacify Shâh Tâhir, and actually punished his brother, but Shâh Tâhir never forgot the insult This matter ended in Malik Barîd joining Burhân Nizâm Shâh at Ahmadnagar, and Shâh Tâhir went to Telingâna

When Shâh Tâhir waited on Sultân Qulî Qutb Shâh he soon persuaded him not to oppose, but to further, the designs of Burhân Nizâm Shâh Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk set out with his army to aid Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and sent on in advance a force which accompanied Shâh Tâhir Burhân Nizâm Shâh, when all his forces had assembled, marched towards Bîjâpûr

Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and 'Alî Barîd Shâh paid their respects to the king at about the same time and the army moved forward and crossed the Bhimur When the troops thus entered the Bîjâpûr dominions, Burhân Nizâm Shâh sent his artillery on towards Bîjâpûr by the main road, while he, with the rest of his army, marched rapidly on Bîjâpûr by another and less well-known road

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh learnt that Burhân had separated his artillery from the main body of his army, he, with a picked force, moved on the artillery by forced marches. The *amîrs*, who were with the artillery, defended the guns manfully and, since they had a large force with them, they beat off the attacking force and wounded many and made many prisoners They loaded some of the guns to the muzzles, so that they burst when fired

Meanwhile the main body of the army, marching rapidly by the other road, had arrived before Bîjâpûr, and the king encamped there and opened the siege A messenger now came from Asad Khân to say that the prospect of the success of a siege of Bîjâpûr was not very hopeful, and to advise the king to march on Belgaum, as that fortress would more easily all into their hands

The king then marched from Bîjâpûr, and halted at Mîraj, [105] the distance from which place to Belgaum is three *gâûs* Here he heard that Asad Khân had died and that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had reached Belgaum and was prepared to defend the place He therefore turned aside and, instead of marching on Belgaum, marched on Panhâla,[106] a very high and strong fortress, and besieged that fortress The army besieged it vigorously for three days, in the course of which Râjan Mahalldâr, one of the king's intimate associates, was slain It soon became manifest that the army would not be able to capture that fortress, and the king

105 Mîraj is situated in 16° 49′ N and 74° 41′ E Sayyid 'Alî's geography is as bad as his history. The distance from Mîraj to Belgaum is not three *gâûs* (twelve miles) but about sixty eight miles

106 Panhâla is about thirty five miles west of Miraj I have not been able to find Pâmîn, but pehaps we should read "the lower fortress"

abandoned the siege and marched on the fortress of Pâmîn, and laid siege to it The army of Ahmadnagar, after having laid siege to Pâmîn for no more than a day and a night, took the fortress by storm, and Burhân Nizâm Shâh caused its fortifications and the dwellings of its inhabitants to be levelled with the ground [107]

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then marched to Satâra, [7] a very strong fortress situated in the hills, and, in spite of its strength, his troops attacked it resolutely and continued their attempts to take the place by storm for five days, at the end of which time Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was marching to attack him He therefore detached several thousand horse under the command of some of the bravest *amîrs* of his army to advance to meet Ibrâhîm, for the ground about Satâra, where Burhân was encamped, was very hilly and unsuited for battle The *amîrs* marched to meet Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and when they fell in with his advanced guard, attacked it, and slew many But the main body of the army of Bîjâpûr arrived on the field and attacked the *amîrs*, defeated them, and put them to flight

Then Burhân Nizâm Shâh, seeing that he could not fight in the position before Satâra, marched to the *ghât* of Sâlpa, where he encamped But the position here also was very cramped, owing to the density of the jungle, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh sent 3,000 infantry of his army into the jungle surrounding Burhân's camp, in order that they might harass and annoy the army of Ahmadnagar The enemy's infantry, trusting to the density of the jungle, carried out these orders, but Burhân Nizâm Shâh ordered Dilâvar Khân and Daryâ to attack the infantry and they fell on them and at once slew three hundred of them, and carried the heads to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, by whose orders they were built up into pillars

As Pâr [108] was too cramped a position for the army, Burhân Nizâm Shâh marched on and encamped on the river of Pâr On the following day Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh descended the *ghât* and encamped over against the royal army, and the two armies lay that night opposite to one another

On the following morning the two armies were drawn up in battle array and the fight began. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh fought in person with the utmost valour, and several times threw both the right and the left wings of the army of Ahmadnagar into confusion Burhân Nizâm Shâh was astonished at Ibrâhîm's bravery and loudly praised it, although parts of his own army were scattered He himself, however, in the assurance that victory would at last be his, firmly held his ground, and Shâh Tâhir, who was supernaturally enlightened regarding the result of the day, confirmed him in his resolution The battle lasted till sunset, when Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with two or three thousand of his best cavalry took up his position on some rising ground on the flank of the army of Ahmadnagar Burhân Nizâm Shâh then opened a fire of rockets on the enemy and scattered them, while Kâmil Khân and Zahîr-ul-Mulk, two *amîrs* of the army of Ahmadnagar, attacked Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and dispersed the force of cavalry which was with him Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh then fled from the field, and the army of Ahmadnagar, pressing forward, pursued and slew many of the fugitives and captured their camp equipage, goods, arms and elephants, and also Ibrâhîm's umbrella and other insignia of royalty

Among the spoils were forty elephants, including Asad Khân's own riding elephant and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's umbrella and *âftâbgîr* and all his insignia of royalty Burhân Nizâm

107 This is the famous fort of Satâra, once Sivaji's capital, and now the headquarters of a British district, situated in 17° 41′ N and 74° E

108 The Pâr Pass, situated about thirty-four miles north-west of Satâra

Shâh's scribes then wrote accounts of the victory and dispatched them to all places in the king's dominions

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then returned in triumph to his capital and devoted his attention to the administration of his kingdom and to the needs of his army and his subjects

XLII.—An account of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's third expedition to Sholâpûr and of its capture

After Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had suffered at Sâlpa such a defeat as he had never in his life suffered before, he devoted his attention to the strengthening of his army, to collecting material for war, and to preparing for reprisals He also, by diplomatic arts, gained over to his side Barîd-i-Mamâlik and then marched to Sholâpûr with a large army When he reached Sholâpûr he opened a regular siege and, in accordance with his usual custom, constructed lines of contravallation against a counter-attack from the army of Ahmadnagar and carried a flying sap towards the fortress on all sides

When Burhân Nizâm Shâh received news of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's siege of Sholâpûr, he assembled his army and asked Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh for help, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh came to his assistance He then marched to Sholâpûr and encamped in the neighbourhood of the army of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and skirmishes took place daily between the two armies This intermittent fighting went on for a long time, and meanwhile provisions began to fail in the fort and the garrison were reduced to great straits, for Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh besieged them so straitly that no communication between those within the fort and those without was possible Moreover Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh wearied of the long strife and had no heart for fighting, but devoted all his efforts to attempting to make peace Meanwhile, the rainy season began very suddenly and caused great hardship in the army of Ahmadnagar Burhân Nizâm Shâh now sent a messenger secretly to Barîd-i Mamâlik to detach him by any means from his alliance with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, in the hope that his defection would so weaken the besiegers that they would be compelled to relinquish the siege Barîd-i Mamâlik replied that the fortress of Sholâpûr could hardly pass from the possession of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and that his defection from Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh would make no difference He also said that it was not the practice of his kingdom to forsake an ally before a campaign had been brought to a conclusion, and that if he now abandoned Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh he could hardly hope to be trusted by Burhân Nizâm Shâh in future He advised Burhân Nizâm Shâh to abandon Sholâpur for that year to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and to return the next year with a large army to recapture it, promising him his aid in the following year, when he would be free from his engagement with Bîjâpûr Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh supported Amîr 'Alî Shâh and advised Burhân to make peace with Bîjâpûr For these reasons therefore, Burhân Nizâm Shâh made peace with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, surrendered Sholâpûr to him, and returned to Ahmadnagar

XLIII.—An account of the death of Sultân Qutb-ul-Mulk, and of Jamshîd's accession to the throne

After the affair of Sholâpûr, Malik Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul-Mulk,[109] the governor of the country of Telingâna, was assassinated by one of his courtiers and his eldest son, Jamshîd

109 Sultân Qulî Qutb-ul Mulk, the founder of the Qutb Shâhî dynasty of Golconda, declared his independence in 1512, but had already been virtually independent for twenty two years From his epitaph it does not appear that he used the royal title, though his descendants did He was murdered on September 3rd, 1543, in the ninety-eighth year of his age, by his second surviving son Jamshîd, who succeeded him This account of 'Ali Barîd Shâh's attempt to annex Telingâna appears to be entirely imaginary, for it was only towards the end of Jamshîd's reign that his brothers Haidar and Ibrâhîm fled to

Khân, who had been imprisoned in Golconda by his father's order, was released by his father's murderer and ascended the throne His brothers, Haidar Khân and Ibrâhîm Khân, who were not content that he should be king, fled with part of the army and forty elephants and took refuge with 'Alî Barîd Shâh 'Alî Barîd Shâh then conceived the foolish notion of capturing Telingâna for himself, believing that its conquest would be easy with the help of Haidar Khân and Ibrâhîm, who were the heirs to the kingdom, and of the army of Telingâna, most of which was well affected towards them He therefore assembled his army, marched into Telingâna, besieged Golconda, and entered on a campaign

Shâh Tâhir, in whose heart Khân Jahân's witticisms still rankled, when he heard that 'Alî Barîd Shâh had invaded Telingâna, warned Burhân Nizâm Shâh that the dissatisfaction of Haidar Khân and Ibrâhîm with the elevation of their brother Jamshîd to the throne, and their taking refuge with 'Alî Barîd Shâh had inspired the latter with the ambition of becoming king of the whole of the Dakan, and that he had invaded Telingâna as a step towards the attainment of this object He said that if 'Alî Barîd Shâh gained possession of Telingâna, his power would be more than doubled and that it behoved the king not to treat this matter as one of no importance but to act at once, as 'Alî Barîd Shâh would certainly plunge the whole of the Dakan into war as soon as he found himself strong enough to be able to do so with a chance of ultimate success and that it would not be easy to overthrow him after he had conquered Jamshîd and annexed Telingâna The king therefore assembled his army, summoned Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, and marched towards Telingâna to the assistance of Jamshîd Qutb Shâh, sending on before him a force under some of his *amîrs* to render immediate aid to Jamshîd

The road taken by the king with the main body of the army lay by the fortress of Kohîr,[110] which is in the country of 'Alî Barîd Shâh, but is near the borders of Telingâna Here the king halted and besieged the fortress The garrison, seeing that there was no hope of successfully defending the place and that the fort was so surrounded by the army of Ahmadnagar that no way of escape remained, surrendered, and by the king's order the army refrained from molesting them, their property, or their wives and children

When the *amîrs*, with the force which had been sent forward to the aid of Jamshîd Qutb-ul-Mulk, entered Telingâna, and 'Alî Barîd Shâh and his brother heard of the fall of Kohîr, they were greatly alarmed, and retreated rapidly from Telingâna towards Bîjâpûr, and took refuge in the dominions of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh Jamshîd Qutb-ul-Mulk then came to pay his respects to the king, and to thank him for the help which he had given, and the king bestowed on him a royal robe, an umbrella and *âftâbgîr*, and honoured him with the title of Qutb Shâh Some historians say that, although the king offered Jamshîd Qutb-ul-Mulk an umbrella and *âftâbgîr*, he refused to receive them, saying that all the *amîrs* of the Dakan had assumed umbrellas and *âftâbgîrs* and that it behoved him to serve the king faithfully as a soldier He also said that he was the loyal slave of the king and would carry out any orders that were given to him, or attack any enemy against whom he was sent, and hoped that he should be able to perform his duties to the king's satisfaction.

Bîdar, where all that 'Alî Barîd Shâh did for them was to give them a safe asylum Haidar died in Bîdar and Ibrâhîm went on to Vijayanagar, whence he started, after Jamshîd's death, on the expedition which gained for him the throne of Golconda The true course of events after Jamshîd's accession seems to have been as follows Burhân, eager to recover Sholâpûr, instigated Jamshîd to invade Bîjâpûr from the east and Sadâshivarâya of Vijayanagar to attack Râichûr, and himself invaded the Sholâpûr district and several times defeated the troops of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh Ibrâhîm conciliated Burhân by the cession of Sholâpûr, induced Sadâshivarâya to withdraw his troops from Râichur, and then sent Asad Khân Lârî against Jamshîd Qutb Shâh, who was utterly defeated and driven back to Golconda

110 Kohîr, famous for its mangoes, is about twenty five miles south by east of Bîdar

Although 'Alî Barîd Shâh had sought refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, he expressed repentance for his ill-advised action, and by fair words and submissive messages attempted to excuse himself to Burhân Nizâm Shâh He sent a letter, couched in humble terms, to Shâh Tâhir, expressing his contrition

When Jamshîd Qutb Shâh waited on the king before Kohîr and received special honour, Burhân Nizâm Shâh took counsel with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and Jamshîd Qutb Shâh regarding the recapture of Sholâpûr, and then marched, accompanied by them towards Sholâpûr

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh became aware of Burhân's design and realized that he could not hope to confront him successfully in the field, he and 'Alî Barîd Shâh marched to Parenda and besieged it, and when Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard of this, he abandoned the siege of Sholâpûr and marched to meet Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, encamping at the village of Khâṣṣpûrî Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh likewise left Parenda and marched on Khâṣṣpûrî to meet Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and at that place a battle was fought The opposing forces were drawn up in the morning and the battle raged till sunset, when victory was declared for Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and his army fled from the field, leaving all their camp equipage and Ibrâhîm's insignia of royalty in the hands of the victors, who plundered them

Jamshîd Qutb Shâh, who had been nursing his wrath against 'Alî Barîd Shâh, now seized his opportunity and pursued the army of Bîdar 'Alî Barîd Shâh, in his fear of Jamshîd, fled precipitately, leaving his umbrella and *âftâbgîr* and all his insignia of royalty in the hands of Jamshîd Qutb Shâh

After the armies of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and 'Alî Barîd Shâh had been thus defeated, Jamshîd Qutb Shâh received leave to depart, and returned to Telingâna, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh returned to Berar The royal army then returned to Ahmadnagar

(To be continued)

ON THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN CASTE-SYSTEM

BY HERMANN OLDENBERG

(Translated by H C Chakladar, M A, Calcutta)

(Continued from p 214)

These outlines appear to me, expressed briefly, to be the following ,—

Amongst the Aryan people, the boundary-line separating whom from the non Aryans is perceived to be growing sharper and sharper, a twofold aristocracy rises into prominence—the one characterised by the possession of the priestly power of magic and the other by secular dominion In the third position is the mass of the non-aristocratic Aryans Then outside the Aryan community, the non-Aryan plebeians and slaves, finally, further outside, the wild or half-wild tribes untouched by civilisation Evidently there are admixtures of these elements, there is nothing to disprove that those great categories are perceived and recognised as fundamentally governing the social life and demonstrating their power at every step Shall we find it necessary now to speak here only of "classes" and avoid the word "caste?" But it is just this fixedness, I might say animal fixedness, of character based upon birth and hardly surmountable by human endeavour, that is usually denoted by the word "caste" When Śramaṇas came into being, they formed only a class and not a caste, the class of the Brâhmans, a social organisation of the ancient style, was a caste, the Brâhman might, as economic necessity often enough made him,[16]

[16] *Cf* the remarks of Ibbetson in his excellent description of the castes in the Panjab *Report on the Census of the Panjab*, 1881, Vol I, 173, 174 *ff*

carry on other than a priestly profession, he might become a cultivator, a butcher or a thief then he was perhaps treated with contempt, but he remained a Brâhman [17] Under these great caste divisions stood the organisation of the gens and of families, but no castes in the sense of the castes of modern India

I believe that we may point out a number of other considerations, that will fully strengthen and add to the importance, of what has been enunciated above

"It is not the theory which can account for the facts, it is the facts that help us to see the theory in its true light," says Senart Now, however, the theory is separated from the facts which are said to elucidate them, by thousands of years is it necessary to say in such a case what dangers threaten the interpretation? These dangers must impose upon the investigator the categorical duty of not taking a leap from antiquity to modern times, without first of all devoting the most careful attention to the series of positive facts nearer that remote period of antiquity—facts which in reality have the first claim to be taken into account, if it is intended to explain the theory in the light of the facts

I have already asserted above (p 268) that to me the information given in Pâli literature and, in particular, in the *Jâtakas*, that "great thesaurus of Indian antiquity both in respect of state lore and private life" (Buhler) seems to deserve, in connection with the problems before us, a consideration that they have not received from Senart We endeavour, with the assistance of the excellent work of Fick, to formulate some of the principal points which can be gleaned from them

At the head may be placed the statements in the canonical Pâli text with the help of which it will be possible to discuss whether they also on their side are not to be taken into account as facts coming within the scope of the theories I believe, indeed, that they are clearly enough marked by a close correspondence with actual life, and that whatever theory may underlie the social pictures in the Pâli texts, it is so far independent, at least, of the Brâhmanical theory, that we shall be entitled throughout to make use of these evidences as a proper authority for checking the other one

In connection with the prohibition of mutual insults (Suttavibhanga, Pâcittiya II, 2; Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol IV, p 6 *ff*), it is related how one may insult another by giving him a low, or, in an ironical manner, a high designation This may be done *jâtiyâ*, *gottena kammena*, *sippena* and in other ways, and here are specified the principal cases of higher and lower *jati* &c The lower *jâtis* are enumerated as *Chandâlajâti*, *Venajâti*, *Nesâdajâti*, *Rathakârajâti*, *Pukkusajati*, and the higher ones as *Khattiyajâti* and *Brâhmanajâti* No indication is given that any other case of *jâti* might be looked upon as low or high, the respective possibilities are manifestly looked upon as exhausted, but, of course, the existence of middle *jâtiyo*, that lie between the high and the low cannot be denied Of *gotta*, there are named several well-known Brâhmanical *gottas*, some as low (*e g*, the Bharadvâjagottam, the horrible Brahman Jûjaka in the Vessantara story is, for example,

[17] Senart (123 *ff*) says 'The Brahman caste pursues its destiny under our eyes Under what conditions? Not at all as a veritable caste, as we have seen, but as an agglomeration of innumerable castes" And of the *Kshatriya* and the *Vaiśya* (he says) "Here again we can see nothing but some generic names, a very vast cadre intended to comprise within itself, to conceal, a division into fractions, really infinite" Of this 'infinite division into fractions" at least the beginnings may have already existed in reality in the early times But the respective fractions were neither called castes, nor were they castes What there was, was a fast increasing break up of the occupations into fragments This, however, did not hinder the great old castes (*varna*, *jâti*) from continuing to live in the Indian consciousness as expressive of a natural division of the individuals

a Bhâradvâja , *cf* Jât, Vol VI, p 532)—and others as high (*e g* the *Gotamagottam* to which Buddha belonged) Low *Kamma* *Kotthakakammam, Pupphachhaddakakammam* High *kamma* *kasi vânijjâ gorakkhâ* Low *sippa* *Nalakârasippam, Kumbhakârasippam, pesakârasippam, Chammakârasippam, Nahâpitasippam* High *sippa* *muddâ gananâ lekhâ* [18] With regard to *gotta, kamma* and *sippa,* it has to be added that beside the examples mentioned above as high or low, we have to take into consideration what may, *tesu tesu janapadesu,* be regarded as high or be looked upon with contempt

Now, does here the *jâti*—according to Senart the proper word for caste in the sense in which he understands the word, that is, something similiar to the modern caste —appear in any way to differ from the castes or classes of the ancient Brâhmanical system ? I confess I am unable to discover anything that might justify Senart's transformation of the concept referred to One is Brâhmana or Kshatriya by virtue of his *jâti*, or one belongs by virtue of his *jâti* to the despised people, the Chandâlas, Nishâdas, &c Everything fully corresponds to the ancient system in the sense in which we are accustomed to understand it from the remotest times Moreover, that the trade of the *Rathakâra* consolidated itself as a *jâti*, or associated itself with a particular *jâti*, corresponds to what is otherwise known (see above, p 277 *ff*), *Vena* (*Vaina*) also stands in a line with the *Rathakâra* in the Dharma literature[19]—not, of course, so far as is known to me, in the ritual literature of the Veda However, apart from such origins whereby several crafts assumed the form of *jâti*, the bulk of the crafts are summed up under the category *sippa* The merchants also represent not a *jâti* but a *kamma* [20] As regards the narrow divisions inside the *jâti* of the Brâhmana, &c , what are mentioned are not the small, perhaps local, castes in the Senartian sense, but the ancient *gotras*

Now what this passage of the Suttavibhanga expresses in a theoretical form, appears to me to be confirmed by other data in the Pâli text, so far as I am in a position to see up till now, and especially by the data of the Jâtakas so carefully worked out by Fick Where people are characterised as *jâti*, they are either Brâhmans or Khattiyas or Chandâlas and so forth,[21] but we do not find that immense variety of *jâtis* which is peculiar to the caste system at the present day Often we read [22] that there were four kinds of assemblies assemblies of Khattiyas, Brâhmaṇas, Gahapatis, Samanas—*i e* , of the three ancient higher castes[23] and beside them, those of the new class of ascetics freed from the bonds of caste Similarly it is often said[24] that there were four *kulas* the *kulas* of Brâhmana, of Khattiya, of Vessa and of Sudda, or that three kinds of important *Kulas* [25] were distinguished—the

18 Cf *Mahâvagga* I, 49 (*Vinaya Pitaka,* Vol I, p 77)

19 *Cf* Fick, p 209 *ff* about *Rathakâra* and *Vena*

20 The difference between *Kamma* and *Sippa* seems to me to be that the former represents an independent means of living pursued only for one's own benefit, and the latter, on the other hand, denotes work done as a rule for others and dependent upon some manual skill

21 Mixed castes like those that play such an important rôle in the Brâhmaṇical legal literature, appear to be unknown to the Pâli texts Opinions appear to have differed as to whether a child descended from parents of whom one came from the Brâhman, and the other from the Khattiya caste, was to be allowed to have the quality of a Brâhman or a Khattiya I am unable, however, to discover any statement about the proper categories for the children of such marriages Cf *Assalâyanasutta,* p 15 (Pischel), Fick, p 35 *ff*, 57 *ff*

22 *E g* , Mahâparinibbânasutta, p 11 (Childers), Mahâvagga, VI, 28, 4, &c

23 We shall come back to the meaning of the term *gahapati*

24 *E g* , Suttavibhanga, Samghâdisesa, XIII, 2

25 Chullavagga, VI, 6, 2

Kula of the *Khattiya*, of the *Brâhmana*, and of the *Gahapati*[26] Everywhere it is patent that in the period of the Pâli text the old framework did in no way cease to govern the actual life, and to represent its condition adequately Where the Jâtaka stories turn upon questions of cleanness and defilement, the reference is to the old categories such as *Khattiya*, *Brâhmana* (*Udichchabrâhmana*) and *Chandâla*[27] "A breaking up of the Brâhman caste into several sub-castes," says Fick pertinently (p 125 A 1), 'a coalition of those expelled from caste into new castes, as it exists in modern India, is, I believe, not met with in the older Buddhistic period, because nowhere in the Pâli text do we find a trace of it" There is no reason to suppose that we have to think of a narrow caste like union of a local nature inside the Brâhman caste, when the expression *Udichchabrâhmana* is used[28], the word itself signifies nothing more than this, that the Brâhmana families that came from the north west — as well known historical circumstances prove easily — were held in particular esteem

So far as the castes *Khattiya*, *Vessa* and *Sudda* are specially concerned, I believe that Fick (pp 55, 163, 202) is far too sceptical with reference to their real significance during the period of which the Pâli texts furnish an account[29] When it is admitted that the families of Gautama, Bhâradvâja, &c, were all grouped together in the caste of Brâhmanas, as being pervaded all of them by the mystic potency of the *Brahman*, I cannot see why, just in the same way and answering to exactly similiar modes of expression in the texts, it should not be held that families like those of the Śâkyas, Lichchhavis, &c, all of whom felt in themselves the potency of the Kshatra nobility, all of whom said "*Mayam pi Khattiyâ*,[30] are to be reckoned as belonging to a single caste of the Khattiyas — a single caste of which the members, when they said to each other "I am a Khattiya," "I too am a Khattiya,"[31] knew and acknowledged each other as persons of the same kind and nature

There might indeed be some hesitation about the real existence of a caste of *Vessas* in the Buddhist period Turns of expression like those, so abundant in the Brâhmana texts, speaking about the relation of the *Kshatriya* and the *Vaiśya* as the oppressor and the oppressed, are not to be found in the Pâli texts Again, it could hardly, at least not often, happen that any person who appears in a story as engaged in trade, should be designated as a Vessa, because the denomination Brâhmana actually appears in numberless cases It is not therefore to be wrongly supposed that here there is a positive withdrawal from our former position The causes of this apparent anomaly are, methinks, clear as day In the Rigvedic age the Vaiśyas formed a union, which, however comprehensive it might be, was, none the less, a real, tangible union, not a union of Aryans raised above the general level, through spiritual or temporal nobility, by virtue of the inherent potency of the ***Brahma*** or ***Kshatra***, but a union, we might say, of the Aryan peasants carrying on agriculture and cattle breeding In the Buddhist period, the advance of civilisation had dissolved the ancient union Big

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26 Fick (p 22 n 4) deduces wrongly from such passages, that *kula* there signifies "caste" It everywhere signifies "family," and those passages show that the generic notion of the family is split up into specific ideas like Brahman family and so forth

27 Fick, 26 *ff* *Cf* Jât, Vol VI, p 422 *evarûpo pi nâma khattiyo chandâliyâ saddhim vâsam kappesi*

28 Buhler, in Jolly *ZDMG*, 50, 515 *Cf* Fick, 138 *ff*

29 *Cf* about the rôle of the *Vaiśya* and the *Śudra* in Sanskrit literature, the analogous conceptions of Growse in Schlagintweit *ZDMG*, 33, 554, and L von Schroeder, *Indiens Litteratur und Kultur*, 419

30 Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, p 68 *ff*

31 See the account by Fick, p 26 The Buddhistic materials should not be forgotten, if one wishes to appreciate the theory set up by Senart (p 24)—of course in relation to the literature of the Sanskrit law books — As regards the Kshatriyas hardly their name itself has survived in some traces, they are rare"

towns now formed the centre of life In the towns or before the doors of the towns lay the great, perhaps the greatest, part of the scenes of the transactions that the Buddhist texts relate In these cities there had grown up a rich and highly respectable merchant class [32] They were the residences of a highly progressive artisan class ramifying into many branches, and it may be considered as probable that the force of circumstances had driven masses of persons of Aryan descent into the arts and crafts, which at one time probably were as a rule the occupations of the Śûdras [33] Under such conditions, many of the categories that had governed life in ancient times must have faded under the altered circumstances of the new age [34] It is natural that where pretensions of spiritual or temporal nobility came into play, as among the Brâhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, the ancient ways of viewing things held out with a tenacity different from that in the sphere of burgher life In this sphere, however, guilds or corporations of merchants and artisans —just as in mediæval Europe they acquired a great importance in connection with the flourishing of city, life, similarly also in India,—stepped into the foreground as adequately representing the actual situation and its living interests, pushing into the background such concepts as those of the Vaisya or the Śûdra [35] Moreover, we are entitled to maintain that although these last mentioned concepts had been pushed into the background in comparison with the others, yet they had by no means gone out of existence A tradesman was of course in the first place designated a tradesman, but the distinction that the people made between the *Vessakulam* and the *Suddakulam*, makes us adopt the view that on that account, the fact was not lost sight of, that a particular merchant was a *Vessa* or that an artisan was possibly a *Sudda* [36] And the important rôle that the *Gahapati* plays in the Pâli text justifies the conclusion that here it represents a still living thing rather than a mere decayed reminiscence of an institution nearing extinction I believe, in fact, that we may take the *Gahapatikula* of the Pâli text as a synonym for *Vessakula* [37]

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32 I may so express myself, without the fear of being misunderstood, that I deny that there were any merchants in the Ṛigvedic times

33 This was not considered as normal in the Buddhistic times, a touch of inferiority was always attached to the handicrafts *Cf* the above quoted (p 282) passage of the Suttavibbhanga as also the observations of the Majjhima Nikâya (Vol I, p 85, ed Trenckner) about the *sippatthânas* which were suitable for the *Kulaputta* In this connection we may take into consideration what the Dasabrahmana jâtaka says (see Fick 142) about the Brâhmanas who followed agriculture and trade, tended goats and sheep, they resemble the *Ambattha* and *Vessa*, for the Vessa, even then agriculture, cattle breeding and trade, and not the handicrafts, were characteristic occupations [yet of the modern Banya (merchant) says Ibbetson, *op cit*, p 291 "he is generally admitted to be of pure Vaisya descent"] It may be observed as singular that the *Kumbhakâra* appearing in Jât, I, p 80 bears the *gotta* name *Bhaggava*

34 This is explained very clearly in certain interesting verses of the Bhuridattajâtaka, Jat, Vol VI, p 208, verses 151, 153

35 Moreover, as regards the spiritual class, we may, I think, compare this, at least distantly, with the fact that by the side of, partly perhaps in preference to, the spiritual class of the old style—if I may use this expression—the Brâhman caste which was falling off from its old character, the spiritual class of the new style, corresponding to the ideas of the new age, that is, the sects of the Śramaṇas stepped up to the foreground

36 I here refer in passing to the *Vessânam vîthi* which is mentioned in Jât, Vol VI, p 185 *Cf* also p 418, verse 1477, as also p 142, verse 636 *Rathakârakulesu vâ pukkusakulesu vâ vessesu vâ*

37 The frequent mention side by side of the three categories of *khattiya*, *brâhmana* and *gahapati* shows that we have to think of the *gahapati* as a category different from the two higher castes, and yet of the same kind The conspicuous and respectable position, on the other hand, that is assigned to the *Gahapatis* (Fick, 164), seems to preclude the idea that *suddas* were included among them I cannot admit a mode of expression like the Jâtaka passage (II, 241) cited by Fick (*op cit*), as sufficiently adequate for the purpose of establishing a difference between *vessa* and *gahapati* This holds good also of Jât, I, 152

In the observations made above we have already touched upon the passages in the Pali text bearing on the concept *Sudda* Here also Fick (p 202) denies the real existence of a caste And certainly it is correct that endlessly heterogeneous elements were comprised together under that designation, about which the only definite thing was that it denoted the position of these individuals below the three higher castes, and that people had no interest in having a clear comprehension of its proper positive character and no enquiry was made in that direction However, I would not like to express it as my opinion that the concept *Sudda* appertained to mere theoretical discussions No matter what exactly those designated as *Sudda* were, to the living consciousness[38] of the generality of people as it is reflected in the Pali text, the Suddas appear, I think, to have been a category of men who were homogeneous at least when looked at from a particular point of view and were united among themselves by this common feature The Ambatthasutta (Dîgha Nikâya) compares the Brahman who mechanically repeats the hymns of the ancient *Rishis*, to a *Suddo vâ Suddadâso vâ*, to a man who stations himself at the place from which a king has spoken, who talks in the same words and then fancies himself to be a king, a clear proof, I think, that the concept *Sudda* had its existence not merely in the theoretical framework of society, but that the *Sudda* had not vanished out of the daily life, and that people were accustomed to say,, So and so is a *Sudda* [39]

If we are not yet entitled to contest that the concepts *Vaiśya* and *Śûdra* had parted with an essential part of their ancient significance in the Buddhist age, even then Pâli literature enables us, I think, an occasional glimpse of the newly-forming organisations which drove them out and installed themselves in their place I think that here we see before us a bit of the previous history of the modern system of caste, inasmuch as we meet with organisations that were predestined later to become castes, at a stage which evidently preceded that development

A passage in the formulary of confession of the Buddhist order of nuns — as given in one of the oldest texts of the Pâli literature — enumerates the courts, especially the corporate assemblies, which possessed a sort of magisterial dignity The veil of the nun should not be bestowed upon a *Chorî*, without the authorisation of the respective court, it says, *anapaloketvâ râjânam vâ samgham vâ ganam vâ pûgam vâ senim vâ* [40] The old commentary[41] observes here *râjâ nâma, yattha râjâ anusâsati râjâ apaloketabbo, samgho nâma bhikkhunîsamgho vuccati, bhikkhunîsamgho apaloketabbo Gano nâma* (then in the same way *pûgo nâma, seni nâma*), *yattha gano (pûgo, seni) apaloketabbo* It will be seen that in this enumeration there is no mention of caste associations (*jâti*) Here probably we meet with

(Fick, 165) when it is said there that one should behave properly to Brâhmans and Gahapatis, toward the *Negamas* and the *Jânapadas*, it does not manifestly follow that the *negamas* and the *jânapadas* stood on the same level as the *gahapatis*

38 Of course, not to the critical consciousness as it prevailed in the Buddhist monastic order itself, which maintained the essential equality of all men (*cf* say, the *Assalâyanasutta*) — which consciousness, moreover, was sometimes much wanting in consistency, as when the proposition was started that a Buddha could be born only in a Brâhman or a Kshatriya family

39 Here I refer also to the parable of the man who when hit by an arrow, instead of getting himself attended to by the physician, enquires first of all, who it is that has hit him, whether a *Khattiya* or a *Brâhman*, or a *Vessa* or a *Sudda* (*Majjhima Nikâya*, Vol I, p 429) in my opinion, a satisfactory evidence that people in their daily life had not ceased to mind whether a person was a *Vessa* or a *Sudda*.

40 Bhikkhunî Pâtimokkha, Sanghâdisesa 2 *Vinaya Pitaka*, Vol IV, p 226

41 See *Vinaya Pitaka*, Vol I, p XX *ff*

associations, namely the *senis*[42] in which, to all appearance, the tendency to develop into castes in the modern sense, was inherent. Tradition[43] defines *śreni* as an association of people of the same or of different *jâtis*, who carried on the same trade. Thus the legal literature enumerates by way of examples, *śrenis* of horse dealers, betel-sellers, weavers and shoemakers.[44] The inscriptions also furnish materials, not infrequently, those of the Buddhist cave temples of Nâsik Junnar, &c., where we find a *dhaññikaseni*, a *tilapishakaśreni* and so on (see Archæological Survey of Western India, IV, pp. 94, 96*ff*, 102, 104). Also an inscription of Gwalior (Samvat 933) mentions a *sreni* of oil pressers (*tailika*), as also one of gardeners (*mâlika*)[45], this last one appears also in an inscription of Samvat 1343 coming from Somanâtha in Sorath,[46] and so on. The Epic leaves no doubt that *sreni* acquired an important political significance.[47] We learn from the legal literature that the *śrenis* had their own ordinances and a certain jurisdiction.[48] Their presidents or elders are mentioned in the Jâtakas or in other places.[49] It is said of everyone who calls together an assembly of the people, *sabbâ semyo sannipâtetvâ*.[50] It is, however, quite clear that for the time of which the Jâtakas furnish a picture, the conception of caste has to be excluded from the *seni*. *Seni* is neither *vanna* nor *jâti*, the professions in which the corporation of *seni* is found to exist, fall, as the Suttabibhanga has shown us, under the category of *Sippam*, perhaps also that of *Kammam*, never under that of *Jâti*. On the other hand, however it is no less clear that there are occasions when the *senis* approach the nature of caste. The hereditary character of the professions is of course, not an inviolable law,[51] although in fact it is a very important rule.[52] There can be no doubt that the heterogeneous character, the greater or lesser degree of defilement which was associated with particular vocations according to the nature of the work, produced an aloofness mixed with contempt among the members, nay, a split among themselves. the frequent local isolation of particular professions in fixed streets or special villages[53] — perhaps wholly, or in part, in consequence of that defilement — must have contributed to the erection of barriers between them. Now, if from ancient times onwards, the thought and life of the nation, accustomed, to the conception of caste as a natural differentiation by birth, was connected —though not indissolubly and not without exceptions – with difference of occupation with such restrictions as were produced by the fear of defilement by intercourse with persons of lower birth. was it not then perfectly natural that out of these guilds or corporations, there should grow up organisations more and more like the castes, and ultimately the castes themselves.[54] We learn of guilds of the *Mâlikas* from a

[42] *Pûga* seems not to have been taken into account here. according to the definition quoted by Jolly *ZDMG*, 50, 518, *n.* 2 from the Viramitrodaya, the *pûga* is a corporation *bhinnajâtinâm bhinnavrittinâm ekasthânavâsinâm grâmanagarâdisthânânâm*. In the *Vinaya Pitaka* may be compared perhaps Chulla vagga, VIII, 4, 1, Nissaggiya 30, 1, Pâchittiya 33, 5, 2, 82, 1, Bhikkhuni Nissaggiya 8, 1, *cf.* also Foy, Konigliche Gewalt, p. 15, n. 1.

[43] See Jolly, *op. cit.* p. 518.

[44] Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 136.

[45] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 160. *Cf.* the guild of the *mâlâkâra* of whom *jetthaka* is mentioned in *Jât*, III, p. 405.

[46] *Ep. Ind.*, I, 285.

[47] Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, 81 *ff.*

[48] Fick, 172, Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 136, Foy, *Konigliche Gewalt*, 14.

[49] Fick, 182.

[50] *Dhammap. Atth.*, p. 239.

[51] One is here reminded of the parents who pondered upon the question whether they should make their son learn *lekhâ*, *gananâ* or *rûpa*, *Mahâvagga*, I, 49.

[52] Fick, 179.

[53] Fick, 180 *ff.*

[54] An instructive example how, in the atmosphere of India, organisations of a quite different nature readily develop the tendency of resembling organisms of the form of caste, is afforded by the fact that at the present day there exists no connubium, or at least, no commensality between the Brâhmans of the various Vedic schools, such as the Ṛigvedis, Mâdhyandins, Âpastambs, etc., Jolly *ZDMG*, 50, 515. Senart,

Jâtaka and also from inscriptions, at the present day there is a caste of the *Mâli*.[55] This transition from one stage of development to another becomes specially clear, if it be observed that what in one place is a guild, corresponds in another to a caste.[56] So I think there can be no doubt left — and here I find myself fully in agreement with Fick,[57] who has anticipated me in arriving at this conclusion, *viz.* that the guilds which the Pâli literature shows us to have been in such a flourishing condition, are the predecessors, in a very essential part, of the present day castes; and in as much as we see before us the previous stage of the modern castes in the Buddhist literature, therefore we are again convinced that there is no justification for transferring these modern castes themselves back to the period of the texts referred to.

Though in the course of these observations I have allowed myself to be induced, by the original materials discussed, to cast an occasional glimpse at the origin of modern castes, at least from a particular point of view, yet it will not be possible for me here to attempt a comprehensive treatment of the problem in question, which would evidently have to be approached from a good many different directions.[58] It would require a thorough investigation of sources, practically immeasurable in their dimensions, to enable us to bridge over the wide gulf between antiquity and modern times, so far as it is possible for it to be bridged over.

Senart attributes the blame of the errors which he thinks he has discovered in the traditional conception of ancient Indian caste, to the credulity of the philological school who have been carried away, without question or opposition, by the Brâhmanical theory, and it has tended to shroud an unprejudiced vision of the real state of things. I am the last person to pronounce the picture of antiquity which has been built up by the philologists working in their studies from the ancient texts alone, to be the best and the only possible picture that research may succeed in drawing. But it would be a matter of immense regret, if amongst those interested in Indian research, certain narrownesses and one-sided views of the philologists should be made too much of, and so discredit the philological method in general — certainly this is not the intention of Senart; but the danger that his book will actually be utilized for this purpose, cannot be overlooked. The philological method, when rightly understood, imposes upon those who follow it no blind credulity with regard to the sources, nor does it in any way prevent them from observing the living present and thus sharpening their insight for a better comprehension of these sources and of those past times for which these sources furnish evidence. What the philological method is expected really to prevent, is the far too rash, far too unrestrained projection of the picture of the present day into the past, and the overlooking, or the disregard, of all that by which the texts prove, without leaving any room for doubt, the existence of forms of ancient institutions differing from the picture before our eyes. In the investigations of Senart are there not points where one could wish that the distinguished scholar had more closely maintained his connection with the "école philologique?"

who believes castes and guilds to be separated from each other by a considerably wider gulf than I do, looks upon the guild — as contrasted with the caste comprehending and over-ruling the entire social being—as "confined in its action to the economic functions, the needs or the interest of which have created it" (p. 196). If any importance be attached to the analogy with the guilds of the Middle Ages of western countries which Senart himself has appealed to, then it will be seen that this analogy, far from making that limitation to the purely economic interests appear probable, rather goes, most positively, against such a conclusion.

55 Nesfield, *Brief View of the Caste System*, § 33.

56 *Ibid.*, § 158. Attention may be drawn to the fact that (according to L. von Schroeder, *Indiens Litteratur und Kultur*, 425) that Sonnerat did confound the castes directly with the guilds.

57 Pp. 179, 183, 214 *ff.*

58 Beside the castes of the *Sreni* character, evidently the "ethnic castes" (Fick, 208) might at the same time be subjected to a specially exhaustive investigation.

BOOK NOTICE

EEN ONBEKEND INDISCH TOONEELSTUK (GOPÂLAKELICANDRIKÂ) Tekst met inleiding door W Caland, Amsterdam, Johannes Mueller, 1917, 4, 156 pp 8°= Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam Afdeeling Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks Deel XVIII No 3

The Gopâlakelicandrikâ is a Sanskrit play, which has been discovered by Dr Caland among the manuscripts collected by the late Professor Kern and deposited in Leiden Other manuscripts of the work are not known to exist The text is not ea , and the manuscript, which is not quite complete, cannot always be read with certainty In such circumstances, it is not possible to judge with confidence about every detail, but the main features are clear enough, and as the work itself is of considerable interest, we have every reason for being thankful to the editor for making it known to us It is superfluous to remark that he has accomplished his task with great skill and in an admirable way Nobody would expect anything else from a scholar of the rank of Dr Caland We may disagree with him and even try to correct him in minor points On the whole however every sound critic will acknowledge that he has been successful in his readings and interpretations Moreover he has added to the usefulness of his work by prefixing a valuable introduction, in which he gives a careful analysis and ably discusses the various problems which this new work raises

The author of the play was a worshipper of Krsna, carrying the not uncommon name Râmakrsna His father the Brahmin Devajiti hailed from Gujarat and was a follower of Ramânuja The play mentions the Hanumannâtaka and contains a reference to the Bhâgavata Purâṇa It is therefore possible to state with confidence that Râmakrsna cannot be older than the 12th century On the other hand, we have nothing to show how much later he should be placed The only terminus *ante quem* is offered by the date of the manuscript, which, according to the editor, is about two hundred years old

The author is not known from other sources, and no other work of his has been preserved He gives no additional information about himself in the prastâvanâ Here the natî asks the sutradhâra if Râmakrṣna hails from the lineage of Daṇḍin[1] Bhavabhûti or Bhâravi, since his work is worthy of being represented before a royal audience The Sûtradhâra in his reply does not say anything about any previous literary compositions of the author, and the most probable inference is that the Gopâlakelicandrikâ was his earliest, and perhaps his only work

The play was intended to be acted in the presence of some king, before a *nṛpamaṇḍala* (p 45) The name of the king is not, however, mentioned We are further informed that the spectators were not ordinary courtiers (*sadhâranarâjasamâja*, p 44), but devotees of Krṣṇa (*hâribhaktâcâryah*, ibidem) From these and other indications the editor rightly infers that the Gopâlakelicandrikâ was prepared for representation on the occasion of the râsayâtrâ, the autumnal festival in honour of Krṣṇa It is not, however, a popular play, and it is expressly stated that, out of consideration for the high class audience, it has been written only in Sanskrit As a matter of fact, there is only one short sentence in Prakrit quite in the beginning where the natî starts addressing the sutradhâra in the usual way in Sauraseni, but is interrupted and told to go on in Sanskrit We may here compare Bhâsa's Pañcarâtra, where Brhannalâ starts speaking Sanskrit when describing the fight A similar state of things is also found in Bhâsa's Dutavâkya, where Sanskrit is the only language used, and, as mentioned by the editor, in the Hanumannâtaka

The contents are in agreement with the occasion of the representation, having been taken from the Krṣṇa legend The play thus belongs to that class of dramas which owes its existence to the later development of Hinduism and especially of the popular cult of Krṣṇa and Râdhâ In § 106 of my sketch of the Indian drama in the Encyclopedia of Indo Aryan research I have mentioned a long series of such plays, and also the Gopâlakelicandrikâ which I had not, however, then seen, wherefore I wrongly supposed that it may have been a chhâyâ nataka I shall have to return to this question later on In this place I shall only remind the reader of the fact that all the Krsna-plays whose date can be ascertained, with the only exception of Bhâsa's Bâlacarita, are late works

On the other hand, the common opinion of Sanskrit scholars used to be that popular representations of various episodes of the Krsna legend, such as the slaying of Kamsa, were one of the chief

[1] Dr Caland thinks that the mention of Daṇḍin in this connection characterises him as a playwright and adds probability to Professor Pischel's view that Daṇḍin was the author of the Mrcchakaṭikâ. I am unable to see how the mention of Daṇḍin's name should prove anything more than that of Bhâravi's

sources from which the classical Indian drama has sprung. This opinion cannot any longer be upheld, since Professor Lüders, in his masterly study on the Śaubhikas, has proved that the famous passage in the Mahâbhâsya, on which this opinion was based, has been thoroughly misunderstood and does not refer to real dramatical performances but to recitations of epical poems accompanied by shadow pictures or some sort of dumb play.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that dramatical processions and performances of some sort at an early date played a prominent rôle in the worship of Krsna.

At the present day such performances are quite common. Much useful information about them has been brought together in William Ridgeway's highly interesting book, *The dramas and dramatic dances of non European races* Cambridge 1915. We here learn among other things, that Brahman actors of the Vallabhacarya sect in Mathurâ, the so called Râsdhâris, earn their livelihood by giving dramatic performances of Krsna's exploits, and that they also go to Gujarat and perform such episodes there. The language used is Braj.

The performances of the Râsdhâris are also mentioned by Growse in his book on Mathurâ (second edition, pp 75*ff*.) I regret not to be able to consult that work here in Kristiania. Dr Caland, however, gives a quotation which is of especial interest. We learn that the real actors are children, who do not, however, speak the dialogue, but only act in a dumb show, while one of the Râsdhâris is declaiming in set recitation.

There can be no doubt about the character of the performances of these Râsdhâris. We have to do with a popular drama, and we may safely add that such plays have their roots in a distant past.

Just the same is the case with the old Yâtrâs of Bengal. These have been described[2] as "a sort of melodrama, the dialogues being mainly conducted in songs." "The master singer is generally expert in the theological lore of the Vaisnavas. He comes frequently into the midst of the performers and interprets their love as divine love, making a little commentary aside." "When the singers had sung this song, the master singer would approach and draw the attention of the audience to the description."

The role here played by the master singer recalls the similar state of things in the so called "Bhavai or popular drama of Gujarat, which seems to be the lineal descendant of an ancient primitive drama. The Bhavai is usually performed in open spaces in streets and such other public places as court-yards of temples and the like. No stage is required, no scenery, only a poor curtain, occasionally held by two men at each end. It consists of monologues and dialogues supported by the chorus reciting songs referring to the incidents represented, in singing which the actors also join."[3]

In both cases we notice that the dramatic performance is supported by explanations given by the manager or by the chorus, a state of things which is quite familiar to most of us from the present day stage of the juggler, the clown or the buffoon. It is a characteristic feature of the low class popular stage and is certainly an inheritance from the oldest times.

It would be easy to show that such popular performances in modern India show many traces of the influence of the classical Indian drama. Nobody would, however, now a days think of considering them as a modern development derived from the classical stage. On the contrary, they take us back to a primitive theatre which was in its turn one of the chief sources from which the classical theatre has sprung. The case is exactly analogous to what we observe with regard to the modern Indo Aryan vernaculars in their relation to Sanskrit. They have assimilated numerous elements of the classical language of high literature, but they are not the daughters of Sanskrit. They are derived from those old forms of speech which are the source of Sanskrit as well, they are nieces and not daughters of the literary language of the Brahmins.

The popular representations of the present day accordingly point to the existence of an ancient popular theatre. And it is possible to prove that the Krsna legend played a prominent role in the repertoire of this theatre at a very early date. That is shown by the existence of a Krsna play amongst the dramas commonly ascribed to Bhâsa.

I am aware of the fact that Professor Barnett,[4] has tried to show that these plays can hardly be ascribed to Bhâsa. He bases his conclusions on the alleged fact that the Mattavilâsa, a prahasana of the Pallava King Mahendravikramavarman "(A.D. 620)" shows exactly the same features as the plays attributed to Bhâsa, except that the author is named in the prelude. It opens with the stage direction, "after the *nândî* the stage manager

2 Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, pp 724 *ff*.

3 See Ridgeway, pp 169 *ff*, after D R Bhandarkar.

4 *JRAS*, 1919, pp 233 *ff*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, Vol I, Part III, pp 35 *ff*.

enters,' and the latter recites the introductory verse, the prelude is styled *sthapanâ*, and there are several traces of likeness in style. As Mahendravikramavarman lived in the seventh century and Kâlidâsa probably was about a hundred years earlier, these features in the plays of "Bhâsa" are therefore no evidence for a date earlier than that of Kâlidâsa, and we are fully justified in holding that both the Mattavilâsa and the plays of 'Bhâsa'' are products of a south eastern school of drama that had not accepted the rules of technique which later became universal (probably through the increasing influence of Kâlidâsa and his school), and that the works of "Bhâsa" are really anonymous products of some humble poet of the seventh century, who did not introduce his name into his preludes because it carried no weight. Hence it is perhaps not unreasonable to conjecture that the king Râjasimha mentioned in the final verses of the plays of "Bhâsa" is the Pândya Têr Mâran Râjasimha I (ca. A.D. 675).'

These arguments have failed to convince me. We know from the prose portion of the Sahityadarpana VI, 25 that there was no consensus of opinion about what should be understood under the term *nandi*. One author (*kaścid*) was of opinion that it should be applied to the introductory stanza with which most Indian dramas open. Others, and apparently the majority, held that the *nandî* did not form part of the actual play but belonged to the *pûrvaranga*, which was not the work of the author of the individual play. We are further informed that old manuscripts of the Vikramorvasî arranged the opening of the drama in the same way as in 'Bhâsa's" plays. I understand the passage so that the Vikramorvasî is only given as an instance of this practice of old manuscripts. And we know from the critical apparatus to Hillebrandt's edition of the Mudrârâkṣasa that one of the very best manuscripts of Viśâkhadatta's drama places the words *nandyante tatah pravisati sûtradhârah* before the introductory verse. It is not improbable that the usual opening of most Sanskrit plays is frequently due to a remodelling under the influence of the opinion of the theoretician mentioned in the Sâhityadarpana as *kaścid*, and that the manuscripts of "Bhâsa's" plays, of the Mattavilâsa and one of the Mudrârâkṣasa manuscripts, have preserved the older arrangement which was once also found in manuscripts of the Vikramorvasî. It is impossible to base any conclusions on such a state of things, the less so because even "Bhâsa" is not quite consistent in this respect, no mention whatever of the *nandi* being met with in the Madhyamavyâyoga.

Nor am I able to attach any importance to the use of the term *sthapanâ* instead of *prastâvanâ* in the Mattavilâsa and in "Bhâsa's" plays. In the first place, "Bhâsa" is not consistent in his choice of this term. In one of the manuscripts of the Pratijñâyaugandharâyana we read *âmukha* instead, and in Karnabhâra the common term *prastâvanâ*, which is also alluded to in Dutaghatotkaca, is used. On the other hand, the term *sthapanâ* occurs in Kulasekharavarman's Subhadrâdhanañjaya and Tapatisamvarana. No chronological inferences can be drawn from such a state of things.

With regard to the likeness of style, I can certainly see that there is some resemblance between the Mattavilâsa and "Bhâsa's" plays. And one might urge that the *unmattaka* scene is of the same kind as the third act of Pratijñâyaugandharâyana. But there are also many details in which "Bhâsa" makes a decidedly older impression than Mahendravikramavarman, and the points of resemblance may very well be accidental, or they may be the result of an imitation of "Bhâsa's" plays. The third act of the Pratijnâyaugandharâyana has up to modern times been especially in great favour in Southern India.[5]

The arguments in favour of Professor Barnett's view are therefore, in my opinion, not conclusive. On the other hand, the non-mentioning of the author's name in the opening of "Bhâsa's" plays and the fact which Professor Barnett does not seem to doubt, that the Carudatta is the source of the first four acts of the Mrcchakatikâ[6] make it impossible to assign so late a date to "Bhâsa's" plays as suggested by Professor Barnett, and I am still of opinion that they are in fact the work of the famous Bhâsa.

At all events, we may safely ascribe the Balacarita to an early date and make use of it in examining the question about old Krsna plays on the popular stage of India.

The Bâlacarita is a peculiar play, and it seems to be intimately connected with the popular stage.

5 In my *Indian Drama*, paragraph 71 there is a misprint, the fifth act being mentioned instead of the third. *Cf.* the introduction to the Pratimânâtaka, p. xl. When I wrote my *Indian Drama*, I did not know the Mattavilâsa.

6 In paragraph 75 of my *Indian Drama* I have through an oversight stated that Dandin, Kâvyâdarśa 2, 226 quotes the stanza *limpatîva tamo 'ngâni* from the Mrcchakatikâ. He does not, of course, mention his source.

The various apparitions seen by Kamsa in his dream were perhaps represented in the pantomimic way of the ancient natas, just as is perhaps the case with the Apabhramsa verses of the Urvasi. The chief contents are the feats of Kṛṣṇa during his sojourn among the cowherds, ending with the slaying of Kamsa.

It is quite certain that these tales and legends must have been quite popular and well known when the Bâlacarita was written and I have little doubt that Bhâsa has transplanted them from the popular stage to the higher play.

The Kṛṣṇa play did not, however, get a firm footing on the higher stage until much later. Bhâsa did not find successors before those days when the later development of Hinduism and especially of the religion of Bhakti had set in, and the Gopâlakelicandrikâ belongs to this later phase of the development. The popular Kṛṣṇa drama had no doubt flourished the whole time; its firm establishment on the higher theatre, on the other hand, is comparatively late.

The Gopâlakelicandrikâ is, as has already been stated, written in Sanskrit, and it does not, accordingly, belong to the popular stage. On the other hand, it differs in some important details from all other known Sanskrit plays.

It is called a *nâṭaka*. It is not however a *nâṭaka* in the more specialised sense of this word. The term has, as in several other instances, been used to denote a play in general. It is not possible to register it under any of the various types of drama described by Bharata and his successors.

The division into acts is apparently incomplete. After the end of the second act there is no further mention of the beginning or end of any act. The end of the third and the beginning of the fourth act seem to be missing. At the end of what the editor takes to be the fourth act we only read *iti niṣkrântâḥ*, whereupon a *praveśaka* introduces the last, probably fifth act, at the end of which the *sûtradhâra* again makes his appearance and puts an end to the performance with the formula *alam ativistareṇa*, which we know from the beginning of so many plays, declaring that it will not be possible to give a further representation of the *lîlâ* of *bhagavat*, because nobody could do so satisfactorily. Then the actors leave the stage, and finally a blessing and a stanza giving the name of the poet are added, whereupon the colophon follows.

A similar arrangement is not found in any other Sanskrit play. There are however also other peculiarities.

The term *prastâvanâ* is not used in the same way as in other dramas. It seems to denote the opening of the first act, after the dialogue between the *sûtradhâra* and the *naṭî*, and also the beginning of the third act. In this second place, the passage that follows immediately after the words *tataḥ prastâvanâ* does not consist of dialogues or monologues but contains a description of the persons present on the stage. A similar description should perhaps be supplied after the same words at the beginning of the first act.

Then, however, the question presents itself, who can possibly be the speaker of such a *prastâvanâ* or introductory description, which does not belong to the actual play of the actors. And the same question must be asked with reference to several other passages partly in prose, partly in verse, which do not contain any dialogue or monologue, but explain the situation or describe the attitude of the persons represented. Such passages are of frequent occurrence and form a peculiar feature of our play.

In one place such a description is put into the mouth of a person called *sûcaka*, and we naturally infer that he is the speaker of all such narrative or descriptive passages. Dr Caland refers us for the explanation of the word *sûcaka* to Hemacandra Abhidhânacintâmaṇi 330, (*cf.* Yâdavaprakâśa, ed. Oppert p. 141, l. 136) and states that *sûcaka* is there given as a synonym of *sûtradhâra*. Strictly speaking that is not however the case. Hemacandra simply informs us that the *sûcaka*, the "indicator" in dramatical terminology, carries the designation *sûtradhâra*. That is to say, that *sûcaka* is the wider, better known term, and it is perhaps allowable to infer that it belongs to the terminology of the popular theatre. In the classical drama the *sûcaka*, who is there called *sûtradhâra* does not "indicate" or "describe" in the same way as in the Gopâlakelicandrikâ. We shall have to ask ourselves if we find any indications that he does or did, so in the popular play of the vulgar stage. In that case we should naturally infer that the Gopâlakelicandrikâ represents an attempt at applying peculiarities of the popular stage to the classical drama.

The editor is inclined to think so. He ably discusses the problems raised by the said peculiarity of our play, and suggests more than one explanation in addition to the supposition that we are face to face with a feature of the popular stage. I shall say a few words on these suggestions, which Dr Caland himself does not think to be the solution of the difficulty.

We might, he says, think of a *châyâ nâṭaka*, a shadow play, where the dialogue and everything else is spoken by the manager, or in certain cases by the *sûcaka*. Against such an explanation he rightly

urges that the actors are sometimes said to enter after pushing aside the curtain.

Another possibility which he mentions, is that the play was a reading drama not destined for the stage at all, but only meant to be recited or studied in writing. Against this, however, it is sufficient to refer the student to the introduction, where the naṭī speaks of *naṭanâṭya* and of *abhinayapradarśana*, and where we hear of the *samaja*, before which the play is going to be represented.

We are therefore apparently forced to look for an explanation in the usages of the popular theatre, and that is also the view which Dr. Caland favours. He compares the Kṛṣṇa plays at Mathurâ described by Mr. Growse which I have mentioned above.

I agree with him that we shall have to look in that direction, but I do not think that we have to do with a kind of dumb show, accompanied by recitation by the *sucaka*.

So far as I can see the play is a new instance of the tendency which I think we can follow all through the history of the Indian drama, to draw on the rich treasure of popular performances for enlarging the scope of the high class drama. In a similar way this drama itself came into existence, and later on we can over and over again observe how dramatical peculiarities were transferred from the village stage to the learned theatre, so that new dramatical types arose and got a firm footing. In this way the shadow play has obtained its place in higher literature, and in this way we must account for the numerous uparûpakas and secondary species. The theoretical treatises of dramaturgy have always exercised a strong controlling influence on development, but they are in their turn based on the existing literature and had to be enlarged when new dramatic types came into existence. Bharata himself could do nothing more than put together the old rules about the arts of the stage and register and describe the various kinds of dramas existing at his time, even if they were only represented by a single specimen, as in the case of the Samavakâra. And his successors have followed in his footsteps.

It is just the same thing which we observe in India's religious history. Local and popular cults are raised to the rank of Brahmanical religion. Siva has some of his roots in conceptions which were not from the beginning Aryan. Buddhism and Jainism gradually came under the influence of Brahmanical thought. Some of the most prominent reformers of modern Hinduism were Brahmans, and so forth. The Brahmins are of course the guardians of old traditions and they have often been described as reactionary enemies of progress and development. That is however, only one side of their physiognomy. At all times they have also been the pioneers who have assimilated new ideas and even elements of foreign civilisations, melted them together with the traditional lore, and finally given them that Indian stamp which has the effect that the whole Indian civilisation, in spite of all differences, imparts an impression of unity and harmony.

In the case of the drama we know that the oldest playwright whose works have come down to us, and the first author of a theoretical treatise on dramatical art were Brahmins and poets filled with Brahmanical spirit have over and over again assimilated more and more of popular dramatic genres and raised them to the rank of high literature.

The Gopalakelicandrika is a new instance. It is a new transplanting of the popular plays of the Kṛṣṇa worshippers to the higher stage, and it has transferred the activity of the describing and explaining head singer or manager into the technics of the classical theatre.

That is the chief interest that attaches itself to Râmakṛṣṇa's play. We may some day find other plays of the same kind as the Gopâlakelicandrikâ. It is, however, just as possible that it represents a solitary attempt and never found successors. The discovery of this novel species shows that the development of the classical Indian drama was continued up to comparatively modern times, and if Sanskrit should ever again become the language of the highest civilisation in India, there is no doubt that this development will continue. We already possess an adaptation of Shakespeare in an Indian Sanskrit play. We may some day find Indian plays in imitation of Goethe or Ibsen. But we may rest assured that India will eventually remodel all such adaptations in her own spirit. The great importance of India in the history of human civilisation does not only rest with the original productions of the Indian mind, but also with its genius for assimilating new and foreign elements and giving them a truly Indian stamp.

STEN KONOW.

Chandrabhâgâ—1 The Chinab—the Acesines of the Greeks, or rather the united streams of the Jhelum and the Chinab It has its source in a lake called Lohitya-sarovara (*Kâlikâ P*, ch 82), in Lahoul, south of Ladakh, or Middle Tibet 2 The river Bhîmâ, a branch of the Krishnâ

Chandrâdityapura—Chamdor in the Nasik district, it was the capital of Dridhaprahâra, a king of the Yâdava dynasty (Dr Bhandarkar's *Hist of the Dekkan*, Sec XIV)

Chandragiri—Near Belgola, not far from Seringapatam, sacred to the Jainas The ancient name of the place was Deya Durga (*JASB*, 1838, p 520) See **Arbuda**

Chandrapura—Chândâ in the Central Provinces it was the capital of king Hamsadhvaja (Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions Introd* XXIX), but in the *Jaimini-Bhârata* (ch 17), Hamsadhvaja is said to have been king of Champaka-nagarî Chandrapura or Chandrâvatî or Chandanâvatî was two Yojanas or two days' journey from Kuntalaka-pura or Kautalakapura (*Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch 53) See **Kuntalakapura**

Chandrapurî—1 Same as *Chandwar* (*Varâha P*, ch 122) 2 Same as *Chandrikâpurî* and *Chandripura*, the name of Srâvastî or Sahet-mahet in the Gonda district in Oudh

Chandrasekhara—See **Chattala**

Chandra tîrtha - See **Kâverî**

Chandravatî—Chanderi in the Lalitpur district, Central India, Sandravatis of the Greeks, and Chandbari of the *Prithvîrâj Râso* It was the capital of Sisupala, king of Chedi (P Mukherji's *Lalitpur*)

Chandrâvati—1 The river Chândan or Andhelâ which falls into the Ganges, near Champânagar in the district of Bhagalpur It is the Andomatis of Arrian See **Andha** 2 Jhalrapattan in Rajputana (Tod's *Rajâsthan*, II, p 1602) 3 Near Abu (*Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt I, p. 185)

Chandrika—The river Chandrabhâgâ (Chenab)

Chandrikâpurî—Srâvastî or Sahet-mahet in the district of Gonda in Oudh it was the birth-place of Sambhavanâtha, the third Tîrthankara, and of Chandraprabhânâtha, the eighth Tîrthankara of the Jainas There is a Jaina temple dedicated to Sobhânâtha, which name is a corruption of Sambhavanâtha (see **Srâvastî**).

Chandripura -Same as **Chandrikâpurî**

Chandwar—Firozabad, near Agra, where in 1193 A D Shahabuddin Ghori defeated Jaya Chandra, king of Kanauj (Thornton's *Gazetteer*). Chandwar is evidently a contraction of Chandrapura (*Varâha P*, ch 122)

Charanâdri - Chunar in the district of Mirzapur (*Saktisangama Tantra*, vii) The hill fort of Chunar was at one time considered one of the most impregnable forts in India It was built by the Pâla Rajâs, who reigned over Bengal and Behar from the middle of the eighth to the twelfth century of the Christian era According to Buchanan (Martin's *Eastern India*) some of the Pala Râjâs lived there, which implies that it was a place of much importance at that period The portion of the fort, which is called Bhartrihari's palace, is the place where he performed asceticism The tradition is that Bhatrihari after eating the immortal fruit travelled to various places and halted at Sehwan, Bhartewar, Chunar, Benares and other places (*JASB*, 1837, p 852) Bhartrihari was the author of a celebrated work called *Bhartrihari-Sâstra* and of the *Vairâgya-sataka* For the story of his birth, see **Prabandhachintâmani** (Tawney's trans) p 198 He entered seven times a Buddhist monastery as a priest and seven times returned to the laity and became Upasaka. He died in 651-652 A D (I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion* by Takakusu, p 180 and General Introduction, p LVII) The fort is said to have been protected by the

goddess Gangâ Devî all the day, except in the first *pahar* of the morning, when it was taken by the English It contains a state-prison where Trimbakji Danglia, the minister of Baji Rao who was the adoptive father of Nana Saheb, was kept confined till his death (Heber's *Journal*, Vol. I) The fort was strengthened by Sultan Mahmud before his descent on Benares in 1017, in 1575, it held out against the Mughal army for six months and in 1764 it was taken by the English

Charitrapura—Puri in Orissa (Cunningham's *Anc Geo*, p 510, *R W C*, II, 205).

Charmanvatî—The river Chambal in Rajputana It has its source in a very elevated point of the Vindhya amongst a cluster of hills called Janapava It has three co-equal sources from the same cluster, the Chambal, Chambela and Gambhîrâ The river is said to have been formed by the "juice of skin" (blood) of the cows sacrificed at the Yajña of Rantideva (*Mbh*, Drona P, ch 67, *Meghadûta*, Pt I, v 46)

Chaṭṭala—Chittagong (*Tantrachudâmani*, ch. 51) The temple of Bhavânî on the Chandraśekhara hill near Sîtâkunda is one of the 52 Pîthas, where a portion of Satî's right hand is said to have fallen The *Bârâhî Tantra* (ch 31) contains some account of the Chandraśekhara hill as a place of pilgrimage

Chatushpîṭha-parvata—The Assia range, one mile to the south of Jajpur in the district of Katak in Orissa Udaya giri is a spur of this range, five miles from Bhuvaneśvara, containing many Buddhist caves and sculptures of ancient date The range is also called Khanda-giri and Alti-giri (*JASB*, Vol. XXXIX)

Chaushath-jogini—Same as **Bhṛigu-tîrtha**

Châyâ—Porebunder in Guzerat a famous port at the commencement of the Christian era

Chedi—Bundelkhand and a part of the Central Provinces It was bounded on the west by the Kali-Sindh and on the east by the Tonse It is the Cheti of the Buddhists Tod (*Râjasthân*, I, 43 note) identifies Chedi with Chanderi (Chandravatî or Sandravatis of the Greeks), a town in Bundelkhand, which is said to have been the capital of Śiśupâla, who was killed by Krishna (see also *JASB*, Vols. XV and LXXI, p 101) It is 18 miles west of Lalitpur the ruins of old Chanderi, however, are 8 miles north-west of the modern town (*JASB*, 1902, p 108 note) Chanderi has been described in the *Ain-i Akbari* as a very large ancient city containing a fort According to Dr Fuhrer (*M A I*), General Cunningham, (*Arch S Rep*, IX, 106) and Dr Buhler (*Vikramanka charita*, xviii 95), however, Dâhala Mandala or Bundelkhand was the ancient Chedi, Dâhala being on the Narbada In the *Skanda P*, Revâ-khanda, ch 56, Mandala is said to be another name for Chedi Mandala is the Mandalai of Ptolemy, a territory situated in that upland region where the Sona and the Narmadâ have their sources (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p 168) Kâlañjara was the capital of Chedi under the Gupta kings, and Suktimatî its capital at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* Chedi was also called Tripurî from its capital now called Tewar, six miles from Jabbalpur (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol I, pp 220, 253, and *Hemakosha*) Tewar (Teor) was the capital of Dahala (Alberuni's *India*, Vol I, p 202) The *Anargharâghava* (Act VII, 115), says that Mâhishamatî was the capital of Chedi ma ... at the time of the Kalachuris See **Suktimatî**

Chela-gaṅgâ—The Kâverî (*Harivamsa*, ch 136)

Chera—It comprised the present kingdom of Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem, South Malabar, Travancore and Cochin Chera is a corruption of Kerala The period from the third to the seventh century A D appears to have been the most flourishing in the history of this kingdom In Asoka's Edicts, it is called Keralaputra Its ancient capital was

Skandapura situated at a short distance to the west of Guzzelhati Pass (*JRAS*, 1846, p 11) in the Coimbatore district According to Ptolemy, who lived in the second century A D, its capital was Karoura or Karur, called also Vanji, situated near Cranganore on the left bank of the Amarâvatî, a tributary of Kâverî, its larger capital was Tâlkâd (Dr. Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p 33) Talkâd or Dalavanapura is situated on the left or north bank of the Kâverî, 28 miles south-west of Mysore city, and about 30 miles east of Seringapatam its ruins are even now called Takâd It was the capital of the Gangâ Vamsis from the third to the ninth century A. D, and then of the Cholas and Hoysala Ballalas who, however, removed the capital from Tâlkâd to Dvârâvatî or Dorasamudra, now called Halebid, in the Hassan district of Mysore in the 10th century It was taken by the Râjâ of Mysore in 1634 For an account of the Chera kings, see *Ind Ant*, I, 360, *J R A S*, 1846, pp 1-29

Cheta- It is the same as *Chetiya* or *Chetiyagiri* (*Vessantara-Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas* vi, 266, cf Spence Hardy's *M B*, 119)

Cheti—Same as **Chedi** Its capital was Sotthivati (*Jâtakas*, iii, 272), See **Suktimati**

Chetiya-giri—Besnagar, three miles to the north of Bhilsa in the kingdom of Bhopal, where Asoka married Devî By her he had twin sons, Ujjenia and Mahinda, and after wards a daughter Ŝanghamittâ It was the capital of the country called Dakkhinagiri (Turnour's *Mahâvamsa*, ch XIII) which is perhaps a corruption of Daśârna Dr Rhys Davids identifies it with Sanchi and Bidiśâ, but these two places are very close to Besnagar According to General Maisey also, Chetiya-giri is Sanchi "with its numerous Chetiyas or stûpas" about 5 miles south-west of Bhilsa (Maisey's *Sanchi and its Remains*, pp 3, 5) It was also called Chetiya and Chetiyanagara or Chaitya-giri. It is situated at Triveṇî or Triple Junction of the rivers Betwa, Bes (or Besali) and Gangâ, of which the last is believed to flow underground (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p 364) *See* **Bessanagara**

Chhatravatî - *See* **Ahichchhatra**

Chhutudri—The river Chukki in the Panjab which joins the Bias it is not the Ŝatadru or Satlej

Chidambaram—Same as Chittambalam (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, vii, 38) Southern India possesses five *Bhautika* or elementary images of Mahâdeva, namely, the *Kshiti* or earth image at Kâñchipura, *Âp* or water image at Jambukeśvara, *Teja* or fire image at Arunât chala, *Marut* or wind image at Kâlahastî, and *Vyoma* or sky image at Chidambaram (Dr Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsha or India*, pp 379, 380) Ŝiva has eight images of which five are elementary (*Linga P*, Uttara, ch 12)

China—1 China It is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ P, ch 51) and *Manu* (ch. X, ślk 44) In the mediæval period, it was called Mahâchîna The great wall of China was built by Che Hwang-te in 214 B C During the reign of the Emperor Ming-te, Kâśyapamâtanga and Dharmaraksha were the first Indian Buddhists who wen- to China (67 A. D.) In the fourth century A D, the Buddhist religion spread among the Chinese, and the first Buddhist Pagoda was built at Nanking by the Emperor Hiau Twu in 381 A D. (Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, ch vi) 2. Anam (*Sâhitya-Parishat-Patrikâ*, 1321 B S, p 63)

Chintâpurṇî—A celebrated place of pilgrimage on a range of hills of the same name, in Hoshiarpur district, Panjab, containing a temple of Chhinnamastâ whose picture is placed behind a Piṇḍa-mûrti or conical image The temple is on the summit of a hillock.

Chitâbhûmi—Baidyanâth or Deoghar in the Santal Pargana, containing the temple of Baidyanâtha, one of the twelve Great Lingas of Mahâdeva (*Śiva P*, Bk I, chs 38, 55) The Mahâdeva there is said to have been established by Râvana The place contains also the temple of the goddess Pârvatî, the consort of the god Baidyanâtha It is said to be one of the fifty-two Pîthas (*Hârdapîtha*), as Satî's heart fell at this place In the *Uttara Purâna* cited by Francklin in his *Site of Ancient Palibothra*, p 21, Baidyanâtha is called Pampâpurî or Palu-gâon, which is perhaps a corruption of Paralipura or Parali-grâma of the *Siva Purâna* For a description of the temples of Baidyanâtha or Deoghar, see *JASB*, 1883, p 164—'*On the temples of Deoghar*' by Dr. R L Mitra' In the *Mahâ-Lingeśvara Tantra* in the '*Hundred Names of Śiva*', it is mentioned that Baidyanâtha and Vakreśvara Mahâdevas are situated in Jharakhanda, Siddhinâtha and Târakeśvara Mahâdevas in Râda, Ghanteśvara Mahâdeva on the banks of the river Ratnâkara (now called Kânâ-nadî in the district of Hooghly), and Kapâleśvara Mahâdeva on the banks of the Bhâgîrathî Râvana, while he was carrying Mahâdeva from Kailâsa felt a very uneasy sensation when he came to Haritakîvana, the ancient name of Baidyanâtha, as Varuna, the god of the waters had entered his belly In order to relieve himself, he placed the god in the hand of Vishnu disguised as a Brahman, and retired to the north-eastern corner of Deoghar called Hârlajudi (a corruption of Harîtakî-vana) to relieve himself, and the result was the Karmanâśâ rivulet flowing by the north of Hârlâjudi In the meantime, Vishnu put down Mahâdeva at Deoghar and disappeared (*Śiva P*, Baidyanâtha-Mâhât, ch 4) The Trikûta hill, 6 miles to the east of Baidyanâtha, contains a spring of water The Tapovana hill where Râvana performed asceticism (*Śiva P*, Bk I, ch. 55, *Brihat Śiva P*, II, 20) and which is about the same distance, contains a natural cave

Chitrakûta—Kamptanath-giri in Bundelkhand It is an isolated hill on a river called the Paisunî (Payasvinî) or Mandakinî, where Râma dwelt for some time during his exile (*Râmâyana*, Ayodh K, ch 55) It is about four miles from the Chitrakut station of the G I P Railway

Chitrakûṭâ—Same as **Payasvini** (2) the river Paisunî (*Vâmana P*, ch 13, v 26)

Chitrarathâ—The river Chitrarathî, a tributary of the Northern Pennai (*Mbh* Bhîshma, ch 9)

Chitropalâ—The river Mahânadî in Orissa below its junction with the Pyri (*Mbh*, Bhîshma, ch 9 and *Asia Res*, Vol XV, *Brahma P*, ch 46) But it appears to be the Chittutola (Chitrotpalâ), a branch of the Mahânadi (*see* Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, s v Mahanuddy)

Chitrotpalâ—Same as *Chitropalâ* (*Mârkandeya P*, ch 57, *Arch S Rep*, vii, 155, xvii, 70) The river Mahânadî in Orissa It was crossed over by Chaitanya after leaving Puri on his way to Bengal (*Chaitanya-charitâmrita*, Pt II, ch 16)

Chittambalam—Chidamvaram in south Arcot district, about one hundred and fifty miles south of Madras, and seven miles from the coast It contains the celebrated temple of Kanakasabhâpati, the name of a Mahâdeva The celebrated Sankarâchâryya is said to have been born at Chidamvaram (Ânanda Giri's *Sankaravijaya*) and he died at **Kâñchipura** at the age of thirty-two According to another account, he is said to have been born at a village called Kalati on the Pûrnâ in Kanara (*see* **Kerala**) and to have died at Kedârnath in Garwal It is now certain that Sankara was born at Kalati or Kaladi in Kerala during the reign of Râjanśekhara (Mâdhavâchâryya's *Śankaravijaya*)

Choaspes—The Kunar or Kamah river which joins the Kophen (modern Kabul river) at some distance below Jalalabad But according to Prof Lassen, Choaspes or Euaspla is the Seosha (of Elphinstone's map) which falls into the Kabul river (*JASB*, IX, 1840, p 472)

Choes—According to Lassen, Choes of Arrian It is the Kamah river which falls into the Kabul river (*JASB*, 1840, p 472)

Chola—The Coromandel Coast bounded on the north by the river Pennar or the southern Pinâkinî river, and on the west by Coorg, including the country of Tanjore, *i.e* from Nellore to Pudukottai Its capitals were Uraiyur on the Kâverî (the Orthoura of Ptolemy—the royal city of Sornagos) near Trichinopoly in the second century A D, and Kâñchipura, Combaconum and Tanjore (Tanjepur) in the eleventh century (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol III, p 283) Chola was also called Drâvida (*Padma P*, Âdikhanda, ch 6), and is said to have derived its name from Chola, king of Kâñchipura (*Ibid*, Uttara Kh, ch 74) The Chola kingdom merged as a marriage-dowry into the Pândya kingdom and continued so for 570 years (Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, *Intro*, p 51)

Chora—Same as **Chola** In the Asoka Inscription at Girnar, Chola is mentioned as Choda (*JASB*, 1848, p 169).

Chyavana-âsrama—1. Chausâ in the district of Shahabad in the province of Bengal the hermitage of Rishi Chyavana (*Skanda P.*, Avantî Kh, ch 57) 2 The hermitage of the Rishi was also situated on the Satpura mountains, near the river Payoshnî or modern Pûrnâ (*Padma P*, Pâtâla Kh, ch 8) 3 Dhosi, six miles south of Narnol in the Jaipur territory, where the Rishi's eyes are said to have been pierced by a princess of Anupadesa, whom he afterwards married 4 Chilanla on the Ganges in the Rai Bareli district it was the abode of the Rishi who was restored to youth by the twin Asvinî-kumâras

Dâhala—Same as **Chedi** (Dr Buhler's *Vikramânka-charita Introduction*).

Dâkinî—Bhîma-sankara at the source of the Bhîmâ, north-west of Poona (Dr. Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsha or India*, p 379, Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India*, p 367) The temple of Mahâdeva Bhîmasankara is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and the god is one of the twelve Great Lingas of Mahâdeva (*Śiva P*, Pt I, chs 38, 40, Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India*, p 367) In the *Śiva Purâna* Dâkinî is said to be situated on the Western Ghats (Sahyâdri) *See* **Amaresvara.**

Dakshina-Gangâ—1. The river Godâvarî (*Revâ Mâhât*, ch 3) 2 In the *Nrisimha P*, ch 66, the Kâverî is called the Dakshina-Gangâ 3. The Narbada is called the Dakshina-Gangâ in the *Skanda P*, (Revâ Khanda, ch 4) 4 The Tungabhadrâ is called the Dakshina-Gangâ in Bilhana's *Vikramânkadevacharita*

Dakshinagiri—1 Dakkhinagiri of the *Mahâvamsa* (ch xiii) · its capital was Chetiya (*see* **Chetiya-giri**). Dasârna of Kâlidâsa is evidently a corruption of Dakshina-giri *See* **Dasârna.** 2 The kingdom of Bhopal 3 The name of a village in Ekanâlâ in Magadha, not yet identified, in this place Buddha delivered the *Kâsîbharadvâja-Sutta*

Dakshina-Kedâra—Baligâmi in Mysore It contains a celebrated temple dedicated to Kedâranâtha Baligâmi is also called Ballipura and Balligamve (Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp 90, 94, 102)

Dakshina-Kosala—*See* **Kosala-Dakshina.**

Dakshina-Mathurâ—Madura on the river Kritamâlâ in the province of Madras (*Chaitanya-Charitâmrita*, Madhya, ch 9) It was also called Mathurâ and Minâkshî It was the

capital of the ancient kingdom of Pândya or Pându It is one of the 52 Pîthâs where Sati's eyes are said to have fallen (*Bhâgavata*, X 79 and *Mahâvamsi*, ch 7) It was called **Dakshina-Mathurâ** in contradistinction to Uttara-Mathurâ or Mathurâ of the United Provinces (Upham's *Râjaratnâkari*) Madura was a province of the kingdom of Vijaya-nagar till the middle of the sixteenth century when Visvanâtha, the founder of the Nayak dynasty, became its independent ruler, and Trimula, the most powerful monarch of the line, reigned from 1623 to 1639. The great temple of Mînâkshî with its thousand-pillared hall was built by Arya Nayak in 1550

Dakshinâ-Patha—The Deccan the name was applied to that portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narbada It is the Dakhinabades of the Greeks (*Matsya* P ch 114 and Dr Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, Sec I, Râjaśekhara's *Bâlarâmâyana*, Act VI, Apte's *Râjaśekhara his Life and Writings*, p 21) The name was originally confined to a remote settlement of the Aryans on the Upper Godâvari (*Vinaya Pithaka*, I, 195, 196, II, 298)

Dakshina-Pînâkinî—Same as **Pâpaghnî**

Dakshina-Prayâga—Triveni on the north of Hûglî in Bengal (*Brihat-Dharma Purâna* Pûrva Kh, ch VI, *JASB*, Vol VI, 1910, p 613)

Dakshina-Sindhu—The river Kali-Sindh, a tributary of the Chambal (*Mbh*, Vana P. ch 82) It is the Sindhu of the *Meghadûta* (Pt I, ch 30)

Dâkshinâtya—The Deccan that part of India which lies to the south of the Vindhyâ range (*Râmâyana*, Bâla K, ch 13) See **Mahârâshtra.**

Dakshina-Badarikâśrama—Mailkote, twelve miles to the north of Seringapatam in Mysore, where the principal Math of Râmânuja, the founder of the Śrî sect of Vaishnavas is situated It is also called Yâdava-giri (see **Yâdava-giri**).

Dâlabhya-Âśrama—Dalmau on the Ganges in the Rai Bareli District (*JASB* Vol LXIX, p 84)

Dâmalipta—Is a corruption of Tâmralipta it was the capital of *Sumha* (*Hema-kosha*) See **Sumha**

Damila—Same as **Kerala** the Malabar coast (*Akitta-Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas*, IV, 150), or South Malabar (Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p 51) It is the Limurike of Ptolemy which, according to Dr Caldwell, was a mistake for Damir-ike (see McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p 49), "*ike*" in Tamil meaning a country It was near Nâga-dvîpa or Ceylon, and a Damila dynasty reigned there Dhâtusena (459-477 A D), defeated the foreign usurpers and restored the national dynasty (*Mahâvamsa* ch 38, *S B E*, X *Intr* XV) This shows that Damila was close to Ceylon

Dâmodara—The river Dâmudâ in Bengal (*K Ch*)

Dandaka—Same as *Dandakâranya* (*Brahma P*, ch 27).

Dandakâranya—Same as **Mahârâshtra** (*Râmâyana*, Âranya, ch I, and Dr Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, Sec II) including Nagpur Râmachandra lived here for a long time According to the *Râmâyana*, it was situated between the Vindhya and the Saibala mountains a part of it was called Janasthâna (Uttara K, ch 81, *Uttara-Râma-charita*, Act II) According to Mr Pargiter, Dandakâranya comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishnâ (*The Geography of Râma's Exile* in *JRAS*, 1894, p 242) Bhavabhûti places it to the west of Janasthâna (*Uttara Râmacharita*, Act I)

Daapura—Same as **Udandapura.**

Dantapura—The ancient capital of Kalinga (*Dathadhâtuvamsa*, Turnour's *Account of the Tooth relic in Ceylon—JASB*, 1837, p 860) According to some writers, it is the same as Puri (Jagannâtha) in Orissa, which, they say, was the place where Buddha's tooth was kept and afterwards removed to Ceylon The left canine tooth of Buddha is said to have been brought and enshrined by Brahmadatta, King of Kalinga, shortly after the death of the former According to the *Dâthâvamsa*, the tooth was taken from the funeral pile of Buddha by Khema, one of his disciples, who gave it to Brahmadatta, and was kept and worshipped in a temple at Dantapura for many generations The tooth was taken to Pâtaliputra in the fourth century A D, by Guhasiva, king of Kalinga The tooth is said to have worked many miracles at Pâtaliputra to confound the Nirgranthis or Jainas at whose instigation it was ordered to be taken there Râjâ Pându got the tooth from Dantapura (*JASB*, 1837, pp 868, 1059) It was brought back to Dantapura by king Guhasiva and placed in its old temple After the death of Guhasiva in battle with the nephews of Khiradhâra, a northern king, who had attacked Dantapura for plundering the tooth, it was removed to Ceylon by his daughter, Hemamâlâ and her husband Dantakumâra, a prince of Ujjain and sister's son of Guhasiva, in the reign of Kîrttisrî Meghavarna (A D 298-326) who guarded the relic at Anurâdhapura see **Anurâdhāpura** (Tennent's *Ceylon*, Turnour's *Tooth-relic of Ceylon*, *Dâthâvamsa* translated by Mutu Coomara Swami, and Turnour's *Dâthadhâtuvamsa* in *JASB*, 1837, p 866) It is now kept at Kandy • rivardhanapura in the Maligawa temple For the procession of the tooth-relic at Kandy, see *Mahâvamsa*, ch 85 It has been variously identified with Danton in the district of Midnapore and with Râjmahendri on the Godâvarî But it is now settled that the ancient Dantapura is Puri in Orissa and this identification is confirmed by the tradition that after Krishna was killed by Jarâ, his bones were collected and kept in a box till king Indradyumna was directed by Vishnu "to form the image of Jagann tha and put into its belly these bones of Krishna" (Garrett's *Classical Dictionary of India* under *Jagannâtha*, Ward's *History of the Hindoos*, I, 206)

Dantura It is evidently a corruption of Dantapura see **Dantapura.** (*Brihat-samhitâ*, xiv, 6.)

Darada Dardistan, north of Kâśmîra on the upper bank of the Indus Its capital was Daratpuri, which has been identified by Dr Stein with Gurez (*Mârkandeya P*, ch 57) It was a part of the ancient country of Udyâna (see Monier Williams' *Buddhism*) Dr Stein says "Their (Daradas') seats, which do not seem to have changed since the time of Herodotus, extend from Chitral and Yasin across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Chilas and Bunji to the Kishangangâ valley in the immediate north of Kasmir" (Dr Stein's *Râjatarangini*, Vol I, p 47)

Darbhavatî Dabhoi in Guzerat, thirty-eight miles north-east of Bharoch and twenty miles south east of Baroda (Burgess's *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p 218, and *Ep. Ind*, Vol I, p 20) Fuhrer (*M A I*) identifies Darbhavatî with Dibhai, twenty six miles south-west of Bulandshahar Dibhai was the Radoph of the Greeks

Darddura—The Nilgiri hills in the Madras Presidency (*Raghuvamsa* IV, *Brihatsamhitâ*, ch 14, *JRAS*, 1894, p 262). In some editions of the *Raghuvamsa* it is mentioned as *Darddara* Same as *Durddura*.

Darsanapura- Disa on the river Banas in Guzerat (*Brihajjyotishârnava*)

Dâru-vana—See **Chamatkârapura** (*Kûrma P*, II, chs. 37, 38) Same as **Deva-dâru-vana.** Dâru or Dârukâ-vana, which contains the temple of Nâgeśa, one of the twelve Great *Lingas* of Mahâdeva (*Siva P*, I, 38) has been identified with Aundha in the Nizam's

territory (*Arch S Lists, Nizam's Territory*, xxxi, 21, 79,) but the *Siva P*, (I, 56) places Dâruka-vana close to the Western Ocean

Dâruka-vana—See **Dâru-vana**

Darva—The country of the Dârvas, a tribe living with the Abhisâras between the Vitastâ and the Chandrabhâgâ (*Mahabhârata*, Vana, ch 51, Dr Stein's *Râjataranginî*, Vol I, p 32, Vol II, p 432)

Dârvabhisâra—The whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Vitastâ and the Chandrabhâgâ, it included the hill state of Râjapuri, it was subject to Kâsmîra (Dr Stein *Râjataranginî*, I, 32) See **Darva**

Daśanagara—Same as **Daśapura**

Daśapura—Mandasor in Malwa (*Brihat-Samhitâ* ch 14, *Meghadûta*, Pt I, slk 48) For an explanation how Daśapura was changed into Mandasor, see Dr Fleet's note in the *Corp Ins Ind*, Vol III, p 79 It is called Dasor by the people of the neighbouring villages

Daśarha—Dwarka Guzerat (*Mbh*, Vana P, chs 12 and 13)

Daśârna—The name means "ten forts, *rina* = a fort" 1 The *Mahâbhârata* mentions two countries by the name of Daśârna, one on the west, conquered by Nakula (Sabhâ P ch 32) and the other on the east, conquered by Bhîma (Sabhâ P, ch 30) Eastern Malwa, including the kingdom of Bhopal, was Western Daśarna, the capital of which was Vidiśâ or Bhilsa (Dr Bhandarkar's *History of the Dekkan*, sec III) It is mentioned in Kâlidâsa's *Meghadûta* (t I, vs 25, 26) Its capital at the time of Asoka was Chaityagiri or Chetiyagiri Eastern Daśârna (the Dosarene of the *Periplus*) formed a part of the Chhattisgadh ("thirty-six forts") district in the Central Provinces (Prof Wilson's *Vishnu P*, Hall's ed, Vol II, p 160 note 3) including the Native State of Patna (*JASB*, 1905, pp 7, 14) 2 The river Dasan which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa (*Mârkandeya P*, ch 57), Garrett identifies the river with "Dhosaun" in Bundelkhand (Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*) It is the Dosaran of Ptolemy

Dâśeraka—Malwa (see *Trikândaśesha*)

Dehali—See **Indraprastha.**

Devabandara—Diu in Guzerat In the 7th century A D, the ancestors of the Parsis of Bombay left Persia on account of oppression and resided for some time in Diu before they finally settled in the island of Sanjan on the Western Coast of India in the early part of the 8th century A D. (*Bomb Gaz*, IX, Pt II, pp 183 *ff*, XIV, pp 506—536, *Journal of the Bom Br of the R A S*, I, p 170)

Devadâruvana—Same as **Dâruvana**, where Linga worship was first established It was situated on the Ganges near Kedar in Garwal (*Kûrma P*, Pt II, chs 37, 38. *Śiva P*, Bk IV, ch 13, v 16, *Râmâyana*, Kishk, ch 43) Badarikâśrama was situated in this Vana (Ânanda Bhatta's *Ballâla-charita*, II, 7)

Devagada—Same as **Dharagada.**

Devagiri—1 Dowlatabad in the Nizam's territory It is mentioned in the *Śiva P* (*Jñâna Samhitâ*, ch 58) See **Mahârashtra** and **Śivâlaya.** 2 Part of the Aravali range 3 A hill situated near the Chambal between Ujjain and Mandasor (*Meghadûta*, Pt I) It has been identified by Prof Wilson with Devagara situated in the centre of the province of Malwa on the south of the Chambal

Devakûta—Śrîpâda Adam's Peak in Ceylon (Turnour's *Mahâvamsa*). See **Sumana kûta**

Devala—Tatta in Sindh.

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